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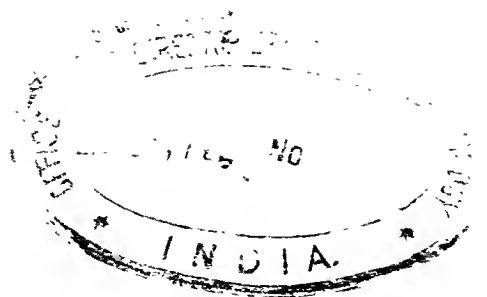
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INTRODUCTION.

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In connection with this subject, there are tremendous difficulties, of which the chief one is the presence of a large artificial element. The exactness or accuracy which every historical investigator wants and needs can not be said to have been an essential element in Japanese Chronology. The fault does not lie, however, so much in the system, or systems, employed, as in the manner in which the application was made. Political exigencies not infrequently demanded that dates be doctored and chronology be arbitrarily changed or even manufactured; and even custom itself was master of chronology. If, for instance, a *daimyo* or high official died outside of the precincts of his castle or his fief, his property might be confiscated to the State. Therefore, if such a person was so unfortunate as to pass away in such circumstances, either the formal announcement of his death was postponed, or the fact of his death was concealed.

For example, when the Shōgun's Prime Minister, Ii Naosuke, who was unpopular because he had dared to negotiate treaties with foreign nations without the approval of the Emperor, was assassinated in March, 1860, by Mito ronin just outside the Sakurada Gate, the assailants succeeded in cutting off the victim's head and carrying it away as a trophy. But the decapitated Premier, by miraculous intervention, was able to return to his mansion, to report that he had been severely wounded by those assailants and then to die in the proper manner, the proper place, and at the proper time! There is also the comparatively modern case of Prince Kitashirakawa, who, having fallen a victim to disease in Formosa in 1895, was brought back "alive" to Japan, and did not die officially till his corpse had been properly deposited in his Tokyo mansion! Such cases as these, which might be multiplied, render absolute

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## II

## INTRODUCTION.

chronological accuracy impossible, and comparative accuracy, if such an expression be allowable, difficult.

But there is another obstacle, even greater than that of individual instances. Although the *Nihongi* and the *Kojiki*, the chief "original sources" of Japanese history and chronology, were not published until 720 A.D. and 712 A.D. respectively; although local recorders were not appointed until Richiu's reign (400-405 A.D.); although the art of writing was not introduced into Japan until probably early in the fifth century A.D.; although the first date of Japanese history which can be verified by comparison with the chronology of other countries is 461 A.D.; yet there is a so-called chronology that is projected back, for over a millennium, to 660 B.C. And, even if we accept for the introduction of the art of writing the traditional date of 284 A.D., which Aston and other critics cannot accept; or even if we accept the presumption of Brinkley and others that Japan did possess a script of some kind before the Chinese ideographs were introduced, whenever that might have been, there still remains a long period which bears evidence of an artificial chronology. And these evidences are not merely external, as pointed out above, but are also internal, in that they attribute to certain human beings incredibly long lives and reigns. But, as this whole subject comes up again later, it is sufficient at this point to recapitulate by stating that there is an artificial chronology for several centuries.

Another difficulty should be mentioned, because it is likely to arise in the use of these tables in connection with some books or speeches on Japanese topics. There has been too frequently a pernicious custom of translating literally Japanese dates. For instance, if a Japanese writer or speaker, in referring to the old calendar, used the expression "7th month, 19th day," it would be translated into "July 19": but it might refer, according to the year, to a day from three to six weeks later, and could never refer to July 19th.

This confusion has been increased by a similar practice

among the Japanese themselves since the adoption of the Gregorian calendar. On this very day of our meeting we have a good illustration. The 20th day of the 10th month (O.S.) was sacred to Ebisu, the God of Wealth, and was generally celebrated in the households of merchants. But in Tokyo it is celebrated to-day, the 20th day of the 10th month (N.S.) ; while in the country districts it may still be celebrated according to the old calendar, and will fall this year on December 2nd. And a Japanese friend, who was born on the 11th day of the 2nd month (O.S.), which never falls in February, was very glad to adopt February 11 as his birthday, because it is a great national holiday !

One more custom likely to cause confusion was the fact that, when an Emperor died or abdicated, the current year was generally, but not invariably (in spite of Bramsen's statement on pp. 1, 2) counted in his reign, and his successor's reign was often not considered to begin till the following year. Moreover, an Emperor might not be officially enthroned by formal ceremony until a long time, even years, after he actually obtained sovereignty.

But, in spite of these difficulties, tremendous as they are, it is very important that, for purposes of assistance to students of Japanese institutions, especially where comparison with contemporaneous matters is desirable, Japanese chronology, as it is, be set before English readers. It must not be inferred, however, that this is the first attempt to fill such a need. In 1874 [Sir] Ernest Satow issued a pamphlet on this topic for private use. And on Feb. 10th., 1880, William Bramsen read before this Society a paper on "Japanese Chronology and Calendars," and published it, together with chronological tables from 645 to 1873 A.D. That work, accompanied also by explanations and diagrams of the "mysteries" of the old calendar, showed the date, according to the Julian and the Gregorian Calendars, of the first day of each Japanese month. in the period mentioned

above. Both Satow's pamphlet and Bramsen's book are invaluable, but are out of print.

In 1902, the present writer read before this Society a paper\* on "Japanese Calendars," in which this topic was treated in a general, rather than scientific, manner. Since then, in connection with historical studies, the necessity has arisen for a comprehensive comparative calendar and has at last resulted in the publication of this volume. The first idea contemplated merely a reprint of Bramsen's work; but that plan was abandoned, because Bramsen covered only a portion, albeit almost all the historical portion, of Japanese history. The next plan included complete chronological tables from 660 B.C. to date, with the incorporation, or absorption, of most of Bramsen's material, with credit as far as possible; but this was also abandoned, because it seemed difficult to keep the different portions distinct. The present plan is a modification of the second, in order to keep Bramsen's material distinct by itself, and may involve some repetition, but that was unavoidable. There is also some repetition of material used in the present writer's previous paper on "Japanese Calendars"; but that also was unavoidable.

This volume, then, contains two sections. The first is Bramsen's essay on the Japanese chronology and calendars, with explanatory diagrams and charts and his tables with directions for their use. The second section includes the present writer's comparative tables, extending from 660 B.C. to 1910 A.D., and giving the years of the Christian Era, the years of the Japanese Era, the names and years of the Japanese Emperors, the names and years of the Japanese *Nengō*, or special eras, the names and years of the Chinese Emperors, the names and years of Chinese *Nengō*, the names and years of the Korean Kings, and the zodiacal year numbers according to the Sexage-nary Cycle, together with several indexes.

Bramsen's material has been reprinted without any more

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\* See Vol. XXX of the Transactions of this Society.

change than was absolutely necessary. Typographical errors and some evident mistakes have been corrected; additions by Prof. N. Sakuma have brought all the tables up to date; and the indexes have been relegated to the end of the volume, with additions, in order that they might cover, not only Bramsen's tables, but the entire volume.

In the second section, the writer has followed chiefly, on Japanese chronology, a Japanese work, entitled *Nippon Tokushi Nempyō*; but he has also had the benefit of assistance from Mr. N. Takai, *Bungakushi* of the Imperial University, Tōkyō, and Dr. K. Tsuboi, Professor of History in the same institution. On Korean chronology, he has followed chiefly Mori's *Chōsen Nempyō*, with valuable assistance from Dr. S. Kanazawa, of the Foreign Language School and the Imperial University, Tōkyō. On Chinese chronology, he has followed principally the chronological tables in Doolittle's "Vocabulary and Handbook of the Chinese Language." In connection with the whole work, he has been favored with the most cordial and painstaking co-operation of Prof. N. Sakuma, who is a specialist in chronology. To all these persons, and to Messrs. S. Saitō, M. Okamoto, T. Tada, and M. Yuza for their assistance in the manual labor of copying tables, preparing the indexes, reading proof, etc., he extends his heartiest thanks.

Let us now revert to the topic to which merely a brief allusion has been made, *i.e.*, the manifestly artificial character of the first centuries of Japanese chronology. Of this phenomenon, there are several explanations. First, Bramsen, as may be seen on pages 28-33, thinks that, in the earliest days, the Japanese year was reckoned from equinox to equinox, and was thus only six months in length. In that case, the ages of the first seventeen emperors would be cut down about half, and would then reach a natural span. And a quotation from Chinese records in Murdoch's "History of Japan," Vol. I,\* page 40, is fairly

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\* Published by the Asiatic Society of Japan as a special issue.

capable of a similar interpretation : it runs as follows :—" The Was [Japanese] are not acquainted with the New Year or the four Seasons, but reckon the year by the spring cultivation of the fields and by the autumn ingathering of the crops." \* \* \* " They are a long-lived race, and *persons who have reached 100 years are very common.*"

A second explanation is that of Mr. Tachibana, who " would make out that ten cycles of sixty years each have been interpolated during this time " [from Jimmu Tennō to Nintoku Tennō].

A third explanation is that the artificial portions of the chronology were arbitrarily fixed, in a haphazard fashion, without regard to any rules or system, except that important events were placed on " lucky " dates.

A fourth explanation is very interesting and ingenious ; it is given by Dr. K. Asakawa,\* in his thesis on " The Early Institutional Life of Japan " (p. 24) ; and it reads as follows :—

" Here it suffices to say that the year from which, according to the *Nihongi*, the history of the Empire of Japan dates,—that is, the year 660 B.C.,—would appear to be not more authentic than any date assigned for the Trojan War. The reason is as follows. A man learned in the calendar is said to have been sent, by request, from Korea in 554, and a really earnest study of the Chinese science of chronology seems to have been made since 602. That science had the famous system of cycles, sixty years forming a smaller cycle, and twenty-one such cycles, or 1260 years, forming a larger cycle. The fifty-eighth year of the smaller cycle was supposed by the Chinese to be the year in which some revolution was liable to take place. It is possible that the writers of the *Nihongi*, seeing that 600 A.D. was the first year of revolution before the adoption of the calendar, may have counted backward for the space of one large cycle, thus reaching the year 660 B.C., and called

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\* It is also given by Murdoch in Vol. I, pp. 75, 76, of his "History of Japan."

it the year of the inauguration of the Yamato government. At any rate, the coincidence is striking. Is it not possible, too, that, in their attempt to reconcile the long stretch of time they thus imposed upon the antiquity of Japan, with the purely traditional part of history that preceded the later part which had contemporaneously or not long after the occurrence of events been committed to writing, these writers rather arbitrarily fixed the ages of the early Emperors, and placed vaguely remembered facts in convenient parts of their reigns? This is a pure hypothesis, but some evidence may be brought to bear upon it. It is only necessary, however, to remember that great caution must be used in dealing with particular *events* and *dates* that are recorded to have occurred before about 500 A.D., while an *institutional* history may derive some information from the account of the earlier period, or at least apply to it some of its inferential recovering."

And, in this connection, we may add another striking evidence of the artificiality of this chronology in the fact that Jimmu Tennō is reputed to have ascended the throne on the first day of the first month of that year.

It is gratifying to note that the number of Japanese scholars who are bold enough to challenge the "orthodox" chronology and to demand a careful investigation and reconstruction is increasing. Dr. N. Ariga, the well known jurist and authority on international law, delivered a long speech before the Tō-A Kyōkai, or East-Asia Society, on "Japanese Learning and Methods of Investigating it." A report of this speech was given in the August and September (1909) numbers of the *Tō-A no Hikari* (*Light of East Asia*); and a summary of these articles was given in the *Japan Mail*, from which we quote a few paragraphs:—

"The tone of the address in many ways marks a new departure in historical investigation in this country—a departure that will be welcomed by all foreign students of Japanese literature. The extreme conservatism of the majority of the Un-

iversity professors has long obstructed the way to free investigation of facts bearing on Japanese Archæology. Dr. Ariga is of opinion that the time has come for Japan to break loose from her traditional policy in this matter and study her own history in the same open-minded way she is studying other subjects. Just as Biblical scholars in the West have demonstrated beyond the possibility of a doubt that much which has passed as history for centuries is nothing more than myth or superstition, so our Japanese scholars will have to draw the line between fact and fiction in the annals of antiquity."

"History as studied by us in this country hitherto has been confined to far too narrow an area. Nobody can understand the Japanese people by reading historical books only. The early history of the nation is still veiled in obscurity, because we have been content to rely on written records and oral tradition only, which are quite inadequate. Following in the wake of Western nations, we must begin our study of Japanese history by going into an ethnological question bearing on our origin as a race. Where was the plain known as Takama-ga-hara whence Izanagi and Izanami are said to have come? No scientific historical investigations can be of much value as long as this question is left unanswered. Hitherto, for various reasons, investigation of this point has been avoided altogether or inquirers into the subject have been silent as to their discoveries. But there is no longer any reason for this reserve. As a matter of fact, in reference to the location of Takama-ga-hara all sorts of opinions are held and defended. Certain Mito scholars have decided that Takama-ga-hara is another name for Yamato. Others have located it in Hitachi. Those who have located it in some foreign country are by no means agreed as to place. Ethnologists, archæologists, linguists and students of geography working together surely ought to be able to settle this fundamental question bearing on the whole history of our civilisation. Another obscure point connected with our history and mythology refers to the time that elapsed between the creation of the world

by Izanagi and Izanami\* and the time of the appearance of Ninigi no Mikoto, the grandson of Amaterasu. History proper begins from the time of Tenson (Amaterasu *no mi-mago* and great grandfather of Jimmu Tennō, the first Emperor of Japan)."

"He then sums up his argument somewhat as follows:—The truth is that the facts given above and others which might be deduced force us to the conclusion that we are still in a state of profound ignorance as to our origin as a race and as to the source or sources of our civilisation, and if we hope to throw fresh light on this subject, we must certainly adopt new methods of investigation. The scholars among us who bear the name of *Kokugakusha* have confined their attention to the study of such ancient books as the *Kojiki*, *Nihonki*, *Engi-shiki*, *Manyōshū* and the *Kogoshui* (古語拾遺). Their studies are marked by considerable bias. Their minds are no longer free to adopt new views. With a view of getting rid of this tendency and starting fresh lines of inquiry, I have avoided the term *Kokugaku* and substituted for it the title *Nihongaku*, and what I propose is that we should endeavour to imitate the European archaeologists who have thrown such marvellous light on Assyrian and Egyptian history."

"There will be some, observes Dr. Ariga, who in reply to what I have said will tell us that, dig as we may, the grand relics found in Assyria and Egypt will never be discovered here, as the Japanese people in ancient times took no delight in raising permanent structures or lasting monuments. The archaeologist, the ethnologist and the linguist will, we are told, find a great dearth of material in this country, and the truth of this can hardly be denied. But it can not be affirmed that our explorations hitherto have been very minute or that they have been perseveringly carried on. Ceremonies, inscriptions, oral traditions and the folk lore of the people should all furnish material

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\* It is somewhat surprising to find Dr. Ariga endorsing the view that the world was created by Izanagi and Izanami, but the language he uses admits of no other explanation. (Writer of Summary).



for this investigation. The Imperial archives, Imperial traditions and customs are now becoming the subject of study. I was connected with the Bureau engaged in investigating the system of administration followed in the Imperial Household for some little time and came across a good many things that seemed to me calculated to throw light on our ancient history."

The most serious attempt yet made by a Japanese scholar to reconstruct Japanese chronology is that of Dr. Kume, who, in 1892, lost his position in the Imperial University on account of his skepticism of the orthodox Chronology. His views are summarized in a Note, furnished by Rev. Charles F. Sweet, of Tokyo, and reproduced on pages 257-261.

Murdoch, in his "History of Japan," Vol. I, Chap. III, on "Old Yamato," also engages in ingenious explanations of some of the inconsistencies of Japanese records and chronology.

We are not, however, greatly concerned with the explanations of artificiality in Japanese chronology, and feel under no obligation to attempt a satisfactory explanation, if one is possible. Our present purpose is not that of the historical critic; it is merely that of the mechanical scribe, like the typewriter, which records whatever is given to it. As has been already stated, we take the chronology, as it is, with all its faults, because it has been in constant use, and make it useful to those who cannot use the Japanese originals. We cannot even hope that our own work is absolutely free from mistakes; but we have taken the utmost pains to eliminate error\* and reach approximate accuracy. The internal conditions of the subject rather forbid absolute accuracy. Our chief purpose will be fully realised, if these tables will enable students of Japanese institutions to gain better perspectives and clearer views of Japanese history.

Ernest Wilson Clement.

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\* For Errata, see next page.

ERRATA.

- P. 33; The paragraph about use of Index is nullified by a change of plan of Index.
- P. 52; foot-note: for "Emperor," read "Empress."
- P. 92; first line: read "Shō-wa."
- P. 134; foot-note: for "Preface," read "pp. 23-37."
- P. 135; in "Chinese Emperor" column: for "Kō-ō," read "Kyō-ō," or "Kei-ō."
- P. 147; in "Chinese Emperor" column: for 奏, read 秦, twice.
- P. 153; in "Chinese Emperor" column: for "Sei-tei," read "Sen-tei." And 宣 is better than 宜
- P. 157; in "Chinese Emperor" column: for 子, read 子.
- P. 158; in name of Chinese dynasty; "Kan" and "Han" should be transposed.
- P. 163; in "Chinese Emperor" column: for 卿侯, read 卿侯.
- P. 165; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Yūng," read "Yung."
- P. 166; in "Chinese Emperor" column: 獻 may be better than 獻.
- P. 168; in name of Chinese dynasty; "Kan" and "Han" should be transposed. For 照, read 昭; and for 與, read 興.
- P. 170; in name of Chinese dynasty, "Kan" and "Han" should be transposed.
- P. 171; in "Nengō" of Wu, or Go, Dynasty; for Yūen, read Yūan."
- P. 173; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for 大, read 太.
- P. 174; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Dai-nei," read "Tai-nei"; and for 大, read 太.
- P. 176; in "Chinese Nengō" column; for 大, read 太.
- P. 177; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Yuan," read "Yūan." In "Korean King" column: for 壤, read 壤.
- P. 179; in name of Chinese dynasty: for 宗, read 宗.
- P. 181; in name of Chinese dynasty: for "T'si," read "T'-i."
- P. 185; in "Chinese Emperor" column: for "Yūang," read "Yūan."
- P. 186; in "Chinese Emperor" column: 宣 is better than 宜.
- P. 187; Same.
- P. 192; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Kai-ki," read "Kai-yō."
- P. 193; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Yen-sai," "En-sai" may be better.
- P. 196; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Kien," read "K'ien.
- P. 198; in "Korean King" column: for 照, read 昭.
- P. 199; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Kō-reki," read "Hō-reki."

- P. 200; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Pai-chū," read "Tai-chū."
- P. 204; in "Chinese Emperor" column: for "Ming Tsun," read "Ming Tsung."
- P. 205; in "Korean King" column: for "Kō-rai," read "Kō-rai."
- P. 207; in "Japanese Nengō" column: for "Ten-yen," "Ten-en" may be better; and for "Ei-shō," read "Ei-sho." In "Chinese Nengō" column, for "Tai P'ing Hing Kwo," read "Tai P'ing Hing Kwo."
- P. 212; in "Chinese Nengō" column; for "Yüan Feng," read "Yüan Fêng."
- P. 213; in "Korean King" column: 肅 may be better than 肅.
- P. 214; in "Japanese Emperor" column: for "Shu-toku," read "Su-toku." In "Chinese Nengō" column: 宣和 is better than 宣和.
- P. 217; in "Japanese Emperor" column: for 德安, read 安德. In "Chinese Emperor" column: for "Kō-sō," read "Kō-sō."
- P. 221; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for 淳, read 淳.
- P. 224; in "Chinese Nengō" column: for "Tien Li," read "T'ien Li."
- P. 225; in "Korean King" column: for "Chhyung-mok-oang," read "Chhyung-mok-oang."
- P. 229; in "Chinese Emperor" and "Chinese Nengō" columns: 宣 is better than 宣.
- P. 230; Same.
- P. 233; in "Korean King" column: for "Shū-sō," read "Chū-sō."
- P. 240; in "Chinese Emperor" column: for "Tei-yū-shō," read "Tei-yu-shō." In "Chinese Nengō" column: for "K'ien Wu," read "Lung Wu."
- P. 249; in "Chinese Emperor" column: 宣 is better than 宣.
- P. 250; Same.
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# JAPANESE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES,

SHOWING

THE DATE, ACCORDING TO THE JULIAN OR GREGORIAN CALENDAR,  
OF THE FIRST DAY OF EACH JAPANESE MONTH

From Tai-kwa 1st year to Mei-ji 6th year

(645 A.D. to 1873 A.D.)



WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY ON

## JAPANESE CHRONOLOGY AND CALENDARS,

BY

WILLIAM BRAMSEN.



TOKYO.

—  
1910.



## PREFACE.

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Up to the present time there have been published no comparative tables of Japanese and Western dates. It is true that the Home-Department, during the years from 1874 to 1878, under the title of *Tai-in Tai-yō Rō-reki Tai-shō-hiō*, published a work in three volumes, purporting to give such comparative tables for the years A.D. 501 to 1872; but, besides the fact, that the work contains several errors, possibly typographical, the compiler must have been unaware, that the Gregorian Calendar had no existence until the year 1582; for the tables are calculated right through according to this calendar, the consequence being that all the dates given for the first 1100 years are entirely wrong, being from two to ten days out, according to the century; and thus the book instead of being useful, may easily mislead those, who, unaware of the mistake, make use of the tables they contain.

In preference to giving the Japanese date corresponding to the first day of each month of the European Calendar, as is done in the aforesaid work, I have followed the opposite course and given the equivalent, according to the Julian or Gregorian calendars, of the first day of every Japanese month, as the tables are far more likely to be used for transposing Japanese dates into Western, than Western dates into Japanese.

The present tables are carried back to A.D. 645, because that year, being the one in which the *Nen-gō* system was introduced, seems to form a suitable starting point. In reality,

however, the calendars existing for the time up to the beginning of the 8th century, are not authentic.

To many it may appear, that to compile tables like those here given, was a task involving more labour than the subject deserved. Yet there are not a few cases in which the Historian, the Astronomer, the Seismologist and other students of matters pertaining to Japan generally, may desire to ascertain the exact date of an event. To them, at least, I hope the work will be welcome.

W. B.

*Tokio, January, 1880.*

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# ON JAPANESE CHRONOLOGY AND CALENDARS.

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(Read before the Asiatic Society of Japan, 10th February, 1880.)

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In the following pages I have endeavoured to arrange all the details I have been able to collect regarding Japanese Chronology and Calendars, and though for the sake of completeness I have had to include what is perhaps known to many, I trust the paper will at the same time be found to contain matters that have not yet been explained, or insufficiently so.

## I.—SYSTEMS OF COUNTING YEARS.

We find in Japan four different ways of counting the years,  
viz :

By the reigns of the Emperors.

By year-periods (*Nen-gō*).

By the Sexagenary Cycle.

By a continuous era commencing with the first year of the reign of *Jimmu Tennō*.

### 1. COUNTING BY THE REIGNS OF THE EMPERORS.

By this system the different years of each reign were designated by numbers, the series, commencing with 1, being continued until a new emperor ascended the throne. It was a rule, that, when a change of emperor took place, the reign of the new monarch was counted as commencing with the new-year's



day *following* his succession, while the whole of the year in which an emperor died or abdicated was considered as belonging to his reign.

In the earliest Japanese historical works, the years are counted in accordance with this system, and if we calculate backwards by the reigns assigned to the monarchs of Japan, we find, that the first emperor, *Jimmu Tennō*, should have founded the empire in the year 660 B.C. It will, however, later on be shown, that these records cannot be relied upon.

## 2. COUNTING BY "NEN-GŌ."

In the 4th year of the reign of *Kōtō-gioku Tennō* (645 A.D.) the system of counting the years by the reigns of the monarchs was replaced by the mode which had been in use in China since about 163 B.C., viz. of counting by periods of no fixed length, each bearing a distinctive name. The first period in Japan was called *Tai-kwa*, commencing as aforesaid with the year corresponding to 645 A.D. The names of these periods are called 年號, *Nen-gō*.

This system seems not to have become firmly established at once, for we find, that under *Sai mei* (655-661 A.D.), *Ten-ji* (662-671 A.D.), *Ji-tō* (687-696 A.D.) and during part of the reign of *Mom-mu* (697-707 A.D.), no *Nen-gō* were used, the years being as in former days counted by the reigns of the emperors. In the absence of regular *Nen-gō* for these intervals, Japanese chronological works sometimes give as such the names of the said four monarchs.

The years contained in each period are numbered 1, 2, 3 and so on, in the same way as when counting the years of the reigns of the monarchs. The *Nen-gō* is generally composed of two, in exceptional cases of four, Chinese Characters, usually possessing some felicitous meaning. Thus *Ten-pō* means Hea-

\* It was in reality *Kōtoku Tennō* who, on succeeding to the throne in the 7th month, adopted the *Nen-gō* system. The year in which the change took place is therefore, if counted by the old system, *Kōtoku's* 4th year, while according to the new method it must be called *Tai-kwa* 1st year.

venly Protection; *Kwan-sei*, Benevolent Government; *Mei-ji*, Enlightened Peace. At times a *Nen-gō* was chosen, the characters of which bore a relation to certain important events; thus on the first coinage of copper in Japan, in A.D. 708, a new *Nen-gō* was formed from the two characters 和銅, *Wa-dō*, meaning Japanese Copper.

The following table shows all the characters used in forming *Nen-gō*, arranged according to the number of strokes contained in each. Among them the three characters 智, 持, 統 are not used in *Nen-gō* proper, being in reality component parts of the names of those emperors, who, as before stated, omitted to choose any *Nen-gō*.

龜 ki	興 kō	養 yō	雲 un	祥 sō	神 shin	治 chi	昌 shō	朱 shu	中 chū	久 kiu
靈 rei	慶 kei kiō	壽 ju	萬 man	國 koku	祚 sō	武 mu	和 wa	安 an	永 ei	大 tai
觀 kan	曆 reki	福 fuku	寬 kan	智 ji	泰 tai	建 ken	承 chō	同 dō	平 hei	天 ten
	應 ō	鳳 hō	齊 sai	喜 ki	乾 ken	貞 tei	延 en	吉 kitsu	正 shō	元 gen
	衡 k	銅 dō	雉 chi	勝 shō	康 kō	保 hō	享 kō	字 ji	弘 kō	仁 nin
	宣 hō	融 tei	祿 roku	統 tō	授 ju	持 ji	長 chō	老 rō	白 haku	文 bun
	證 gō	德 tok	嘉 ka	法 hō	鳥 chō	政 sei	明 mei	享 kō	至 shi	化 ka

A *Nen-gō* may often be pronounced in two or more ways, of which the one that was in use during the period it gives its name to, is properly the correct one, the others having their origin in the various pronunciations given to the same characters at different times. The correct pronunciation is, however, not always the one in general use, the modern sound being naturally preferred to the ancient, perhaps obsolete, one.

The periods into which time is divided by the *Nen-gō* system are of no fixed length, the *Nen-gō* being changed whenever some important or memorable event took place. Many *Nen-gō* have lasted only one year, while several comprise over twenty years. The period *Ō-ei* reaches the greatest length, covering 34 years (A.D. 1394-1427).

Changes in the style of the *Nen-gō* do not take place on New-year's days in preference to any other day of the year. We have already seen that, when the time was counted by the reigns of the emperors, it was customary to let the new reign date from the first day of the year following that in which the change of monarch took place. In the case of changes of *Nen-gō*, the rule is just the opposite, the new period, as soon as chosen, being counted back as commencing with the first day of the year in which the change is effected. Thus, when in the 11th month of the 9th year of *Mei-wa* it was decided to change the *Nen-gō* into *An-ei*, the former designation was at once dropped, and the term *An-ei* 1st year adopted as applying to the whole year from its beginning. This system is somewhat inconvenient, because while books, documents, etc., written during the earlier part of the year, would, in the above instance, be dated *Mei-wa* 9th year, everything written after the adoption of the new *Nen-gō*, even if referring to events falling before the change, would mention the year as *An-ei* 1st. The inconvenience is at times increased through the delay that in those days would necessarily occur before the change of a *Nen-gō* could be notified throughout the country. Thus when the *Nen-gō* was altered late in the year, the news of the change might not reach

some provinces in time to prevent the old name being carried into another year, so that, what in the above instance should properly be *An-ei* 2nd year, might in distant parts of the country be designated *Mi-ten* 10th year.

In 1867 the *Nen-gō* was altered to *Mi-ji*, and it was at the same time decreed, that henceforth the style of the *Nen-gō* should only be changed at the commencement of the reign of a new emperor. In China this rule has been in force since the time of the first emperor of the Ming dynasty, about 1366 A.D.

The two systems here mentioned, viz., of counting by the years of the monarchs and by *Nen-gō* are both extremely inconvenient. Without the aid of a hand-book, the indications convey no idea of the relative position, in time, of historical events, and this fact constitutes a considerable impediment to the acquirement of a historical knowledge of the country.

### 3. THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE.

The mode of counting the years by the above named cycle is borrowed from China, where it has been in use since the 61st year of the reign of the Emperor *Huang-ti* (2637 B.C.). It is not known when it was first introduced into Japan, but it may be surmised, that it was brought there at the same time as the first Chinese books, viz., A.D. 284.

The cycle is formed by combining two separate series of characters as follows:—

One series is derived from the five elements *ki*, *hi*, *tsuchi*, *kane*, *mizu* (wood, fire, earth, metal and water), each of which is divided into *e* and *to*, elder and younger brother. A separate character being given to each division, we obtain:—

1	甲	ki	no	e
2	乙	ki	no	to
3	丙	hi	no	e
4	丁	hi	no	to

5	戊	tsuchi no e
6	己	tsuchi no to
7	庚	ka* no e
8	辛	ka no to
9	壬	mizu no e
10	癸	mizu no to

This series of ten is called *Ten-kan*, 天幹; or *Jik-kan* 十幹, (also written 十干), "the ten celestial stems."

The other series consists of twelve characters, named after the signs of the Zodiac :—

1	子	ne	the rat
2	丑	ushi	the bull
3	寅	tora	the tiger
4	卯	u	the hare
5	辰	tatsu	the dragon
6	巳	mi	the serpent
7	午	uma	the horse
8	未	hitsuji	the goat
9	申	saru	the ape
10	酉	tori	the cock
11	戌	inu	the dog
12	亥	i	the boar

These are called *Chi-shi* 地支, or *Ju-ni-shi* 十二支, the "twelve terrestrial branches."

The Ten Celestial Stems are now combined with the Twelve Terrestrial Branches, so as to form groups of two characters.

The simplest way to effect this would seem to be to have first prefixed *ki-no-e* to each of the twelve branches; thereafter prefixing *ki-no-to* to each branch; then using *hi-no-e* in the same manner, and so on through the ten stems. In this way we would have obtained one grand cycle of 120 ( $10 \times 12$ ) combinations. This, however, is not the way the two cycles are

---

\* *ka* is an abbreviation of *ka-no*.

used. They are both supposed to be constantly progressing, as will now be described. Let us imagine a clock with two hands, one long and one short, each having its own graduated scale; the scale of the long hand being divided into ten, and that of the short hand into twelve, equal parts, the marks of division being so arranged, that in the place generally marked 1 in an ordinary clock, one of the marks of the outer scale falls in the same radius as one of those of the inner scale. The divisions of the outer circle are named after the ten celestial stems, while those of the inner one are called after the twelve terrestrial branches, both series commencing at the aforesaid coinciding points. (See Fig. 1.)

Fig. 1.

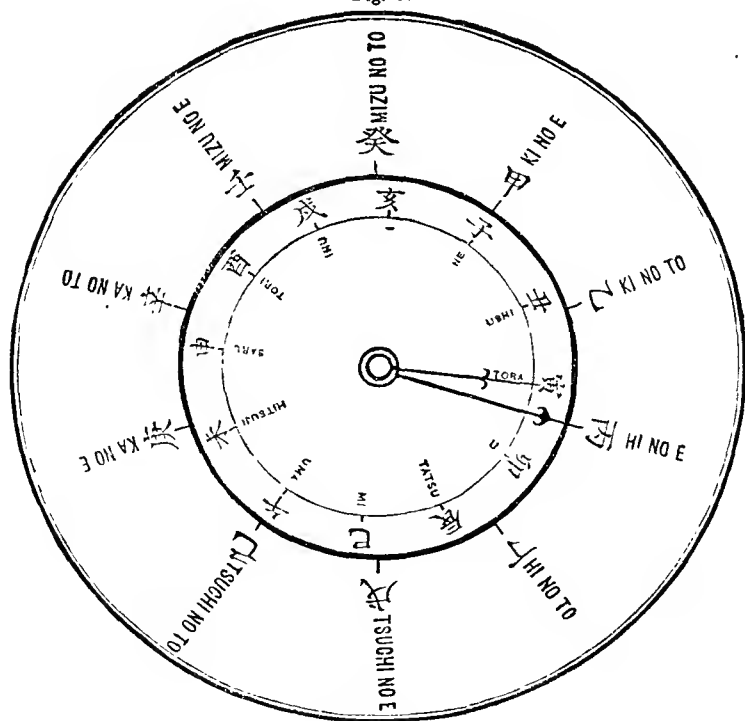


Fig. 2.

THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE.	<div> <i>Ne</i>   <i>Ushi</i>   <i>Tora</i>   <i>U</i>   <i>Tatsu</i>   <i>Mi</i>   <i>Uma</i>   <i>Hitsugi</i>   <i>Saru</i>   <i>Tori</i>   <i>Inu</i>   <i>I</i> </div>											
	<div> 子 丑 寅 卯 辰 巳 午 未 申 酉 戌 亥 </div>											
<i>Ki no e</i>	甲	1	51	41	31	21	11					
<i>Ki no to</i>	乙	2	52	42	32	22	12					
<i>Hi no e</i>	丙	13	3	53	43	33	23					
<i>Hi no to</i>	丁	14	4	54	44	34	24					
<i>Tsuchi no e</i>	戊	25	15	5	55	45	35					
<i>Tsuchi no to</i>	己	26	16	6	56	46	36					
<i>Ka no e</i>	庚	37	27	17	7	57	47					
<i>Ka no to</i>	辛	38	28	18	8	58	48					
<i>Mizu no e</i>	壬	49	39	29	19	9	59					
<i>Mizu no to</i>	癸	50	40	30	20	10	60					

Let us further suppose that the clockwork is so arranged that the long hand goes round the dial in ten, and the short hand in twelve, years. When the hands are set at the aforesaid coinciding points, they will indicate as follows, the long hand being read first :—

甲      ki-no-e  
子      ne

If the clock is now set going, the hands will at the end of one year point at :

乙      ki-no-to  
丑      ushi

In this way the hands advance one division every year, and after ten years the long hand will be back at 甲, while the short one will only have reached 戌. The hands will thus move on for *sixty* years, giving us many different combinations, before *meeting* at the point whence they first started. The sexagenary cycle then commences again with 甲子.

The accompanying table (Fig. 2) shows the order in which the sixty combinations contained in any one cycle follow each other, one of the Chinese characters in the vertical column being read first followed by one of those in the horizontal line. Thus the 38th combination is *ka-no-to ushi*; the 59th, *mizu-no-e inu*, and so on.

The sexagenary cycle resulting from these combinations is called *Kwa-kō-shi* 花甲子. One cycle of sixty is called *Ik-kō-shi* 一甲子 or *Ichigen* 一元. The name given to a year according to this system is called its *E-to*, (from the words *e* and *to*, used in forming the ten celestial stems).

The twelve "terrestrial branches" are sometimes used alone, to indicate the years, without being preceded by one of the "celestial stems." Thus *Tem-pō* 2nd year (1831) may be called "*u no toshi*," the year of the hare, and so might *Tem-pō* 14th year (1843). But it will easily be seen that such indications cannot as a rule be used without leaving a doubt as to the remoteness of the time spoken of. Thus, if in *uma no toshi* one speaks of *u no toshi*, this may mean 3 years ago, or 15 ( $12 + 3$ ), or 27 ( $2 \times 12 + 3$ ), years ago, and so on. There are, however, cases in which the indication is sufficient. Thus, if in *saru no toshi* a person of about twenty years of age states that he was born in *i no toshi*, he must refer to the *preceding cycle but one*, which makes his age 21 years; because, if he meant the immediately preceding cycle, he could not be older than 9 years.

When the two series are used together, a little more precision is obtained, through the cycle used being one of sixty years instead of one of twelve. But even here the indication is often ambiguous. If in a year called *tsuchi-no-e, uma no toshi* (the



55th of the table), one speaks of an event that took place in *mizu-no-to*, *hitsuji no toshi*, (the 20th of the table), he may mean 35 years back; or 95,  $(60 + 35)$ ; or 155,  $(2 \times 60 + 35)$ , etc. In exceptional cases only is the indication sufficient to convey an idea of the exact time spoken of. Thus, if in the year called *ka-no-to*, *u no toshi* (the 28th of the diagram) an old man gives *tsumi-no-to*, *mi no toshi* (the 6th of the diagram), as the year of his birth, he must speak of the sexagenary cycle preceding the existing one, which makes his age 82 years, as it is out of question that he can be either 22 or 142 years old.

In China, this want of precision is by some writers said to be obviated by numbering the sexagenary cycles in a continuous series, the one commencing 2637 B.C. being the first, which gives us the one now in use as the 76th, covering the years 1864 to 1923. I have not been able to verify this statement; but such a course is at least not followed in Japan, if for no other reason, because when the system of counting by the cycle was introduced into Japan, it had already been in use over 2000 years in China, the consequence being that the Japanese could not well start with the number of the contemporary Chinese cycle, as all the previous cycles would be missing in their historical records; nor could they commence a new series, by numbering their own first cycle 1, because the discrepancy thus arising between the numbers of the Chinese cycles and those employed in Japan would likewise at once display the much later origin of Japanese history, a fact which the Japanese dislike to allude to.

The *E-to* is often used in addition to the year of the reign of the emperor, or the *Nen-gō*, thus:

Sai-mei Ten-nō roku nen, ka-no-e, saru no toshi.

An-sei ni nen, ki-no-to, u no toshi.

The sexagenary cycle affords a great assistance in the study of the history of Japan and China, especially in that of the latter country. Extending back as it does to over 2000 years before Christ, it would have been impossible to fix the true time of the

events recorded by Chinese historians, had they but given us the name of the emperor or the incessantly changing *Nen-gō*. When the *E-to* of the year is added, as it generally is, it becomes an easy task to calculate all events *to a year*. For instance, as the year 1879 is the 16th year of the 76th cycle, we have but to count back  $75 \times 60 + 16$  years, to find that the first cycle was instituted in the year 2637 B.C.; and with equal precision the time of any other event may be ascertained. If moreover the *E-to* of the month and day is given, as will be explained hereafter, we are enabled to calculate any event to a day.

#### 4. COUNTING THE YEARS BY ONE CONTINUOUS ERA COMMENCING WITH THE 1ST YEAR OF JIMMU'S REIGN.

This mode of counting the years is quite a modern innovation, adopted in imitation of the Christian era. It has never been in general use, nor is it likely ever to become so.

When placing the commencement of Jimmu's reign in 660 B.C., the year 1880 A.D. is the 2540th after Jimmu Tennō.

## II. SUB-DIVISION OF THE YEAR.

### I. CALENDARS.

In Japanese Calendars, as introduced from China, the year is divided into lunar months, a new moon marking the beginning of a month. As a lunation is between 29 and 30 days, it becomes necessary to make some months 29 and others 30 days. Had a lunation been exactly  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days, months of 29 and 30 days might have followed each other alternately, without interruption; but as the interval between one new moon and the next is somewhat *over*  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days, the long months, of 30 days, must necessarily occur more frequently than those of 29 days.

The rule, according to which the length of the months is regulated in the earliest Chinese and Japanese calendars, is as follows :—

If the interval between the midnight hour that marks the commencement of the day on which a new moon occurs, and

the hour of the next new moon is *less* than 30 days, the month gets only 29 days. Such a month is called 小 *Shō* (short).

If, on the other hand, the said interval amounts to 30 days or over, the month gets 30 days, and is called 大 *Dai* (long).

A lunation is variously estimated in the Chinese Calendars, that have been in use at different periods. In the one which I have chosen as an illustration, it is 29.5305921 days.

In the instances I am about to give below, I have found it convenient to count by decimal fractions of a day, instead of by hours, minutes and so forth. A day being always counted from midnight, I have called the midnight hour 0; 6 a.m. will thus be 0.25; noon 0.5; 6 p.m. 0.75; and so on. The midnight with which the 16th day ends and the 17th commences, I consequently call 16.0; noon of the 17th day is 16.5, that is, sixteen days and a half from 0.

Let us now suppose that it is a new moon, on the first day of a series, at 3 a.m. or in decimals at 0.125, and let us call that moon "the 1st." We then have:

<b>1st. Moon</b>	commences at .....	0.125
	and lasts, in days.....	<u>29.5305921</u>
2nd moon will therefore commence on		
the day and hour expressed by .....		29.6555921
By counting from the midnight preceding		
the 1st moon, i.e. ....		0.0
	We get .....	<u>29.6555921</u>
Which being <i>under</i> 30, we make the	1st month	<u>29 days</u>
<b>2nd. Moon</b>	commenced at .....	29.6555921
	and lasts .....	<u>29.5305921</u>
3rd moon will thus commence .....		59.1861842
By counting from the midnight preceding		
the 2nd moon.....		<u>29.0</u>
	We get .....	<u>30.1861842</u>
Which being <i>over</i> 30, we make the	2nd month	<u>30 days</u>

<b>3rd. Moon</b>	commenced at.....	59.1861842
	and lasts.....	29.5305921
		<hr/>
4th moon will thus commence .....		88.7167763
By counting from the midnight preceding		
the 3rd month .....		59.0
		<hr/>
	We get .....	29.7167763

Which being *under* 30, we make the 3rd month 29 days

By continuing in the above manner, we can easily calculate the calendar for any number of months; but the same result may be obtained in a much simpler way.

It will easily be seen that a new moon commencing at, or a short time after, midnight will come to an end some time in the afternoon of the 30th day, consequently before the expiry of 30 days from the midnight on or after which it commenced. It is not until a new moon commences at such an hour as will entail the next new moon falling on or after the midnight separating the 30th and the 31st day, that by counting from the midnight preceding the former we obtain 30 days or more, thereby getting a month of 30 days.

From this it may be gathered that it depends entirely on the hour on which a new moon commences, whether the ensuing month shall be long or short; or, in other words, if it commences *before* a certain hour, the ensuing month will have 29 days, while, if it commences *on or after* that hour, the month will have 30 days.

It is obvious that the moment, that thus decides whether a month is to be short or long, must be *the hour expressed by the decimals which, if added to those of a lunation, will give 1.0, that is 0.4694079*. For if a moon commences at 0.4694079, the next moon will commence 29.5305921 days later, that is, at 30.0, thus *exactly* 30 days after the midnight preceding the previous new moon, 0.

We thus get the simple rule: If a new moon commences earlier in the day than the hour expressed by the decimal frac-

tion .4694079, the ensuing month will have 29 days; if it commences on or after that hour, the month will have 30 days.

In compiling the calendar for a certain number of months, we therefore only have to calculate the *decimals* indicating the hours on which the moons, during that time, will commence. These decimals are, of course, obtained by always adding the fraction of the lunation .5305921 to that indicating the hour of the commencement of the preceding new moon.

Let us now, commencing with a new moon that falls exactly at midnight,—consequently containing no decimal fraction,—calculate the decimals marking the hour on which each of a series of about sixty moons commences, and let us further, according to the rule laid down, give 29 days to the month, wherever the decimal fraction is under .4694079, and 30 days, where the fraction is larger. We then get as follows:—

Number of moon.	Decimals indicating the time on which the moon commences.	Number of days of ensuing month.	Number of moon.	Decimals indicating the time on which the moon commences.	Number of days of ensuing month.	Number of moon.	Decimals indicating the time on which the moon commences.	Number of days of ensuing month.
1	.0000000	29	22	.1424341	29	43	.2848682	29
2	.5305921	30	23	.6730262	30	44	.8154603	30
3	.0611842	29	24	.2036183	29	45	.3460524	29
4	.5917763	30	25	.7342104	30	46	.8766445	30
5	.1223684	29	26	.2648025	29	47	.4072366	29
6	.6529605	30	27	.7953946	30	48	.9378287	30
7	.1835526	29	28	.3259867	29	49	.4684208	29
8	.7141447	30	29	.8565788	30	50	.9990129	30
9	.2447368	29	30	.3871709	29	51	.5296050	30
10	.7753289	30	31	.9177630	30	52	.0601971	29
11	.3059210	29	32	.4483551	29	53	.5907892	30
12	.8365131	30	33	.9789472	30	54	.1213813	29
13	.3671052	29	34	.5095393	30	55	.6519734	30
14	.8976973	30	35	.0401314	29	56	.1825655	29
15	.4282894	29	36	.5707235	30	57	.7131576	30
16	.9588815	30	37	.1013156	29	58	.2437497	29
17	.4894736	30	38	.6319077	30	59	.7743418	30
18	.0200657	29	39	.1624998	29	60	.3049339	29
19	.5506578	30	40	.6930919	30	61	.8355260	30
20	.0812499	29	41	.2236840	29	62	.3661181	29
21	.6118420	30	42	.7542761	30			

The foregoing gives us, in 62 months, 34 of 30 days and 28 of 29 days; and it will be observed that in this calendar two

short months never follow each other, nor will more than two long ones be found together.

Having thus seen the mode in which the length of the months was regulated, we require to know, how they were grouped together into years. The chief object was naturally to adapt the lunar months to the solar year, so as to make the seasons, equinoxes and solstices recur with some degree of regularity in the same months. It is therefore necessary that we should first make ourselves acquainted with the solar year and its divisions.

The estimated length of the solar year is about  $365\frac{1}{4}$  days, varying slightly in the calendars that have been in use at different periods. As however these remarks are merely intended to give an idea of the main principles on which the calendar was compiled, it does not matter much whichever length we give to the solar year, and for the sake of convenience I have in the following calculations taken it as equal to 365 days.

The yearly circuit of the sun is divided into twelve parts, the names of which have already been given on page 6. Each of these divisions consequently represents  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the solar year, and covers  $\frac{305}{12}$  or 30.41667 days. If thus the sun is supposed to start from the division of the rat, at the midnight hour expressed by 0, it will enter the next division, that of the bull, at the day and hour expressed by 30.41667; that of the tiger at 60.83333; and so on.

The radii by which the circuit is divided into the said twelve parts are termed 入節, *Nū-setsu*, or simply *Setsu*, the one preceding the division of the rat being the first. The names of the twelve *Setsu*, and the numbers indicating the day and hour when the sun enters each,—and therefore also representing the position of each *Setsu* in the circuit,—are as follows:—

1st	<i>Setsu</i>	Dai-setsu	0.
2nd	„	Shō-kan	30.41667
3rd	„	Ris-shun	60.83333

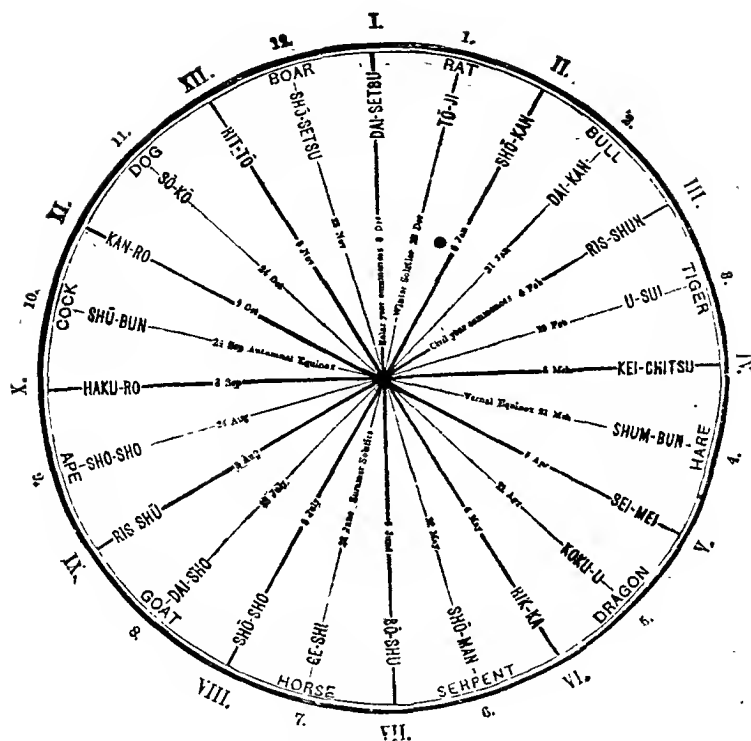
4th	Setsu	Kei-chitsu	91.25
5th	„	Sei-meï	121.66667
6th	„	Rik-ka	152.08333
7th	„	Bō-shu	182.5
8th	„	Shō-sho	212.91667
9th	„	Ris-shū	243.33333
10th	„	Haku-ro	273.75
11th	„	Kan-ro	304.16667
12th	„	Rit-tō	334.58333

Each of the sectors confined between two *Setsu* is again divided into halves, the dividing radii being in this case called 中節 *Chū-setsu*. Commencing with the one that falls in the sector of the rat, half-way between the 1st and 2nd *Setsu*, and adding the day and hour of the circuit corresponding to each, we get :—

1st	Chū-setsu	Tō-ji	15.2083
2nd	„	Dai-kan	45.625
3rd	„	U-sui	76.0417
4th	„	Shun-bun	106.4583
5th	„	Koku-u	136.875
6th	„	Shō-man	167.2917
7th	„	Ge-shi	197.7083
8th	„	Dai-sho	228.125
9th	„	Sho-sho	258.5417
10th	„	Shū-bun	288.9583
11th	„	Sō-kō	319.375
12th	„	Shō-setsu	349.7917

The sun is considered to be in the first *Chū-setsu*, *Tō-ji*, at winter solstice (22nd December), and the solar year begins with the preceding *Setsu*, *Dai-setsu*, (consequently the 8th December).

Fig. 3.



It will be seen that the *Setsu* and *Chū-setsu* indicate the seasons with much more precision than the lunar calendar, holding, as they do, a fixed position in the solar year. Hence it was common,—especially among farmers and sailors, to calculate according to the *Setsu*; and the yearly calendars always stated on what particular days the *Setsu* and *Chū-setsu* occurred for the current year.

The accompanying Fig. 3 shows the twelve signs of the zodiac, the *Setsu* and *Chū-setsu*, and the day of the Gregorian calendar corresponding to each. As will be shown hereafter, the length given to the intervals between the different *Setsu* and *Chū-setsu* underwent certain changes in later calendars, in consequence of which the day of the solar year corresponding to



each was not the same in the various calendars that have been in use. In the figure here given, the dates of the Gregorian calendar appended to the *Setsu* and *Chū-setsu* are those they held in the last calendar used in Japan. In leap-years one day must be deducted from the dates given.

The *civil* year does not commence at the same time as the solar one, the New-year's day of a normal civil year falling on the day when the sun is in the 3rd *Setsu*, *Risshun* (4th February).

In trying to adapt a civil year, composed of lunar months, to the solar year, we meet with the difficulty that the latter, which consists of about 365 days, is not a multiple of the number of days contained in a lunation, as twelve moons will cover only about 354 days, while thirteen moons will aggregate about 384 days. In giving the ordinary civil year only twelve lunar months, as the Chinese and Japanese do, the said year will consequently be about 11 days shorter than the solar year; or in other words, the New-year's day of a civil year will fall about 11 days earlier than the New-year's day of the preceding year. After the lapse of another civil year of 12 months, the error will amount to about 22 days, and thus the discrepancy will steadily increase, throwing the seasons entirely out of their proper places in the calendar.

To remedy this, an intercalary month is inserted occasionally, and the discrepancy between the civil and solar years thereby always kept within certain limits. Such a month, as will be shown hereafter, has to be intercalated once in about 33 months. When a year in this way comes to contain 13 months, the intercalary one is always called by the name of the preceding month, with the word *Urō* added: thus an intercalary month inserted after the 8th month, is called *Urō hachi gwatsu*.

The way in which the proper places of intercalation are calculated is best explained as follows:

Let us imagine the moon travelling round the same circuit and with the same speed as the sun, meanwhile increasing and

decreasing in its usual course. If starting on the New-year's day of the civil year,—consequently being then a new moon,—from the 3rd *Setsu*, that is, on the day of the solar year corresponding to 60.83333, the next new moon will occur one lunation, i.e., 29.5305921 days later, consequently at the hour and place expressed by 90.3639221, and thus after the moon has passed the 3rd *Chū-setsu*, but somewhat before it has entered the 4th *Setsu* 91.25. The next new moon after that will occur on the expiry of another 29.5305921 days, that is, at the hour and place expressed by 119.8945142, thus after the moon has passed the 4th *Chū-setsu*, but still more in advance of the 5th *Setsu*, 121.66667, than in the case of the preceding moon. The new moons will thus gradually fall more and more in advance of the *Setsu*, and if the moon continues in the circuit for a certain time, we shall at last get a new moon so close after the moon's passing a *Chū-setsu*, that the following new moon will take place before it reaches the next *Chū-setsu*. We thus obtain a moon, that does not pass through any *Chū-setsu* at all.

The rule followed in compiling the calendar is, that *those moons that do not contain any Chū-setsu become intercalary months.*

It will easily be understood that the above procedure is but a practical way of illustrating the difference between the length of the lunar month and the twelfth part of the solar year. Had a lunation been exactly  $1/12$  of the solar year, we should always have new moon at *Setsu*, and full moon at *Chū-setsu*. But as the lunation is in reality shorter than  $1/12$  of the year, the full moons will occur before *Chū-setsu*, and the new moons before *Setsu*, and gradually more in advance of the same; and when at last a new moon falls so much ahead of the *Setsu*, that the ensuing lunation will be completed before the moon reaches *Chū-setsu*—which ought to have fallen in the middle of the month—then this merely signifies, that the discrepancy between the civil and solar years now exceeds half a month, and that therefore a correction is necessary. Hence the rule, that, when a month contains no *Chū-setsu*, it is intercalary.

Let us now apply this rule to the series of 62 months, of which above we calculated the length, taking them one by one, and making intercalary months of those that contain no *Chūsetsu*, at the same time grouping them into years; and let us, in this calculation, give the months 29 or 30 days, as they may have been allotted in the list already given, thereby avoiding the decimal fraction of the lunation.

Running number of month.	Number of days it contains.	Point of Circuit at which it ends.	Number of Chūsetsu it covers.	Remarks.
1	29	89.83333	3rd	1st civil year, commencing at 60.83333 of the circuit.
2	30	119.83333	4th	
3	29	148.83333	5th	
4	30	178.83333	6th	
5	29	207.83333	7th	
6	30	237.83333	8th	
7	29	266.83333	9th	
8	30	296.83333	10th	
9	29	325.83333	11th	
10	30	355.83333	12th	
11	29	{ 384.83333, i.e., 19.83333 of the next circuit.	1st	2nd civil year, commencing at 49.83333 of the circuit.
12	30		2nd	
13	29	78.83333	3rd	
14	30	108.83333	4th	
15	29	137.83333	5th	
16	30	167.83333	6th	
17	30	197.83333	7th	
18	29	226.83333	None.	
19	30	256.83333	8th	
20	29	285.83333	9th	
21	30	315.83333	10th	Intercalary month.
22	29	344.83333	11th	
23	30	{ 374.83333, i.e., 9.83333 of the next circuit.	12th	
24	29		1st	
25	30	68.83333	2nd	
26	29	97.83333	3rd	3rd civil year, commencing at 68.83333 of the circuit.
27	30	127.83333	4th	
28	29	156.83333	5th	
29	30	186.83333	6th	
30	29	215.83333	7th	
31	30	245.83333	8th	

Running number of month.	Number of days it contains.	Point of Circuit at which it ends.	Number of Chūsetsu it covers.	Remarks.
32	29	274.83333	9th	
33	30	304.83333	10th	
34	30	334.83333	11th	
35	29	363.83333	12th	
36	30	{ 393.83333, <i>i.e.</i> , 28.83333 of next circuit.	1st	
37	29	57.83333	2nd	
38	30	87.83333	3rd	4th civil year, commencing at 57.83333 of the circuit.
39	29	116.83333	4th	
40	30	146.83333	5th	
41	29	175.83333	6th	
42	30	205.83333	7th	
43	29	234.83333	8th	
44	30	264.83333	9th	
45	29	293.83333	10th	
46	30	323.83333	11th	
47	29	352.83333	12th	
48	30	{ 382.83333, <i>i.e.</i> , 17.83333 of next circuit.	1st	
49	29	46.83333	2nd	
50	30	76.83333	3rd	5th civil year, commencing at 46.83333 of the circuit. [cuit.
51	30	106.83333	4th	
52	29	135.83333	None.	
53	30	165.83333	5th	
54	29	194.83333	6th	
55	30	224.83333	7th	
56	29	253.83333	8th	
57	30	283.83333	9th	
58	29	312.83333	10th	
59	30	342.83333	11th	
60	29	{ 371.83333, <i>i.e.</i> , 6.83333 of next circuit.	12th	
61	30	36.83333	1st	
62	29	65.83333	2nd	

We have now actually compiled the calendar for five consecutive years, the result being as follows :

	1st year.	2nd year.	3rd year.	4th year.	5th year.
1st month	29	29	29	30	30
2nd „	30	30	30	29	30
3rd „	29	29	29	30	30
4th „	30	30	30	29	29
5th „	29	30	29	30	30
6th „	30	30	30	29	29
7th „	29	29	29	30	30
8th „	30	30	30	29	29
9th „	29	29	30	30	30
10th „	30	30	29	29	29
11th „	29	29	30	30	30
12th „	30	30	29	29	29

In the foregoing I have described the main principles followed in compiling the first Chinese Calendars. Other minor items were taken into calculation, to explain which would be beyond the scope of this paper, as it would necessitate a familiarity not only with European, but also with the intricacies of Chinese, Astronomy.

The differences between the numerous calendars that have been in use in China and Japan consist chiefly of some slight variation in the length of the solar year and the lunation, as well as a different estimate of the precession of the equinoxes, which was known to the Chinese in very remote days, though they were unacquainted with the real cause of it.

I must, however, make a few remarks on one new feature in the later calendars. At first, no account was taken of the fact, that the time from the vernal to the autumnal equinox is about 186 days, while that from the autumnal to the vernal

equinox is only about 179 days, and the early astronomers found it convenient to give all of the twelve portions, into which the circuit of the sun was divided by the *Setsu*, the length of about 30.41667 days, this being in reality the *mean* length of the said divisions. The equinoxes were thus placed diametrically opposite to each other, at *Shun-bun* and *Shū-bun*, and did not therefore occupy their true places in the solar year. One consequence of this arrangement was, that the distance between any two *Setsu* or any two *Chū-satsu* being always 30.41667 days, *i e.*, more than a lunation, it was quite impossible that two *Setsu* or two *Chū-satsu* could fall within the same month.

In later calendars the *Setsu* and *Chū-satsu* were arranged with a view of making the *Shun-bun* and *Shū-bun* really correspond to the equinoxes. Thus in the calendar known to the Japanese as the *Gihō-reki*, the distances between *Setsu* and *Chū-satsu* were as follows :

1st <i>Setsu</i>	to	1st <i>Chū-satsu</i>	14 $\frac{5465}{8040}$	days.
1st <i>Chū-satsu</i>	„	2nd <i>Setsu</i>	14 $\frac{5465}{8040}$	„
2nd <i>Setsu</i>	„	2nd <i>Chū-satsu</i>	14 $\frac{6089}{8040}$	„
2nd <i>Chū-satsu</i>	„	3rd <i>Setsu</i>	14 $\frac{6713}{8040}$	„
3rd <i>Setsu</i>	„	3rd <i>Chū-satsu</i>	14 $\frac{6713}{8040}$	„
3rd <i>Chū-satsu</i>	„	4th <i>Setsu</i>	14 $\frac{6089}{8040}$	„
4th <i>Setsu</i>	„	4th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	14 $\frac{5465}{8040}$	„
4th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	„	5th <i>Setsu</i>	15 $\frac{6089}{8040}$	„
5th <i>Setsu</i>	„	5th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	15 $\frac{5465}{8040}$	„
5th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	„	6th <i>Setsu</i>	15 $\frac{4841}{8040}$	„
6th <i>Setsu</i>	„	6th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	15 $\frac{4411}{8040}$	„
6th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	„	7th <i>Setsu</i>	15 $\frac{5465}{8040}$	„
7th <i>Setsu</i>	„	7th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	15 $\frac{6089}{8040}$	„
7th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	„	8th <i>Setsu</i>	15 $\frac{6089}{8040}$	„
8th <i>Setsu</i>	„	8th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	15 $\frac{5465}{8040}$	„
8th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	„	9th <i>Setsu</i>	15 $\frac{4841}{8040}$	„
9th <i>Setsu</i>	„	9th <i>Chū-satsu</i>	15 $\frac{4841}{8040}$	„

9th <i>Chū-setsu</i> to 10th <i>Setsu</i>	15	$\frac{5465}{8040}$	days.
10th <i>Setsu</i> „ 10th <i>Chū-setsu</i>	15	$\frac{6089}{8010}$	„
10th <i>Chū-setsu</i> „ 11th <i>Setsu</i>	14	$\frac{5465}{6040}$	„
11th <i>Setsu</i> „ 11th <i>Chū-setsu</i>	14	$\frac{6089}{8040}$	„
11th <i>Chū-setsu</i> „ 12th <i>Setsu</i>	14	$\frac{6713}{8040}$	„
12th <i>Setsu</i> „ 12th <i>Chū-setsu</i>	14	$\frac{6713}{8040}$	„
12th <i>Chū-setsu</i> „ 1st <i>Setsu</i>	14	$\frac{6089}{8040}$	„

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Total, 336  $\frac{42}{835}$  days, or one solar year.

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As in this same calendar the lunation is estimated at 29  $\frac{4256}{8010}$  days, we find that, out of the 24 divisions of the sun's circuit, eight are *shorter than half of a lunation*; and that, as these short divisions occur in groups, a lunation may at times happen to cover two *Setsu* and one *Chū-setsu*, or two *Chū-setsu* and one *Setsu*. To prevent this, the months had to be made short in some places where they really ought to have been long; hence we shall in the *Gilō-reki* often find *two* or *three* short months following each other, to make up for which, in other places, *three*, and occasionally even *four*, long months will be found together. Such was never the case in the old calendars, in which, as already shown, two short months could not follow one another.

The following is a list of the various Calendars used in Japan:

GEN-KA REKI 元嘉曆, from *Ji-tō* 4th till *Ji-tō* 10th year (690-696 A.D.) This is the Calendar first used in China in the 22nd year of *Gen-ka* (445 A.D.)\*

GI HŌ REKI 儀鳳曆, from *Mon-mu* 1st till *Ten-biō* *Hō-jū* 7th year (697-763 A.D.) This calendar is the Chinese *Rin-toku Reki*, used there from 664 A.D. I have not been able to ascertain why the Japanese call this calendar after the Chinese

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\* This and subsequent Chinese *Nen-gō* are given with their Japanese pronunciation.

period *Gi-hō*, which commenced thirteen years after the *Rin-toku Reki* was adopted in China.

DAI-EN REKI 大衍曆, from *Ten-biō Hō-jū* 8th year till *Ten-an* 1st year (764-857 A.D.) This is the Chinese calendar of the same name, first used in the 17th year of *Kai-gan* (729).

GO-KI-REKI 五紀曆, from *Ten-an* 2nd year till *Jō-gwan* 3rd year (858-861 A.D.), being the Chinese Calendar of the same name, used there since *Hō-ō* 1st year (762).

SEM-MEI REKI 宣明曆, from *Jō-gwan* 4th year till *Jō-kiō* 1st year (862-1684.) This calendar was used in China from *Chō-kei* 2nd year (822).

JŌ-KIŌ REKI 貞享曆, from *Jō-kiō* 2nd year (1685). This is the Chinese 授持曆, *Jūji Reki*, of the year 1335.

The *Jō-kiō Reki* was afterwards improved upon by the Japanese, when they had acquired some knowledge of Western Astronomy.

In the 5th year of *Mei-jū* (1872), the Japanese Government decided to discontinue the system of lunar months, and to adopt in its stead the Gregorian Calendar. As in that year the 2nd day of the 12th month fell on the 31st December, 1872, the change was effected by leaving out the remainder of the month. Thus the day following the 2nd day of the 12th month of the 5th year of *Mei-jū*, was called the 1st day of the 1st month of the 6th year of *Mei-jū*, corresponding to the 1st of January, 1873.

The system of counting the years by *Nen-gō* remains unchanged with the modification already mentioned, viz: that the style is only changed on the ascension to the throne of a new emperor.

## 2. SEXAGENARY CYCLE APPLIED TO MONTHS AND DAYS.

Months and days are, like years, counted by sexagenary cycles, independently of each other. If we thus take *Mei-jū* 4th



year 3rd month 6th day, the *year* is the 8th of a cycle of 60 years, its *E-to* being *Ka-no-to, hitsuji* ; the *month* is the 29th of a cycle of 60 months, its *E-to* being *Mizu-no-c, tatsu* ; and the day is the 33rd of a cycle of 60 days, having for its *E-to* *Hi-no c, saru*.

The intercalary months of the Japanese year have no separate *E-to*, but bear the same name as the preceding month, so that, though a year may contain thirteen months, yet never more than twelve *E-to* are used to designate its months. As will be shown below, some regularity is, in consequence, obtained in the application of the cycle to the months, the same *E-to* after a fixed interval recurring in the same months of the year.

Owing to the way in which the sexagenary cycle is produced, it is obvious that the 1st, 13th, 25th, 37th and 49th combinations must all *end* in the same character, and so must any two *E-to* of which the corresponding numbers show a difference of 12, or of a multiple of 12. Consequently, as only twelve *E-to* are used to designate the months of a year, the *E-to* of a month will always end in the same character as the *E-to* of the same month in any other year, while the first character may differ. We shall thus always find that :

1st month	is	Tora
2nd	„ „	U
3rd	„ „	Tatsu
4th	„ „	Mi
5th	„ „	Uma
6th	„ „	Itsuji
7th	„ „	Saru
8th	„ „	Tori
9th	„ „	Inu
10th	„ „	I
11th	„ „	Ne
12th	„ „	Ushi

PERPETUAL <b>TABLE,</b> SHOWING THE <b>E-TO</b> OF ANY JAPANESE MONTH.	IF THE YEAR FROM JIMMU TENNŌ OR THE CORRESPONDING EUROPEAN YEAR ENDS IN :				
	1	2	3	4	5
	or 6	or 7	or 8	or 9	or 0
1st month .....	27	39	51	3	15
2nd „ .....	28	40	52	4	16
3rd „ .....	29	41	53	5	17
4th „ .....	30	42	54	6	18
5th „ .....	31	43	55	7	19
6th „ .....	32	44	56	8	20
7th „ .....	33	45	57	9	21
8th „ .....	34	46	58	10	22
9th „ .....	35	47	59	11	23
10th „ .....	36	48	60	12	24
11th „ .....	37	49	1	13	25
12th „ .....	38	50	2	14	26

But more than this, after the lapse of 60 months, *i.e.*, 5 years, the sexagenary cycle will be completed, and both characters composing the *E-to* of a month will become the same as those of the same month five years previous. Thus, as the 11th month of *Ten-pō* 4th year was *Ki-no-e, ne*, the 11th month of *Ten-pō* 9th year will also be *Ki-no-e, ne*, whereupon the cycle will go on for another five years in the same rotation.

By aid of the accompanying table the *E-to* of any month may be ascertained, if the year from Jimmu Tennō, in which the month falls, or the corresponding year of the Christian era, is known. The numbers given in the table may be interpreted by referring to Fig. 2 on page 8.

Example: What is the *E-to* of the 8th month of *Wadō*

3rd year? *Wadō* 3rd year is the 1370th after Jimmu Tennō, or 710 A.D., both ending in 0. Consequently the 8th month of that year is No. 22 of a cycle, which according to Fig. 2 is *Ki-no-to, tori*.

It will be noticed that the commencement of a new cycle does not fall in the 1st month of the civil year, but in the 11th, the latter corresponding to the 1st month of the *solar* year.

In the application of the sexagenary cycle to the *days* of the Japanese calendar, no such regularity exists in the recurrence of the same *E-to* on certain days, owing to the years and months not always containing the same number of days.

### III.—DIVISION OF TIME PRIOR TO THE INTRODUCTION OF CHINESE CALENDARS.

I have deferred to the last the question: In what way did the Japanese count the time prior to the introduction of Chinese Calendars? My reason for doing so is, that nothing certain is known in this respect, and that any speculations on this subject must necessarily embrace other matters, such as the true period to be assigned to the commencement of the history of Japan, and the authenticity of its ancient historical records.

The only facts at our disposal, bearing on the subject are:

That in the 15th and 16th years of the reign of *Ōjin Tennō*, corresponding, according to the calculations generally followed, to 284 and 285 A.D., *Atogi* and *Wani* brought the first knowledge of the Chinese written character and specimens of Chinese literature to Japan.

That *Wani* was appointed tutor to the Imperial prince, and that during the reign of *Ōjin's* successor, *Nin-toku Tennō*, the study of Chinese literature was embraced by a number of Japanese of the higher classes.

That in the 10th year of *Suiō Tennō* (602 A.D.) chronological and astronomical works, and also a movable disk for calculating calendars, were brought to Japan from Corea.

That in the 4th year of *Haku-hō* (675 A.D.) the first astronomical observatory was erected.

That in the 4th year of *Ji-tō* (690 A.D.) the first official calendar was promulgated.

It is not conceivable that the sexagenary cycle,—the introduction of which into Japan is not recorded,—can have been known and applied to years, months and days, at a time when the Japanese had no written characters, and when the Chinese calendars were totally unknown in the country. We may take it for granted, that, when Chinese literature was brought to Japan, those who occupied themselves therewith would for the first time become acquainted with the sexagenary cycle, and also, though still left ignorant of the exact way in which the Chinese compiled their calendars, form some idea of the fact, that the length of the Chinese year was regulated by the solar year. Almost any Chinese work would contain passages alluding, in some way, to the divisions of the year, intercalations etc.,\* and we may reasonably surmise, that when during the reign of *Nin-toku*, *Ō-jin*'s successor, the study of Chinese literature had reached some degree of advancement, the length of the Chinese year would be sufficiently well known to direct attention to any difference that might exist between it and the *Japanese* year. We here meet with a circumstance of the greatest importance: that with *Nin-toku Tennō* the emperors suddenly cease to reach their former fabulously great ages, and from that time, without exception, only live to such ages as ordinary mortals would attain. That anybody may convince himself of the striking difference in this respect, I subjoin the ages of the seventeen rulers from *Jimmu* to *Nin-toku*, compared with those of the seventeen subsequent monarchs:

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\* As an instance of how such allusions would occur, it may be mentioned, that the *Sen-jī-men*, which is said to be one of the first books brought to Japan, contains the following passage: "The superfluities, made into intercalary months, complete the years."

NAME.	AGE.	NAME.	AGE.
Jim-mu ... ..	127	Ri-chū ... ..	77
Sui-zei ... ..	84	Han-shō ... ..	60
An-nei ... ..	57	In-giō ... ..	80
I-toku ... ..	77	An-kō ... ..	56
Kō-shō ... ..	114	Yu-riaku ... ..	62
Kō-an ... ..	137	Sei-nei ... ..	42
Kō-rci ... ..	128	Tsunu-zashi ... ..	45
Kō-gen ... ..	117	Ken-sō ... ..	38
Kai-kwa ... ..	115	Nin-ken ... ..	51
Sū-jin ... ..	120	Bu-retsu ... ..	57
Sui-nin ... ..	141	Kei-tai ... ..	82
Kei-kō ... ..	143	An-kan ... ..	70
Sei-mu ... ..	108	Sen-kwa ... ..	73
Chū-ai ... ..	52	Kim-mei ... ..	63
Jin-gō ... ..	100	Bi-datsu ... ..	48
Ō-jin ... ..	111	Yō-mei ... ..	69
Nin-toku ... ..	122	Su-jun ... ..	73
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Total .....	1853	Total .....	1046
<hr/>		<hr/>	

**Average age 109 years.**

**Average age 61½ years.**

A sudden falling off like that above mentioned in the lives of men, who were moreover of the same family, is entirely out of the question, the only reasonable solution being, that *the standard by which the years were counted must have been changed*. The question then suggests itself: what was the original length of the year in Japan, and how was it computed? To this I would offer the following reply:

Since the remotest ages, in almost all countries, the *Sun* has naturally decided the length of the year, and it cannot be doubted that this was the case in Japan too, especially as the sun was the particular deity of the country. In the sun's movements four distinct periods must appear even to the most primitive of

men, namely the terms, when day and night are of equal length, and those on which the day reaches its maximum and minimum length, *i.e.*, the equinoxes and the solstices. While in most countries the period occupied by the sun in passing through all of these four divisions is called a year, it would be quite natural to count by the shorter periods that form regular portions of the whole circuit, say from Solstice to Solstice, or still better from Equinox to Equinox, owing to their similarity, thereby making two years of what we now call one.

Reverting to the age of the emperors up to *Nin-toku*, as compared with that of the subsequent ones, we see that the latter averages *a little more than half* of that of their predecessors, and I shall be able to show, that, if the suggestion I am going to make, is correct, this slight excess on the half has no actual existence. My opinion is, that *in remote days the Japanese counted their year from equinox to equinox*; that during the reign of *Nin-toku* the Chinese year, of double the length, became generally known; and that with his death it was officially adopted.

If this theory is right, we must remember that the three Emperors *Ri-chū*, *Han-shō* and *In-giō*, who succeeded *Nin-toku*, all lived during his reign; and that, as it is most unlikely the reform in counting the years was made retrospective, the first part of their lives have been counted by the old (short) year, and the latter by the new (long) one.

Thus *Ri-chū*, who reigned 7 years, was "77 years" old, when he died. He therefore lived "70 years" under *Nin-toku's* reign, and was, consequently, in reality  $7\frac{9}{2} + 7 = 42$  years old, when he died.

The following emperor *Han-shō* reigned 6 years, and died "60 years" old; but as he lived  $60 - (6 + 7) = "47 \text{ years}"$  under the old system, he was actually  $47\frac{1}{2} + 13 = 36\frac{1}{2}$  years old.

The emperor succeeding him, *In-giō*, reigned 43 years, and died "80 years" old, but of these only  $43 + 6 + 7 = 56$  were long years; the 24 years which he lived under *Nin-toku's*

reign should actually count 12, making his true age 68 years.

If now, in the list of the seventeen emperors after *Nin-toku*, which is given above, we substitute 42,  $36\frac{1}{2}$  and 68 for 77, 60 and 80, we get a total of  $975\frac{1}{2}$  years, or an average of 57 years against the 109 years of their predecessors. If it be remembered, that the *true* average age of a race cannot be computed from the lives of only seventeen men, as even one case of premature death or unusual long life would materially affect the average in so small a number, it will be admitted, that the figures 109 and 57 are to a surprising degree in favor of my theory, that the length of the old Japanese year was but half of that introduced from China; for we shall then get the result that the true average age of the 17 first emperors is  $1\frac{9}{2} = 54\frac{1}{2}$  years, against 57 in the case of their 17 immediate successors, making the average of them all together  $55\frac{3}{4}$  years.\*

The consequence of this, if correct, will be that *Jimmu Tennō's* place in history is far less remote than is at present thought. *Nin-toku* died in 400 A.D., or "1060 years" after *Jimmu Tennō*; but if the length of these years was but half of our present year, *Jimmu Tennō's* reign commenced 130 B.C., instead of 660 B.C., as generally surmised.

I think the above should at least be accepted as a highly probable suggestion, worthy of further investigation. Should it be found that about 130 B.C. an emigration took place in the South-sea Islands, or in any country from which *Jimmu* is likely to have come, I should look upon it as a decisive proof of the correctness of my theory, and as a solution of the question of the origin of the invaders.

It would also be important to compare the dates of certain events recorded in Japanese history, such as arrivals of embas-

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\* The first court annalists were appointed in 403, four years after *Nin-toku's* death, a measure which appears to be a most natural one in connection with an official re-organization of the years.

sies, invasions, etc., with the dates assigned to them in the records of Corea and China.

It will not be out of place here to make a few remarks regarding certain Japanese works purporting to give us full details of the yearly calendars, as used in Japan, from the very remotest days, and therefore apparently opposed to the theory raised by me. There are several works of the kind, but, as they are all reproductions of the same original, I shall by examining one have disposed of all. The *Kwō-wa-tsū-reki*, 皇和通曆, is a work in three volumes, of which one gives us a description of the various calendars that have been in use in Japan, while the remaining two contain the yearly calendars commencing with *eight years before Jimmu Tennō's* reign begun, showing in a separate column for each year the long and short months as well as the *E-to* of the New-year's days. On examining these calendars we find as follows :

The first volume mentions that the Chinese calendar called the *Gen-ka Reki* was introduced into Japan in the year 690 A.D., and remained in use until 697 ; that thereafter the *Gi-hō Reki* was used until the year 764, when the *Dai-en Reki* was adopted. When, however, we turn to the other volumes, which give the yearly calendars from 690 till 764, we find that these do not all agree with the rules and formulæ that characterize the *Gen-ka* and *Gi-hō Reki*. The *Gen-ka Reki* can never have two short months following each other, and yet we find, in the calendars given for the few years during which this system was used, one instance of two consecutive short months. The *Gi-hō Reki*, on the other hand, must, owing to the principles on which it is formed, show *three* short months about once in every six years ; and yet the calendars given by the *Kwō-wa-tsū-reki* as those in use between 697 and 764, do not show one single such group of short months.

From the above we may draw the conclusion that, though the first Chinese calendar was introduced in 690 A.D., the calendars for the years from that time up to the compilation of



the earliest historical works have not been preserved, probably owing to the use of calendars not yet having become general in the country. Anxious to make the history of his country complete, the author of the *Kwō-wa-tsū-riki* or its prototype has then compiled calendars for the missing years, but unfortunately neglected to reconcile his compilation with the historical data quoted by himself; and, entirely ignoring the *Gen-ka* and *Gi-hō Reki*, he gives, for the years between 690 and 764 A.D., fictitious calendars calculated according to the *Dai-en Reki*, which was the system in use when the book was written, and which does not show three short months together, except perhaps once in a hundred years.

Not satisfied with thus supplying the calendars back to the time the first Chinese calendar was introduced, the author is bold enough to undertake to give us the yearly calendars for *thirteen centuries* prior to that time, thus taking us back to some years before the reign of *Jimmu Tennō*! To give these calendars the gloss of authenticity, the author says, that during those centuries there were three different systems of calendar, Japanese by origin, in use; but he can give us no better name for them than 上古, 中古 and 晩古. "the first old," "the middle old" and "the last old,"—names that of course were never given to any calendars when in use. It is superfluous to say that these calendars are as fictitious as those before mentioned; the author *may* have obtained them by *calculating* backwards according to one of the numerous Chinese systems, a process which would present no difficulties; but it is much more likely that he has simply *copied* a series of Chinese calendars. In doing so, it was not even necessary that he should copy the calendars of the *corresponding* Chinese years; he might choose at random *any* starting point in the records of Chinese calendars and then, after counting backwards as many months as required, join the part chosen to the first genuine *Japanese* calendar at his disposal; in this manner he would in reality have done nothing but count backwards by lunations, and the result of the

operation would therefore, as far correctness goes, be such a system of Calendars as *might* perfectly well have been used by the Japanese, had they had any calendars at all in those days.

This whole system of fictitious dates has thereafter been applied in the first histories of Japan; in fact there can hardly be any doubt, that the object in compiling them was to this *very* use, and that the compilation was simultancous and connected with that of the *Nihon-gi*, which latter work gives the month and date of the very earliest events, accompanied by the *E-to* of the day, always in strict conformity with the calendars given in the *Kwō-wa-tsū-reki*. Yet the same work announces many centuries later the introduction of the written character, the importation of the instruments required for calculating calendars, the erection of the first astronomical observatory, and the formal introduction of Calendars! It is hardly too severe to style this one of the greatest literary frauds ever perpetrated, from which we may infer how little trust can be placed in the early Japanese historical works.

As the calendars given in the *Kwō-wa-tsū-reki*, and consequently also the data of the *Nihon-gi*, prior to the year 764 A.D., are not in conformity with the systems actually used, we must infer that both of these books were written *after* the said year; how long after, we cannot say, for although from that year the calendars given by the *Kwō-wa-tsū-reki* are in conformity with the *system* really in use at the time, it is quite possible that the yearly calendars given for some time after that year are not those actually used.

We have now no difficulty in explaining a circumstance which seems to have caused no little surprise to eminent authors as Ph. Fr. von Siebold, and Dr. J. J. Hoffmann, namely the fact, that the New-year's day on which, according to the *Nihon-gi*, Jimmu Tennō ascended the throne, and which is said to have been the 17th of a cycle of 60 days, can be proved to be a day on which it was really new-moon. Siebold, in mentioning this, at first sight, striking fact says: that, while it is uncertain when

the sexagenary cycle first came into use in Japan, it is evident from the *Nihon-gi* that the system must have been in use in the earliest days of the Mikado dynasty, because, though it might be easy in the case of *years* to carry the sexagenary cycle back till Jimmu's time, it would hardly be possible, after the lapse of thirteen centuries to calculate the *days* in the same way, with such correctness as is evinced in the *Nihon-gi*, where we find that the 1st day of the 1st year of Jimmu Tennō's reign actually falls on what can be proved to have been the day of a new-moon. Dr. Hoffmann expresses himself as follows: "After the calculation of Professor Kaiser, at eight o'clock in the morning of the said day, 19th February of the year 660 B.C., there was a new moon at Miako. Therefore the correctness of the Japanese chronology may not be called in question." It is quite true that, by counting back by Julian years, we find that the day assigned as the one on which Jimmu Tennō's reign commenced, is the 19th February, 660 B.C., and Prof. Kaiser's calculations to the effect, that a new moon commenced on that particular day, are undoubtedly correct. But it must be remembered, that the length of a lunation being known, it would not be more difficult to the Japanese "compiler" to make the said and other New year's days coincide with new-moons, than it was to Prof. Kaiser to test the correctness of the calendars; and if, moreover, the compiler did not make any calculations at all, but merely copied his calendars from the Chinese, it could not possibly be otherwise than that the day in question must coincide with the commencement of a new moon, because thousands of years before Christ, as now, the first day of *any* Chinese month was synchronous with the day of new-moon.

I would here desire to draw attention to a certain Chinese tradition, which by some authors has been associated with Jimmu Tennō,—a connection which is opposed to the views advanced by me. Thus Professor Griffiths in his work, "The Mikado's Empire," gives us the following detailed account:

"Chinese tradition ascribes the peopling of Japan to the

“ following causes : The Grand-father (Taiko) of the first emperor (Buwo) of the Shu dynasty (thirty-seven emperors, eight hundred and seventy-two years, B.C. 1120-249) in China, “ having three sons, wished to bequeath his titles and estates to “ his youngest son, notwithstanding that law and custom required him to endow the eldest. The younger son refused to “ receive the inheritance ; but the elder, knowing that his father “ Taiko would persist in his determination, and unwilling to “ cause trouble, secretly left his father’s house and dominions, “ and sailed away to the South of China. Thence he is supposed to have gone to Japan and founded a colony in Hiuga. “ His name was Taihaku Ki. This event took place about “ forty-six years before the usually accepted date of Jimmu’s “ departure from Hiuga upon his career of conquest.”

And it is added in a foot-note, that *Kishi koku*, one of the names of Japan, is also translated “ country of the Ki family ” (*shi*, family ; *koku*, country) and that the Chinese still apply this name to Japan.

There is undoubtedly some error in this calculation. Without taking into consideration that the said question of inheritance between the sons of *Taiko*, *Buwo*’s grandfather, must have taken place several years before *Buwo* ascended the throne, we need but to compare the year given by Professor Griffis as the one in which *Buwo*’s reign commenced, viz : 1120 B.C., with the “ usually accepted ” year for *Jimmu*’s entering *Kashiwabara*, 660 B.C., to see that the former event took place 460, not 46 years before the latter, and that consequently this tradition, which by first sight might appear to be one of significance, as tending to throw some light on the exact time of *Jimmu*’s invasion, cannot possibly have any connection with the latter.\*

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\* Bu-wo actually ascended the throne in 1122 B.C.

## DIRECTIONS FOR THE USE OF THE CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

The Index contains all *Nen-gō* arranged alphabetically, according to the pronunciation.

A *Nen-gō* may often be pronounced in two or three different ways. These various pronunciations are all given in the Index.

Two differently written *Nen-gō* are sometimes pronounced alike. Some precaution must therefore be taken to distinguish between the two. For this purpose the Chinese characters of each *Nen-gō* have been added in the Index; and as a further check each page of the tables contains, in the lower margin, the characters of the different *Nen-gō* found on the page.

When, owing to civil wars, two different *Nen-gō* were used simultaneously, both have been given in the tables.

In a separate Index the *Nen-gō* have been arranged according to the Chinese characters wherewith they are written. In using this index, commence by finding the *first* character of the *Nen-gō*, among the foot-notes in heavy type. Then find under this foot-note the remaining character; and the number found in the same square will indicate the page of the tables, on which the *Nen-gō* sought is given. To facilitate the use of the Index, the said foot-notes, as well as the characters given under each foot-note, are arranged according to the number of strokes they contain.

The Japanese intercalary months are all given in the last column of the tables, irrespective of their true position. The real place of each is, however, marked by an asterisk after the month it follows; besides which a glance at the dates given will at once show where the intercalary month must come in.

Remember that February, in these tables, has 29 days in all years that may be divided by 4, *except* 1700 and 1800, in which two years it has but 28.

On a separate page, at the end of this section, will be found

the date of the Julian or Gregorian calendar corresponding to *each day* of the Japanese month during which the change of calendar was effected by Pope Gregory XIII (*Ten-shō* 10th year 9th month, or Sept. 17th to October 26th, 1582).

The Gregorian Calendar was introduced into Italy, Spain and Portugal in 1582, by calling what should have been the 5th October, the 15th. The present tables have been calculated on these data, and will therefore prove correct right through, as far as the three countries named are concerned.

The Gregorian Calendar was, however, but gradually adopted by other countries :

1582, by *France*, by making what should have been the 10th December, the 20th.

1700, by the Protestant states of *Germany*, by making the 16th February=the 1st March.

1752, by *England*, by making the 3rd September=the 14th.

In *Russia*, the Gregorian Calendar has not yet been adopted.

It consequently becomes necessary, when comparing Japanese dates with those of the countries here mentioned, to *deduct* a certain number of days from the dates given in these tables :

When comparing Japanese dates with those of	From the dates given in the Tables		Deduct	Remarks.
	Between	And		
FRANCE .....	15th Oct. 1582	19th Dec 1582	10 days	
GERMANY (Protestant countries)	15th Oct. 1582	28th Feb. 1700	10 days	
ENGLAND ...	15th Oct. 1582	10th Mar. 1700	10 days	{ 11th March, 1700, of the Tables = 29th Feb., 1700, of the English calendar.
	12th Mar. 1700	13th Sept. 1752	11 days	
RUSSIA .....	15th Oct. 1582	10th Mar. 1700	10 days	{ 11th March, 1700, of the Tables = 29th Feb., 1700, of the Russian calendar.
	12th Mar. 1700	11th Mar. 1800 [the Tables.	11 days	
	13th Mar. 1800	the last day of	12 days	

It must be borne in mind, that the month of February in England, in 1700, and in Russia, in 1700 and 1800, has 29 days, while in the Gregorian Calendar, and consequently also in these tables, it has but 28 days. That this may not lead to any error in deducting the necessary number of days, as above directed, the dates of the Gregorian Calendar, corresponding to the 29th Feb. (Julian Calendar) of the years aforementioned, have been given in the Remarks' Column.

## EXAMPLES.

What day, in any European country,  
corresponds to

Bun-ei 5th year, 4th month, 13th day?

The tables give :

Bun-ei 5th year, 4th month, 1st day.....=14th May 1268.

As we want the equivalent of the 13th  
day, add ..... 12

which gives us 26th May 1268.

What day of the *Italian* Calendar  
corresponds to

Gen-roku 4th year, Intercalary 8th  
month, 15th day?

The tables give :

Gen-roku 4th year, Intercalary 8th  
month, 1st day .....=22nd Sept. 1691.

As we want the equivalent of the 15th  
day, add ..... 14

September having 36  
30 days

We get 6th Oct. 1691.

If, instead, we want to compare the same Japanese day with *English* dates, we have by the tables :

*Gen-roku* 4th year, Intercalary 8th month, 1st day ..... = 22nd Sept. 1691.

As we want the equivalent of the 15th day, add ..... 14

---

36

As, however, the Gregorian Calendar was not then in use in England, deduct ..... 10

---

Which gives us 26th Sept. 1691.

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What day, in any country in Europe and America, (Russia excepted), corresponds to *Mei-ji* 1st year, 2nd month, 10th day ?

The tables give :

*Mei-ji* 1st year, 2nd month, 1st day..... = 23rd Feb. 1868.

As we desire the equivalent of the 10th day, add ..... 9

---

32

1868 being a leap-year, February has .. 29 days

---

Which gives us 3rd March 1868.

---

If we compare the same Japanese day with the *Russian* Calendar, we must deduct 12 from 32, which gives us .....

20th Feb. 1868.

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## DIRECTIONS

HOW TO CALCULATE THE "E-TO" OF  
ANY YEAR, MONTH OR DAY.

**E-to of the year.** In the Chronological Tables a number is given for each year, under the heading **Year by cycle**. This number may be interpreted, by aid of the accompanying Table I,\* by reading off the Chinese character, to the left of the number, followed by the character in a line above. Thus 38 means 辛 丑, *Ka-no-to ushi*. It will facilitate the use of this table to remember, that all numbers ending in 1 are found in the first horizontal line; those in 2 in the second; and so on.

**E-to of the month.** This may always be ascertained by Table II,\* if the year from *Jimmu Tennō*, or the year of the Christian era corresponding thereto, is known. Thus, if we desire to find the *E-to* of the 4th month of the 5th year of *Bum-mei*, we first ascertain by the Chronological Tables, that the said year is the 2133rd after *Jimmu Tennō*, or 1473 A.D., consequently the *E-to* of the 4th month is 54, which interpreted by Table I means 丁 巳, *Hi-no-to mi*.

*Note.*—When speaking of the year by the Christian era corresponding to a Japanese year, this must always be taken to mean the Christian year corresponding to the *first* part of the Japanese year, notwithstanding the last month of the latter may extend into another Christian year. Thus if we want to ascertain the *E-to* of the 12th month of the 8th year of *Ei-kiō*, we must consider 1436 A.D. the corresponding year, although the month in question, being the last of the year, only commences in January 1437.

**E-to of the day.** The accompanying Tables III and IV, used in connection with the Chronological Tables and Table I, will serve a three-fold purpose :

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\* This table has already been given on a former page, but is reproduced here, as it will be convenient to have all the tables, that are used in this connection, together.

TABLE I.

THE SEXAGENARY CYCLE.		<i>Ne</i>	<i>Ushi</i>	<i>Tora</i>	<i>U</i>	<i>Tatsu</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>Uma</i>	<i>Hitsuyi</i>	<i>Saru</i>	<i>Tori</i>	<i>Imu</i>	<i>I</i>
		子	丑	寅	卯	辰	巳	午	未	申	酉	戌	亥
<i>Ki no e</i>	甲	1		51		41		31		21		11	
<i>Ki no to</i>	乙		2		52		42		32		22		12
<i>Hi no e</i>	丙	13		3		53		43		33		23	
<i>Hi no to</i>	丁		14		4		54		44		34		24
<i>Tsuchi no e</i>	戊	25		15		5		55		45		35	
<i>Tsuchi no to</i>	己		26		16		6		56		46		36
<i>Ka no e</i>	庚	37		27		17		7		57		47	
<i>Ka no to</i>	辛		38		28		18		8		58		48
<i>Mizu no e</i>	壬	49		39		29		19		9		59	
<i>Mizu no to</i>	癸		50		40		30		20		10		60

TABLE II.

PERPETUAL <b>TABLE,</b> SHOWING THE <b>E-TO</b> OF ANY JAPANESE MONTH.		IF THE YEAR FROM JIMMU TENNŌ OR THE CORRESPONDING EUROPEAN YEAR ENDS IN :				
		1 or 6	2 or 7	3 or 8	4 or 9	5 or 0
1st month	.....	27	39	51	3	15
2nd	„ .....	28	40	52	4	16
3rd	„ .....	29	41	53	5	17
4th	„ .....	30	42	54	6	18
5th	„ .....	31	43	55	7	19
6th	„ .....	32	44	56	8	20
7th	„ .....	33	45	57	9	21
8th	„ .....	34	46	58	10	22
9th	„ .....	35	47	59	11	23
10th	„ .....	36	48	60	12	24
11th	„ .....	37	49	1	13	25
12th	„ .....	38	50	2	14	26

TABLE IV.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
January .....	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30
February .....	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59		
March .....	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89
April .....	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	
May .....	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150
June .....	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	
July .....	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211
August .....	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242
September .....	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	
October .....	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303
November .....	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	
December .....	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364

NOTE:—In leap-years, add 1 to the numbers given for 1st March and subsequent dates.

TABLE III.

[illegible]

\* Prepared by Prof. N. Sakuma.



1st.—For ascertaining the *E-to* corresponding to any European, or *modern* Japanese, date. The latter may at times be required, as, though the Gregorian calendar is now used in Japan, the days are still sometimes counted by *E-to*.

2nd.—For ascertaining the *E-to* of any Japanese date, prior to the introduction of the Gregorian calendar in Japan.

3rd.—For ascertaining the *date* of the Japanese month; when the day by the cycle is known. This will be useful in such cases where Japanese books give the year and month only, accompanied by the *E-to* of the day.

The rules for using Tables III and IV are as follows :

### I.—When desirous of finding the *E-to* corresponding to a known European date :

Take in Table III the number corresponding to the given year.

Take in Table IV the number corresponding to the given date.

Add the two.

The sum, if not exceeding 60, will be the number corresponding to the *E-to*, and may be interpreted by Table I.

If the sum exceeds 60, divide by 60, and the remainder—interpreted by Table I, is the *E-to* sought.

Should there be no remainder, the *E-to* is the 60th of the cycle, 癸亥.

*Example 1.* What is the *E-to* of the 19th January 1159?

Table III gives for 1159 ..... 33

Table IV gives for 19th January..... 18

Total..... 51

This number, interpreted by Table I, gives us 甲寅, *Ki-no-e tora*, as the *E-to* sought.

*Example 2.* What *E-to* will correspond to the 11th August 1896?

Table III gives for 1896 .....	50
Table IV gives for 11th August	222
As it is leap-year, add	1 223
Total .....	<u>273</u>

Divided by 60, this gives a remainder of 33, which by Table I means 丙 申, *Hi-no-e saru*.

## II.—When the E-to corresponding to any known Japanese date is wanted :

Ascertain the corresponding European date by the aid of the Chronological Tables, and then proceed as above.

*Example.* What is the *E-to* of the 19th day, 5th month, 3rd year of *Wa-ō* ?

*Wa-ō* 3rd year, 5th month, 1st day = 2nd June 710.

Consequently the 19th day is 20th June 710.

Table III gives for 710 .....	16
Table IV gives for 20th June .....	170
Total.....	<u>186</u>

Divided by 60, this gives a remainder of 6, consequently the *E-to* sought is 己 巳, *Tsuchi-no-to n.i.*

## III.—When the date of the Japanese month is wanted in cases where the Japanese year and month and the day by the cycle are given :

Ascertain by the Chronological Tables the European year and date corresponding to the 1st day of the given month.

Find the number in Table III corresponding to the year.

Find the number in Table IV corresponding to the date.

Add the two.

Deduct 1 from the total.

Deduct the number thus obtained, from the number corresponding to the given *E-to*, after having added to the latter, if

necessary, as many times 60, as will make it larger than the number that is to be deducted from it.

The result will be the date sought.

*Example 1.* What date of the Japanese month corresponds to *Kwan-bun* 10th year 12th month, the day of *Mizu-no-e tatsu* 壬辰?

*Kwambun*, 10th year, 12th month, 1st day—11th January, 1671.

Table III gives for 1671 .....	11
Table IV gives for 11 January .....	10
	—
	21
Deduct .....	1
	—
	20
The number corresponding to <i>Mizu-no-e tatsu</i> is.....	29
	—
Difference .....	9
	—

The date sought is the 9th of the month.

*Example 2.* What date of the Japanese month corresponds to *Ei-nin* 3rd year, 4th month, the day of 庚午, *Ka-no-e uma*?

*Ei-nin* 3rd year, 4th month, 1st day=16th May 1295.

Table III gives for 1295 .....	27
Table IV gives for 16th May .....	135
	—
	162
Deduct from this.....	1
	—
	161
The number corresponding to <i>Ka-no-e, uma</i> is .....	7
To this must be added $3 \times 60$ .....	180
	187
	—
Difference .....	26, <sup>the date sought</sup>
	—



Below are given the dates of the Julian or Gregorian Calendar corresponding to each day of the Japanese month during which the latter calendar was inaugurated in Europe by Pope Gregorius.

## TEN-SHŌ 10th YEAR 9th MONTH.

DAY OF MONTH.	CORRESPONDING DAY OF EUROPEAN CALENDAR.
1	17 September 1582 Julian Calendar.
2	18 " " " "
3	19 " " " "
4	20 " " " "
5	21 " " " "
6	22 " " " "
7	23 " " " "
8	24 " " " "
9	25 " " " "
10	26 " " " "
11	27 " " " "
12	28 " " " "
13	29 " " " "
14	30 " " " "
15	1 October " " " "
16	2 " " " "
17	3 " " " "
18	4 " " " "
19	15 " " Gregorian Cal.
20	16 " " " "
21	17 " " " "
22	18 " " " "
23	19 " " " "
24	20 " " " "
25	21 " " " "
26	22 " " " "
27	23 " " " "
28	24 " " " "
29	25 " " " "
30	26 " " " "





# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

## CHRONOLOGICAL

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Tai-kwa</b>	<b>1</b>	1305	42	2 Feb. 645	3 Mar. 645	2 Apr. 645	1 May 645	31 May 645
"	<b>2</b>	1306	43	22 Jan. 646	21 Feb. 646	22 Mar. 646	20 May 646	19 June 646
"	<b>3</b>	1307	44	19 Feb. 647	12 Mar. 647	10 Apr. 647	10 May 647	8 June 647
"	<b>4</b>	1308	45	30 Jan. 648	29 Feb. 648	29 Mar. 648	28 Apr. 648	28 May 648
"	<b>5</b>	1309	46	17 Feb. 649	19 Mar. 649	17 Apr. 649	17 May 649	15 June 649
<b>Haku-chi</b>	<b>1</b>	1310	47	7 Fe. 650	8 Mar. 650	7 Apr. 650	6 May 650	5 June 650
"	<b>2</b>	1311	48	27 Jan. 651	26 Feb. 651	27 Mar. 651	26 Apr. 651	25 May 651
"	<b>3</b>	1312	49	15 Feb. 652	15 Mar. 652	14 Apr. 652	14 May 652	12 June 652
"	<b>4</b>	1313	50	3 Feb. 653	5 Mar. 653	3 Apr. 653	3 May 653	1 June 653
"	<b>5</b>	1314	51	24 Jan. 654	22 Feb. 654	24 Mar. 654	22 Apr. 654	22 May 654*
<b>[Sai-me]†</b>	<b>1</b>	1315	52	12 Feb. 655	14 Mar. 655	12 Apr. 655	11 May 655	10 June 655
"	<b>2</b>	1316	53	1 Feb. 656	1 Mar. 656	31 Mar. 656	30 Apr. 656	29 May 656
"	<b>3</b>	1317	54	29 Jan. 657	20 Mar. 657	19 Apr. 657	18 May 657	17 June 657
"	<b>4</b>	1318	55	8 Feb. 658	10 Mar. 658	8 Apr. 658	8 May 658	6 June 658
"	<b>5</b>	1319	56	29 Jan. 659	27 Feb. 659	29 Mar. 659	27 Apr. 659	27 May 659
"	<b>6</b>	1320	57	16 Feb. 660	17 Mar. 660	16 Apr. 660	15 May 660	14 June 660
"	<b>7</b>	1321	58	5 Feb. 661	6 Mar. 661	5 Apr. 661	4 May 661	3 June 661
<b>[Ten-jil]†</b>	<b>1</b>	1322	59	25 Jan. 662	24 Feb. 662	25 Mar. 662	24 Apr. 662	23 May 662
"	<b>2</b>	1323	60	14 Feb. 663	15 Mar. 663	14 Apr. 663	13 May 663	11 June 663
"	<b>3</b>	1324	1	2 Feb. 664	3 Mar. 664	2 Apr. 664	1 May 664	31 May 664
"	<b>4</b>	1325	2	21 Jan. 665	20 Feb. 665	22 Mar. 665	20 May 665	18 June 665
"	<b>5</b>	1326	3	10 Feb. 666	11 Mar. 666	10 Apr. 666	9 May 666	8 June 666
"	<b>6</b>	1327	4	30 Jan. 667	1 Mar. 667	29 Mar. 667	29 Apr. 667	28 May 667
"	<b>7</b>	1328	5	18 Feb. 668	19 Mar. 668	17 Apr. 668	17 May 668	15 June 668
"	<b>8</b>	1329	6	6 Feb. 669	8 Mar. 669	6 Apr. 669	6 May 669	4 June 669
"	<b>9</b>	1330	7	27 Jan. 670	25 Feb. 670	27 Mar. 670	25 Apr. 670	25 May 670
"	<b>10</b>	1331	8	15 Feb. 671	16 Mar. 671	15 Apr. 671	14 May 671	13 June 671
Su-jaku 1 Haku-hō 1		1332	9	4 Feb. 672	5 Mar. 672	3 Apr. 672	3 May 672	1 June 672
<b>Haku-hō</b>	<b>2</b>	1333	10	23 Jan. 673	22 Feb. 673	23 Mar. 673	22 Apr. 673	21 May 673
"	<b>3</b>	1334	11	11 Feb. 674	13 Mar. 674	11 Apr. 674	11 May 674	9 June 674

† Name, not of a *Nempō*, but of an Emperor.大化 *Tai-kwa*. 白雉 *Haku-chi*. 斉明 *Sai-me*.

## TABLES.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
29 June 645	29 July 645	27 Aug 645	26 Sept 645	26 Oct 645	24 Nov 645	24 Dec 645	
18 July 646	17 Aug 646	15 Sept 646	15 Oct 646	13 Nov 646	13 Dec 646	12 Jan 647	21 Apr 646
8 July 647	6 Aug 647	5 Sept 647	4 Oct 647	3 Nov 647	2 Dec 647	1 Jan 648	
26 June 648	26 July 648	24 Aug 648	23 Sept 648	22 Oct 648	21 Nov 648	20 Dec 648	19 Jan 649
15 July 649	13 Aug 649	12 Sept 649	12 Oct 649	10 Nov 649	10 Dec 649	8 Jan 650	
4 July 650	3 Aug 650	1 Sept 650	1 Oct 650	30 Oct 650	29 Nov 650	29 Dec 650	
24 June 651	23 July 651	22 Aug 651	20 Sept 651	18 Nov 651	18 Dec 651	16 Jan 652	20 Oct 651
12 July 652	10 Aug 652	9 Sept 652	8 Oct 652	7 Nov 652	6 Dec 652	5 Jan 653	
1 July 653	30 July 653	29 Aug 653	28 Sept 653	27 Oct 653	26 Nov 653	25 Dec 653	
20 July 654	18 Aug 654	17 Sept 654	16 Oct 654	15 Nov 654	15 Dec 654	13 Jan 655	20 June 654
9 July 655	8 Aug 655	6 Sept 655	6 Oct 655	4 Nov 655	4 Dec 655	2 Jan 656	
28 June 656	27 July 656	26 Aug 656	24 Sept 656	24 Oct 656	22 Nov 656	22 Dec 656	
16 July 657	15 Aug 657	14 Sept 657	13 Oct 657	12 Nov 657	11 Dec 657	10 Jan 658	19 Feb 657
6 July 658	4 Aug 658	3 Sept 658	2 Oct 658	1 Nov 658	1 Dec 658	30 Dec 658	
25 June 659	23 July 659	23 Aug 659	22 Sept 659	21 Oct 659	19 Dec 659	18 Jan 660	20 Nov 659
13 July 660	12 Aug 660	10 Sept 660	10 Oct 660	8 Nov 660	8 Dec 660	6 Jan 661	
2 July 661	1 Aug 661	31 Aug 661	29 Sept 661	29 Oct 661	27 Nov 661	27 Dec 661	
22 June 662	21 July 662	18 Sept 662	18 Oct 662	17 Nov 662	16 Dec 662	15 Jan 663	20 Aug 662
11 July 663	9 Aug 663	8 Sept 663	7 Oct 663	6 Nov 663	5 Dec 663	4 Jan 664	
29 June 664	29 July 664	27 Aug 664	26 Sept 664	25 Oct 664	24 Nov 664	23 Dec 664	
18 July 665	17 Aug 665	15 Sept 665	15 Oct 665	13 Nov 665	13 Dec 665	11 Jan 666	20 Apr 665
7 July 666	6 Aug 666	4 Sept 666	4 Oct 666	3 Nov 666	2 Dec 666	1 Jan 667	
27 June 667	26 July 667	25 Aug 667	23 Sept 667	23 Oct 667	21 Nov 667	19 Jan 668	21 Dec 667
15 July 668	13 Aug 668	12 Sept 668	11 Oct 668	10 Nov 668	9 Dec 668	8 Jan 669	
4 July 669	3 Aug 669	1 Sept 669	1 Oct 669	30 Oct 669	29 Nov 669	28 Dec 669	
23 June 670	23 July 670	21 Aug 670	20 Sept 670	18 Nov 670	18 Dec 670	16 Jan 671	20 Oct 670
12 July 671	11 Aug 671	9 Sept 671	9 Oct 671	7 Nov 671	7 Dec 671	5 Jan 672	
1 July 672	30 July 672	29 Aug 672	27 Sept 672	27 Oct 672	25 Nov 672	25 Dec 672	
20 June 673	18 Aug 673	17 Sept 673	16 Oct 673	15 Nov 673	14 Dec 673	13 Jan 674	20 July 673
9 July 674	7 Aug 674	6 Sept 674	6 Oct 674	4 Nov 674	4 Dec 674	2 Jan 675	

天智 *Ten-ji*. 朱雀 *Su-jaku*. 白鳳 *Haku-hō*.

Style and Year of Period.	Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Haku-hō	4	1335	12	1 Feb 675	2 Mar 675	1 Apr 675	30 Apr 675 30 May 675
"	5	1336	13	21 Jan 676	20 Feb 676*	19 Apr 676	18 May 676 17 June 676
"	6	1337	14	8 Feb 677	9 Mar 677	8 Apr 677	7 May 677 6 June 677
"	7	1338	15	28 Jan 678	27 Feb 678	28 Mar 678	27 Apr 678 26 May 678
"	8	1339	16	16 Feb 679	18 Mar 679	16 Apr 679	16 May 679 14 June 679
"	9	1340	17	6 Feb 680	6 Mar 680	5 Apr 680	4 May 680 3 June 680
"	10	1341	18	25 Jan 681	23 Feb 681	25 Mar 681	23 Apr 681 23 May 681
"	11	1342	19	13 Feb 682	14 Mar 682	13 Apr 682	12 May 682 11 June 682
"	12	1343	20	2 Feb 683	4 Mar 683	2 Apr 683	2 May 683 31 May 683
"	13	1344	21	23 Jan 684	21 Feb 684	22 Mar 684	20 Apr 684* 18 June 684
"	14	1345	22	9 Feb 685	11 Mar 685	9 Apr 685	9 May 685 8 June 685
Su-chō	1	1346	23	30 Jan 686	28 Feb 686	30 Mar 686	28 Apr 686 28 May 686
Su-chō2	[Ji-tō]† 1	1347	24	18 Feb 687	19 Mar 687	18 Apr 687	17 May 687 16 June 687
" 3	" 2	1348	25	7 Feb 688	8 Mar 688	6 Apr 688	6 May 688 4 June 688
" 4	" 3	1349	26	26 Jan 689	25 Feb 689	26 Mar 689	25 Apr 689 25 May 689
[Ji-tō]†	4	1350	27	14 Feb 690	16 Mar 690	14 Apr 690	14 May 690 12 June 690
"	5	1351	28	4 Feb 691	5 Mar 691	4 Apr 691	3 May 691 2 June 691
"	6	1352	29	24 Jan 692	23 Feb 692	23 Mar 692	22 Apr 692 21 May 692*
"	7	1353	30	11 Feb 693	12 Mar 693	11 Apr 693	11 May 693 9 June 693
"	8	1354	31	31 Jan 694	2 Mar 694	31 Mar 694	30 Apr 694 29 May 694
"	9	1355	32	21 Jan 695	19 Feb 695*	19 Apr 695	19 May 695 17 June 695
"	10	1356	33	9 Feb 696	9 Mar 696	8 Apr 696	7 May 696 6 June 696
[Mom-mu]†	1	1357	34	28 Jan 697	26 Feb 697	28 Mar 697	26 Apr 697 26 May 697
"	2	1358	35	16 Feb 698	18 Mar 698	8 Apr 698	15 May 698 14 June 698
"	3	1359	36	6 Feb 699	7 Mar 699	6 Apr 699	5 May 699 3 June 699
"	4	1360	37	26 Jan 700	25 Feb 700	25 Mar 700	24 Apr 700 23 May 700
Dai-hō	1	1361	38	13 Feb 701	14 Mar 701	13 Apr 701	13 May 701 11 June 701
[Tai-h ]	2	1362	39	2 Feb 702	3 Mar 702	2 Apr 702	2 May 702 31 May 702
"	3	1363	40	22 Jan 703	21 Feb 703	22 Mar 703	21 Apr 703* 19 June 703
Kei-un	1	1364	41	10 Feb 704	10 Mar 704	9 Apr 704	9 May 704 7 June 704
"	2	1365	42	30 Jan 705	28 Feb 705	29 Mar 705	28 Apr 705 27 May 705
"	3	1366	43	19 Jan 706*	19 Mar 706	17 Apr 706	17 May 706 15 June 706

† Name, not of a *Nengō*, but of an Emperor. 白鳳 *Haku-hō*. 朱鳥 *Su-chō*. 持統 *Ji-tō*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
28 June 675	28 July 675	26 Aug 675	25 Sept 675	24 Oct 675	23 Nov 675	22 Dec 675	
16 July 676	15 Aug 676	13 Sept 676	13 Oct 676	11 Nov 676	11 Dec 676	9 Jan 677	20 Mar 676
6 July 677	4 Aug 677	3 Sept 677	2 Oct 677	1 Nov 677	30 Nov 677	30 Dec 677	
25 June 678	24 July 678	23 Aug 678	22 Sept 678	21 Oct 678	19 Dec 678	18 Jan 679	20 Nov 678
14 July 679	12 Aug 679	11 Sept 679	10 Oct 679	9 Nov 679	3 Dec 679	7 Jan 680	
2 July 680	1 Aug 680	30 Aug 680	29 Sept 680	28 Oct 680	27 Nov 680	26 Dec 680	
22 June 681	21 July 681	18 Sept 681	13 Oct 681	16 Nov 681	15 Dec 681	14 Jan 682	20 Aug 681
10 July 682	9 Aug 682	8 Sept 682	7 Oct 682	6 Nov 682	5 Dec 682	4 Jan 683	
30 June 683	29 July 683	28 Aug 683	26 Sept 683	26 Oct 683	24 Nov 683	24 Dec 683	
18 July 684	16 Aug 684	15 Sept 684	14 Oct 684	13 Nov 684	12 Dec 684	11 Jan 685	20 May 684
7 July 685	6 Aug 685	4 Sept 685	4 Oct 685	2 Nov 685	2 Dec 685	31 Dec 685	
26 June 686	26 July 686	25 Aug 686	23 Sept 686	23 Oct 686	21 Nov 686	21 Dec 686	19 Jan 687
15 July 687	14 Aug 687	12 Sept 687	12 Oct 687	10 Nov 687	10 Dec 687	9 Jan 688	
4 July 688	2 Aug 688	1 Sept 688	30 Sept 688	30 Oct 688	28 Nov 688	28 Dec 688	
23 June 689	23 July 689	21 Aug 689	19 Oct 689	18 Nov 689	17 Dec 689	16 Jan 690	20 Sept 689
12 July 690	11 Aug 690	9 Sept 690	9 Oct 690	7 Nov 690	7 Dec 690	5 Jan 691	
1 July 691	31 July 691	29 Aug 691	28 Sept 691	27 Oct 691	26 Nov 691	26 Dec 691	
19 July 692	18 Aug 692	16 Sept 692	16 Oct 692	14 Nov 692	13 Dec 692	12 Jan 693	20 June 692
9 July 693	7 Aug 693	6 Sept 693	5 Oct 693	4 Nov 693	3 Dec 693	2 Jan 694	
28 June 694	28 July 694	26 Aug 694	25 Sept 694	24 Oct 694	23 Nov 694	22 Dec 694	
17 July 695	15 Aug 695	14 Sept 695	13 Oct 695	12 Nov 695	12 Dec 695	10 Jan 696	21 Mar 695
5 July 696	4 Aug 696	2 Sept 696	2 Oct 696	31 Oct 696	30 Nov 696	30 Dec 696	
25 June 697	24 July 697	23 Aug 697	21 Sept 697	21 Oct 697	19 Nov 697	19 Dec 697	18 Jan 698
13 July 698	12 Aug 698	10 Sept 698	10 Oct 698	8 Nov 698	8 Dec 698	7 Jan 699	
3 July 699	1 Aug 699	30 Aug 699	29 Sept 699	29 Oct 699	27 Nov 699	27 Dec 699	
21 June 700	21 July 700	17 Sept 700	17 Oct 700	15 Nov 700	15 Dec 700	14 Jan 701	19 Aug 700
10 July 701	9 Aug 701	7 Sept 701	6 Oct 701	5 Nov 701	4 Dec 701	3 Jan 702	
30 June 702	29 July 702	28 Aug 702	26 Sept 702	26 Oct 702	24 Nov 702	23 Dec 702	
19 July 703	17 Aug 703	16 Sept 703	15 Oct 703	14 Nov 703	13 Dec 703	11 Jan 704	20 May 703
7 July 704	5 Aug 704	4 Sept 704	4 Oct 704	2 Nov 704	2 Dec 704	31 Dec 704	
26 June 705	25 July 705	24 Aug 705	23 Sept 705	22 Oct 705	21 Nov 705	21 Dec 705	
15 July 706	13 Aug 706	12 Sept 706	12 Oct 706	10 Nov 706	10 Dec 706	9 Jan 707	18 Feb 706

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Kei-un</b>	4	1367	44	7 Feb 707	9 Mar 707	7 Apr 707	6 May 707	5 June 707
<b>Wa-dō</b>	1	1368	45	28 Jan 708	26 Feb 708	27 Mar 708	25 Apr 708	24 May 708
"	2	1369	46	14 Feb 709	16 Mar 709	15 Apr 709	14 May 709	12 June 709
"	3	1370	47	3 Feb 710	5 Mar 710	4 Apr 710	3 May 710	2 June 710
"	4	1371	48	23 Jan 711	22 Feb 711	24 Mar 711	23 Apr 711	22 May 711
"	5	1372	49	11 Feb 712	12 Mar 712	11 Apr 712	10 May 712	9 June 712
"	6	1373	50	31 Jan 713	1 Mar 713	31 Mar 713	29 Apr 713	29 May 713
"	7	1374	51	21 Jan 714	19 Feb 714	19 Apr 714	18 May 714	17 June 714
<b>Rei-ki</b>	1	1375	52	9 Feb 715	10 Mar 715	8 Apr 715	8 May 715	6 June 715
"	2	1376	53	29 Jan 716	28 Feb 716	28 Mar 716	26 Apr 716	26 May 716
<b>Yō-rō</b>	1	1377	54	16 Feb 717	18 Mar 717	16 Apr 717	15 May 717	14 June 717
"	2	1378	55	5 Feb 718	7 Mar 718	6 Apr 718	5 May 718	3 June 718
"	3	1379	56	25 Jan 719	24 Feb 719	26 Mar 719	24 Apr 719	24 May 719
"	4	1380	57	13 Feb 720	14 Mar 720	12 Apr 720	12 May 720	11 June 720
"	5	1381	58	1 Feb 721	3 Mar 721	1 Apr 721	1 May 721	31 May 721
"	6	1382	59	22 Jan 722	20 Feb 722	22 Mar 722	20 Apr 722	18 June 722
"	7	1383	60	10 Feb 723	11 Mar 723	10 Apr 723	9 May 723	8 June 723
<b>Jin-ki</b>	1	1384	1	31 Jan 724	29 Feb 724	29 Mar 724	28 Apr 724	27 May 724
"	2	1385	2	19 Jan 725	19 Mar 725	17 Apr 725	17 May 725	15 June 725
"	3	1386	3	7 Feb 726	9 Mar 726	7 Apr 726	6 May 726	5 June 726
"	4	1387	4	27 Jan 727	26 Feb 727	27 Mar 727	26 Apr 727	25 May 727
"	5	1388	5	15 Feb 728	15 Mar 728	14 Apr 728	14 May 728	12 June 728
<b>Tem-biō</b>	1	1389	6	3 Feb 729	5 Mar 729	3 Apr 729	3 May 729	1 June 729
"	2	1390	7	23 Jan 730	22 Feb 730	23 Mar 730	22 Apr 730	22 May 730
"	3	1391	8	11 Feb 731	13 Mar 731	11 Apr 731	11 May 731	9 June 731
"	4	1392	9	1 Feb 732	1 Mar 732	31 Mar 732	29 Apr 732	28 May 732
"	5	1393	10	21 Jan 733	19 Feb 733	20 Mar 733	18 May 733	16 June 733
"	6	1394	11	8 Feb 734	10 Mar 734	8 Apr 734	8 May 734	6 June 734
"	7	1395	12	29 Jan 735	27 Feb 735	29 Mar 735	27 Apr 735	27 May 735
"	8	1396	13	16 Feb 736	17 Mar 736	16 Apr 736	15 May 736	14 June 736
"	9	1397	14	4 Feb 737	6 Mar 737	5 Apr 737	5 May 737	3 June 737
"	10	1398	15	25 Jan 738	23 Feb 738	25 Mar 738	24 Apr 738	23 May 738

慶雲 Kei-un. 和銅 Wa-dō. 靈龜 Rei-ki. 養老 Yō-rō. 神龜 Jin-ki. 天平 Tem-biō.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
4 July 707	2 Aug 707	1 Sept 707	1 Oct 707	30 Oct 707	29 Nov 707	29 Dec 707	
23 June 708	22 July 708	20 Aug 708	18 Oct 708	17 Nov 708	17 Dec 708	16 Jan 709	19 Sept 708
12 July 709	10 Aug 709	8 Sept 709	8 Oct 709	6 Nov 709	6 Dec 709	5 Jan 710	
1 July 710	31 July 710	29 Aug 710	27 Sept 710	27 Oct 710	25 Nov 710	25 Dec 710	
21 June 711	19 Aug 711	17 Sept 711	17 Oct 711	15 Nov 711	14 Dec 711	13 Jan 712	20 July 711
9 July 712	7 Aug 712	6 Sept 712	5 Oct 712	4 Nov 712	3 Dec 712	1 Jan 713	
28 June 713	27 July 713	26 Aug 713	24 Sept 713	24 Oct 713	23 Nov 713	22 Dec 713	
16 July 714	15 Aug 714	14 Sept 714	13 Oct 714	12 Nov 714	12 Dec 714	10 Jan 715	20 Mar 714
6 July 715	4 Aug 715	3 Sept 715	2 Oct 715	1 Nov 715	1 Dec 715	31 Dec 715	
24 June 716	23 July 716	22 Aug 716	20 Sept 716	20 Oct 716	19 Nov 716	17 Jan 717	19 Dec 716
13 July 717	11 Aug 717	10 Sept 717	9 Oct 717	8 Nov 717	8 Dec 717	6 Jan 718	
3 July 718	1 Aug 718	30 Aug 718	29 Sept 718	28 Oct 718	27 Nov 718	26 Dec 718	
22 June 719	22 July 719	18 Sept 719	18 Oct 719	16 Nov 719	16 Dec 719	14 Jan 720	20 Aug 719
10 July 720	9 Aug 720	7 Sept 720	6 Oct 720	5 Nov 720	4 Dec 720	3 Jan 721	
29 June 721	29 July 721	27 Aug 721	26 Sept 721	26 Oct 721	24 Nov 721	23 Dec 721	
18 July 722	17 Aug 722	15 Sept 722	15 Oct 722	14 Nov 722	13 Dec 722	12 Jan 723	20 May 722
7 July 723	6 Aug 723	4 Sept 723	4 Oct 723	3 Nov 723	2 Dec 723	1 Jan 724	
26 June 724	25 July 724	23 Aug 724	22 Sept 724	22 Oct 724	21 Nov 724	20 Dec 724	
14 July 725	13 Aug 725	11 Sept 725	11 Oct 725	10 Nov 725	9 Dec 725	8 Jan 726	18 Feb 725
4 July 726	2 Aug 726	1 Sept 726	30 Sept 726	30 Oct 726	28 Nov 726	28 Dec 726	
24 June 727	23 July 727	21 Aug 727	20 Sept 727	18 Nov 727	17 Dec 727	16 Jan 728	19 Oct 727
12 July 728	10 Aug 728	8 Sept 728	8 Oct 728	6 Nov 728	6 Dec 728	4 Jan 729	
1 July 729	31 July 729	29 Aug 729	27 Sept 729	27 Oct 729	25 Nov 729	25 Dec 729	
20 June 730	18 Aug 730	17 Sept 730	16 Oct 730	15 Nov 730	14 Dec 730	13 Jan 731	20 July 730
9 July 731	7 Aug 731	6 Sept 731	6 Oct 731	4 Nov 731	4 Dec 731	2 Jan 732	
27 June 732	27 July 732	25 Aug 732	24 Sept 732	24 Oct 732	22 Nov 732	22 Dec 732	
16 July 733	14 Aug 733	13 Sept 733	13 Oct 733	11 Nov 733	11 Dec 733	10 Jan 734	19 Apr 733
5 July 734	4 Aug 734	2 Sept 734	2 Oct 734	31 Oct 734	30 Nov 734	30 Dec 734	
5 June 735	24 July 735	23 Aug 735	21 Sept 735	21 Oct 735	19 Nov 735	18 Jan 736	19 Dec 735
3 July 736	11 Aug 736	10 Sept 736	9 Oct 736	8 Nov 736	7 Dec 736	6 Jan 737	
3 July 737	1 Aug 737	30 Aug 737	29 Sept 737	28 Oct 737	27 Nov 737	26 Dec 737	
2 June 738	21 July 738	18 Sept 738	18 Oct 738	16 Nov 738	16 Dec 738	14 Jan 739	20 Aug 738



Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tenno.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Tem-biō	11	1399	16	13 Feb 739	14 Mar 739	13 Apr 739	12 May 739	11 June 739
"	12	1400	17	2 Feb 740	3 Mar 740	1 Apr 740	1 May 740	30 May 740
"	13	1401	18	22 Jan 741	20 Feb 741	22 Mar 741	19 May 741	18 June 741
"	14	1402	19	10 Feb 742	11 Mar 742	10 Apr 742	9 May 742	7 June 742
"	15	1403	20	30 Jan 743	1 Mar 743	30 Mar 743	29 Apr 743	28 May 743
"	16	1404	21	20 Jan 744	19 Mar 744	17 Apr 744	17 May 744	15 June 744
"	17	1405	22	6 Feb 745	8 Mar 745	7 Apr 745	6 May 745	5 June 745
"	18	1406	23	26 Jan 746	25 Feb 746	27 Mar 746	25 Apr 746	25 May 746
"	19	1407	24	14 Feb 747	16 Mar 747	14 Apr 747	14 May 747	13 June 747
"	20	1408	25	4 Feb 748	4 Mar 748	3 Apr 748	2 May 748	1 June 748
Tem-biō Shō-hō	1	1409	26	23 Jan 749	22 Feb 749	23 Mar 749	21 Apr 749	21 May 749
"	2	1410	27	11 Feb 750	13 Mar 750	11 Apr 750	10 May 750	9 June 750
"	3	1411	28	1 Feb 751	2 Mar 751	1 Apr 751	30 Apr 751	29 May 751
"	4	1412	29	21 Jan 752	20 Feb 752	20 Mar 752	18 May 752	16 June 752
"	5	1413	30	8 Feb 753	10 Mar 753	8 Apr 753	8 May 753	6 June 753
"	6	1414	31	28 Jan 754	27 Feb 754	29 Mar 754	27 Apr 754	27 May 754
"	7	1415	32	16 Feb 755	18 Mar 755	16 Apr 755	16 May 755	14 June 755
"	8	1416	33	5 Feb 756	6 Mar 756	4 Apr 756	4 May 756	2 June 756
Tem-biō Hō-ji	1	1417	34	25 Jan 757	23 Feb 757	25 Mar 757	23 Apr 757	23 May 757
"	2	1418	35	13 Feb 758	14 Mar 758	12 Apr 758	12 May 758	10 June 758
"	3	1419	36	2 Feb 759	4 Mar 759	2 Apr 759	1 May 759	31 May 759
"	4	1420	37	23 Jan 760	21 Feb 760	22 Mar 760	20 Apr 760	18 June 760
"	5	1421	38	10 Feb 761	11 Mar 761	10 Apr 761	9 May 761	7 June 761
"	6	1422	39	29 Jan 762	28 Feb 762	30 Mar 762	29 Apr 762	28 May 762
"	7	1423	40	17 Feb 763	19 Mar 763	18 Apr 763	18 May 763	16 June 763
"	8	1424	41	7 Feb 764	7 Mar 764	6 Apr 764	6 May 764	4 June 764
Tem-biō Jiri-go	1	1425	42	26 Jan 765	24 Feb 765	26 Mar 765	25 Apr 765	24 May 765
"	2	1426	43	14 Feb 766	15 Mar 766	14 Apr 766	13 May 766	12 June 766
Jiri-go, Kei-un	1	1427	44	4 Feb 767	5 Mar 767	3 Apr 767	3 May 767	1 June 767
"	2	1428	45	24 Jan 768	23 Feb 768	23 Mar 768	21 Apr 768	21 May 768
"	3	1429	46	11 Feb 769	13 Mar 769	11 Apr 769	10 May 769	9 June 769
Hō-ki	1	1430	47	31 Jan 770	2 Mar 770	1 Apr 770	30 Apr 770	29 May 770

天平 *Tem-biō*. 天平勝寶 *Tem-biō Shō-hō*. 天平寶字 *Tem-biō Hō-ji*. 天平祥應 *Tem-biō Jin-go*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
11 July 739	9 Aug 739	8 Sept 739	7 Oct 739	6 Nov 739	5 Dec 739	4 Jan 740	
29 June 740	28 July 740	27 Aug 740	26 Sept 740	25 Oct 740	24 Nov 740	23 Dec 740	
17 July 741	16 Aug 741	15 Sept 741	14 Oct 741	13 Nov 741	13 Dec 741	11 Jan 742	20 Apr 741
7 July 742	5 Aug 742	4 Sept 742	3 Oct 742	2 Nov 742	2 Dec 742	1 Jan 743	
26 June 743	26 July 743	24 Aug 743	23 Sept 743	22 Oct 743	21 Nov 743	21 Dec 743	
14 July 744	13 Aug 744	11 Sept 744	10 Oct 744	9 Nov 744	9 Dec 744	7 Jan 745	18-Feb 744
4 July 745	2 Aug 745	1 Sept 745	30 Sept 745	29 Oct 745	28 Nov 745	28 Dec 745	
24 June 746	23 July 746	21 Aug 746	20 Sept 746	18 Nov 746	17 Dec 746	16 Jan 747	19 Oct 746
12 July 747	11 Aug 747	9 Sept 747	9 Oct 747	7 Nov 747	7 Dec 747	5 Jan 748	
30 June 748	30 July 748	29 Aug 748	27 Sept 748	27 Oct 748	25 Nov 748	25 Dec 748	
19 July 749	18 Aug 749	16 Sept 749	16 Oct 749	15 Nov 749	14 Dec 749	13 Jan 750	20 June 749
8 July 750	7 Aug 750	5 Sept 750	5 Oct 750	4 Nov 750	4 Dec 750	2 Jan 751	
28 June 751	27 July 751	26 Aug 751	24 Sept 751	24 Oct 751	23 Nov 751	22 Dec 751	
16 July 752	14 Aug 752	12 Sept 752	12 Oct 752	11 Nov 752	10 Dec 752	9 Jan 753	19 Apr 752
5 July 753	4 Aug 753	2 Sept 753	1 Oct 753	31 Oct 753	30 Nov 753	29 Dec 753	
25 June 754	24 July 754	23 Aug 754	21 Sept 754	20 Oct 754	18 Dec 754	17 Jan 755	19 Nov 754
14 July 755	12 Aug 755	11 Sept 755	10 Oct 755	8 Nov 755	8 Dec 755	6 Jan 756	
2 July 756	1 Aug 756	30 Aug 756	29 Sept 756	28 Oct 756	27 Nov 756	26 Dec 756	
21 June 757	21 July 757	20 Aug 757	18 Oct 757	16 Nov 757	16 Dec 757	14 Jan 758	18 Sept 757
10 July 758	9 Aug 758	7 Sept 758	7 Oct 758	6 Nov 758	5 Dec 758	4 Jan 759	
29 June 759	29 July 759	27 Aug 759	26 Sept 759	26 Oct 759	24 Nov 759	24 Dec 759	
17 July 760	15 Aug 760	14 Sept 760	14 Oct 760	12 Nov 760	12 Dec 760	11 Jan 761	19 May 760
7 July 761	5 Aug 761	4 Sept 761	3 Oct 761	2 Nov 761	1 Dec 761	31 Dec 761	
26 June 762	26 July 762	24 Aug 762	22 Sept 762	22 Oct 762	20 Nov 762	20 Dec 762	19 Jan 763
15 July 763	14 Aug 763	12 Sept 763	11 Oct 763	10 Nov 763	9 Dec 763	8 Jan 764	
4 July 764	2 Aug 764	1 Sept 764	30 Sept 764	29 Oct 764	28 Nov 764	27 Dec 764	
23 June 765	23 July 765	21 Aug 765	20 Sept 765	19 Oct 765	17 Dec 765	15 Jan 766	18 Nov 765
12 July 766	10 Aug 766	9 Sept 766	9 Oct 766	7 Nov 766	7 Dec 766	5 Jan 767	
1 July 767	30 July 767	29 Aug 767	28 Sept 767	27 Oct 767	26 Nov 767	26 Dec 767	
21 June 768	17 Aug 768	16 Sept 768	15 Oct 768	14 Nov 768	14 Dec 768	13 Jan 769	19 July 768
10 July 769	6 Aug 769	5 Sept 769	4 Oct 769	3 Nov 769	3 Dec 769	2 Jan 770	
29 June 770	27 July 770	25 Aug 770	24 Sept 770	23 Oct 770	22 Nov 770	22 Dec 770	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Hō-ki</b>	<b>2</b>	1431	48	21 Jan 771	19 Feb 771	21 Mar 771	19 May 771*	17 June 771
"	<b>3</b>	1432	49	8 Feb 772	9 Mar 772	8 Apr 772	7 May 772	6 June 772
"	<b>4</b>	1433	50	28 Jan 773	26 Feb 773	28 Mar 773	26 Apr 773	26 May 773
"	<b>5</b>	1434	51	16 Feb 774	17 Mar 774	16 Apr 774	15 May 774	14 June 774
"	<b>6</b>	1435	52	5 Feb 775	6 Mar 775	5 Apr 775	4 May 775	3 June 775
"	<b>7</b>	1436	53	26 Jan 776	24 Feb 776	24 Mar 776	23 Apr 776	22 May 776
"	<b>8</b>	1437	54	13 Feb 777	14 Mar 777	13 Apr 777	12 May 777	10 June 777
"	<b>9</b>	1438	55	2 Feb 778	4 Mar 778	2 Apr 778	1 May 778	31 May 778
"	<b>10</b>	1439	56	22 Jan 779	21 Feb 779	23 Mar 779	21 Apr 779	20 May 779
"	<b>11</b>	1440	57	11 Feb 780	11 Mar 780	9 Apr 780	9 May 780	7 June 780
<b>Ten-ō</b>	<b>1</b>	1441	58	30 Jan 781	28 Feb 781	30 Mar 781	28 Apr 781	28 May 781
<b>En-riaku</b>	<b>1</b>	1442	59	18 Jan 782	19 Mar 782	17 Apr 782	17 May 782	16 June 782
"	<b>2</b>	1443	60	6 Feb 783	8 Mar 783	7 Apr 783	6 May 783	5 June 783
"	<b>3</b>	1444	1	27 Jan 784	25 Feb 784	26 Mar 784	24 Apr 784	24 May 784
"	<b>4</b>	1445	2	14 Feb 785	15 Mar 785	14 Apr 785	13 May 785	12 June 785
"	<b>5</b>	1446	3	4 Feb 786	5 Mar 786	3 Apr 786	3 May 786	1 June 786
"	<b>6</b>	1447	4	24 Jan 787	23 Feb 787	24 Mar 787	23 Apr 787	22 May 787*
"	<b>7</b>	1448	5	12 Feb 788	12 Mar 788	11 Apr 788	10 May 788	9 June 788
"	<b>8</b>	1449	6	31 Jan 789	2 Mar 789	31 Mar 789	30 Apr 789	29 May 789
"	<b>9</b>	1450	7	20 Jan 790	19 Feb 790	20 Mar 790	19 May 790*	17 June 790
"	<b>10</b>	1451	8	8 Feb 791	9 Mar 791	8 Apr 791	8 May 791	6 June 791
"	<b>11</b>	1452	9	28 Jan 792	27 Feb 792	27 Mar 792	26 Apr 792	25 May 792
"	<b>12</b>	1453	10	15 Feb 793	17 Mar 793	15 Apr 793	15 May 793	13 June 793
"	<b>13</b>	1454	11	5 Feb 794	6 Mar 794	5 Apr 794	4 May 794	2 June 794
"	<b>14</b>	1455	12	26 Jan 795	24 Feb 795	25 Mar 795	24 Apr 795	23 May 795
"	<b>15</b>	1456	13	13 Feb 796	14 Mar 796	12 Apr 796	12 May 796	10 June 796
"	<b>16</b>	1457	14	2 Feb 797	3 Mar 797	2 Apr 797	1 May 797	31 May 797
"	<b>17</b>	1458	15	22 Jan 798	20 Feb 798	22 Mar 798	21 Apr 798	20 May 798*
"	<b>18</b>	1459	16	9 Feb 799	11 Mar 799	10 Apr 799	10 May 799	8 June 799
"	<b>19</b>	1460	17	30 Jan 800	28 Feb 800	29 Mar 800	28 Apr 800	27 May 800
"	<b>20</b>	1461	18	18 Jan 801*	18 Mar 801	17 Apr 801	16 May 801	15 June 801
"	<b>21</b>	1462	19	6 Feb 802	8 Mar 802	6 Apr 802	5 May 802	4 June 802

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
17 July 771	15 Aug 771	13 Sept 771	13 Oct 771	11 Nov 771	11 Dec 771	10 Jan 772	20 Apr 771
5 July 772	4 Aug 772	2 Sept 772	1 Oct 772	31 Oct 772	29 Nov 772	29 Dec 772	772
25 June 773	24 July 773	23 Aug 773	21 Sept 773	21 Oct 773	19 Nov 773	17 Jan 774	18 Dec 773
13 July 774	12 Aug 774	11 Sept 774	10 Oct 774	9 Nov 774	8 Dec 774	6 Jan 775	775
2 July 775	1 Aug 775	31 Aug 775	29 Sept 775	29 Oct 775	28 Nov 775	27 Dec 775	775
21 June 776	20 July 776	19 Aug 776	17 Oct 776	16 Nov 776	16 Dec 776	14 Jan 777	17 Sept 776
10 July 777	8 Aug 777	6 Sept 777	6 Oct 777	5 Nov 777	5 Dec 777	3 Jan 778	778
29 June 778	28 July 778	27 Aug 778	25 Sept 778	25 Oct 778	24 Nov 778	24 Dec 778	778
18 July 779	16 Aug 779	15 Sept 779	14 Oct 779	13 Nov 779	13 Dec 779	12 Jan 780	19 June 779
7 July 780	5 Aug 780	3 Sept 780	3 Oct 780	1 Nov 780	1 Dec 780	31 Dec 780	780
26 June 781	26 July 781	24 Aug 781	22 Sept 781	22 Oct 781	20 Nov 781	20 Dec 781	781
15 July 782	14 Aug 782	12 Sept 782	11 Oct 782	10 Nov 782	9 Dec 782	8 Jan 783	17 Feb 782
4 July 783	3 Aug 783	1 Sept 783	1 Oct 783	31 Oct 783	29 Nov 783	28 Dec 783	783
22 June 784	22 July 784	21 Aug 784	19 Sept 784	17 Nov 784	17 Dec 784	16 Jan 785	19 Oct 784
11 July 785	10 Aug 785	8 Sept 785	8 Oct 785	7 Nov 785	7 Dec 785	5 Jan 786	786
30 June 786	30 July 786	28 Aug 786	27 Sept 786	27 Oct 786	25 Nov 786	25 Dec 786	786
19 July 787	18 Aug 787	16 Sept 787	16 Oct 787	14 Nov 787	14 Dec 787	13 Jan 788	20 June 787
8 July 788	6 Aug 788	5 Sept 788	4 Oct 788	3 Nov 788	2 Dec 788	1 Jan 789	789
28 June 789	27 July 789	25 Aug 789	24 Sept 789	23 Oct 789	22 Nov 789	21 Dec 789	789
17 July 790	15 Aug 790	14 Sept 790	13 Oct 790	11 Nov 790	11 Dec 790	9 Jan 791	19 Apr 790
6 July 791	5 Aug 791	3 Sept 791	2 Oct 791	1 Nov 791	30 Nov 791	30 Dec 791	791
24 June 792	24 July 792	22 Aug 792	21 Sept 792	20 Oct 792	19 Nov 792	17 Jan 793	18 Dec 792
13 July 793	11 Aug 793	10 Sept 793	10 Oct 793	8 Nov 793	8 Dec 793	6 Jan 794	794
2 July 794	31 July 794	30 Aug 794	29 Sept 794	28 Oct 794	27 Nov 794	27 Dec 794	794
21 June 795	21 July 795	18 Sept 795	17 Oct 795	16 Nov 795	16 Dec 795	15 Jan 796	19 Aug 795
9 July 796	8 Aug 796	6 Sept 796	6 Oct 796	4 Nov 796	4 Dec 796	3 Jan 797	797
29 June 797	28 July 797	27 Aug 797	25 Sept 797	24 Oct 797	23 Nov 797	23 Dec 797	797
18 July 798	16 Aug 798	15 Sept 798	14 Oct 798	12 Nov 798	12 Dec 798	11 Jan 799	19 June 798
8 July 799	6 Aug 799	4 Sept 799	4 Oct 799	2 Nov 799	2 Dec 799	31 Dec 799	799
26 June 800	25 July 800	24 Aug 800	22 Sept 800	22 Oct 800	20 Nov 800	20 Dec 800	800
14 July 801	13 Aug 801	12 Sept 801	11 Oct 801	10 Nov 801	9 Dec 801	8 Jan 802	17 Feb 801
4 July 802	2 Aug 802	1 Sept 802	1 Oct 802	30 Oct 802	29 Nov 802	23 Dec 802	802

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>En-riaku</b>	<b>22</b>	1463	20	27 Jan 803	25 Feb 803	27 Mar 803	25 Apr 803	24 May 803
"	<b>23</b>	1464	21	15 Feb 804	15 Mar 804	14 Apr 804	13 May 804	11 June 804
"	<b>24</b>	1465	22	3 Feb 805	5 Mar 805	3 Apr 805	3 May 805	1 June 805
<b>Dai-dō</b>	<b>1</b>	1466	23	23 Jan 806	22 Feb 806	24 Mar 806	22 Apr 806	22 May 806
"	<b>2</b>	1467	24	11 Feb 807	13 Mar 807	12 Apr 807	11 May 807	10 June 807
"	<b>3</b>	1468	25	31 Jan 808	1 Mar 808	31 Mar 808	29 Apr 808	29 May 808
"	<b>4</b>	1469	26	20 Jan 809	18 Feb 809	18 Apr 809	18 May 809	17 June 809
<b>Kō-nin</b>	<b>1</b>	1470	27	8 Feb 810	9 Mar 810	8 Apr 810	7 May 810	6 June 810
"	<b>2</b>	1471	28	28 Jan 811	27 Feb 811	28 Mar 811	26 Apr 811	26 May 811
"	<b>3</b>	1472	29	16 Feb 812	17 Mar 812	15 Apr 812	14 May 812	13 June 812
"	<b>4</b>	1473	30	5 Feb 813	6 Mar 813	5 Apr 813	4 May 813	2 June 813
"	<b>5</b>	1474	31	25 Jan 814	24 Feb 814	25 Mar 814	24 Apr 814	23 May 814
"	<b>6</b>	1475	32	13 Feb 815	15 Mar 815	13 Apr 815	13 May 815	11 June 815
"	<b>7</b>	1476	33	2 Feb 816	3 Mar 816	1 Apr 816	1 May 816	31 May 816
"	<b>8</b>	1477	34	21 Jan 817	20 Feb 817	21 Mar 817	20 Apr 817	18 June 817
"	<b>9</b>	1478	35	9 Feb 818	11 Mar 818	9 Apr 818	9 May 818	7 June 818
"	<b>10</b>	1479	36	29 Jan 819	28 Feb 819	29 Mar 819	28 Apr 819	28 May 819
"	<b>11</b>	1480	37	19 Jan 820	18 Mar 820	16 Apr 820	16 May 820	14 June 820
"	<b>12</b>	1481	38	6 Feb 821	8 Mar 821	6 Apr 821	5 May 821	4 June 821
"	<b>13</b>	1482	39	27 Jan 822	25 Feb 822	27 Mar 822	25 Apr 822	24 May 822
"	<b>14</b>	1483	40	15 Feb 823	16 Mar 823	15 Apr 823	14 May 823	12 June 823
<b>Ten-chō</b>	<b>1</b>	1484	41	4 Feb 824	4 Mar 824	3 Apr 824	3 May 824	1 June 824
"	<b>2</b>	1485	42	23 Jan 825	22 Feb 825	23 Mar 825	22 Apr 825	21 May 825
"	<b>3</b>	1486	43	11 Feb 826	12 Mar 826	11 Apr 826	11 May 826	9 June 826
"	<b>4</b>	1487	44	31 Jan 827	1 Mar 827	31 Mar 827	30 Apr 827	29 May 827
"	<b>5</b>	1488	45	20 Jan 828	19 Feb 828	19 Mar 828	17 May 828	16 June 828
"	<b>6</b>	1489	46	8 Feb 829	9 Mar 829	7 Apr 829	7 May 829	5 June 829
"	<b>7</b>	1490	47	28 Jan 830	27 Feb 830	28 Mar 830	26 Apr 830	26 May 830
"	<b>8</b>	1491	48	16 Feb 831	18 Mar 831	16 Apr 831	15 May 831	14 June 831
"	<b>9</b>	1492	49	5 Feb 832	6 Mar 832	5 Apr 832	4 May 832	2 June 832
"	<b>10</b>	1493	50	25 Jan 833	23 Feb 833	25 Mar 833	24 Apr 833	23 May 833
<b>Jō-wa</b>	<b>1</b>	1494	51	12 Feb 834	14 Mar 834	13 Apr 834	12 May 834	11 June 834

延喜 *En-riaku*. 大同 *Dai-dō*. 弘仁 *Kō-nin*. 天長 *Ten-chō*. 承和 *Jō-wa*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
23 June 803	22 July 803	21 Aug 803	20 Sept 803	19 Oct 803	18 Dec 803	16 Jan 804	18 Nov 803
11 July 804	9 Aug 804	8 Sept 804	7 Oct 804	6 Nov 804	6 Dec 804	5 Jan 805	
30 June 805	30 July 805	28 Aug 805	26 Sept 805	26 Oct 805	25 Nov 805	25 Dec 805	
20 June 806	18 Aug 806	16 Sept 806	15 Oct 806	14 Nov 806	14 Dec 806	12 Jan 807	19 July 806
9 July 807	7 Aug 807	6 Sept 807	5 Oct 807	3 Nov 807	3 Dec 807	2 Jan 808	
27 June 808	27 July 808	25 Aug 808	24 Sept 808	23 Oct 808	21 Nov 808	21 Dec 808	
16 July 809	15 Aug 809	13 Sept 809	13 Oct 809	11 Nov 809	11 Dec 809	9 Jan 810	20 Mar 809
5 July 810	4 Aug 810	3 Sept 810	2 Oct 810	1 Nov 810	30 Nov 810	30 Dec 810	
24 June 811	24 July 811	23 Aug 811	21 Sept 811	21 Oct 811	20 Nov 811	19 Dec 811	18 Jan 812
12 July 812	11 Aug 812	9 Sept 812	9 Oct 812	8 Nov 812	8 Dec 812	6 Jan 813	
2 July 813	31 July 813	29 Aug 813	28 Sept 813	28 Oct 813	27 Nov 813	26 Dec 813	
21 June 814	21 July 814	17 Sept 814	17 Oct 814	16 Nov 814	15 Dec 814	14 Jan 815	19 Aug 814
10 July 815	9 Aug 815	7 Sept 815	6 Oct 815	5 Nov 815	4 Dec 815	3 Jan 816	
29 June 816	28 July 816	27 Aug 816	25 Sept 816	24 Oct 816	23 Nov 816	22 Dec 816	
18 July 817	16 Aug 817	15 Sept 817	14 Oct 817	13 Nov 817	12 Dec 817	10 Jan 818	20 May 817
7 July 818	6 Aug 818	4 Sept 818	4 Oct 818	2 Nov 818	2 Dec 818	31 Dec 818	
26 June 819	26 July 819	24 Aug 819	23 Sept 819	23 Oct 819	21 Nov 819	21 Dec 819	
14 July 820	12 Aug 820	11 Sept 820	11 Oct 820	10 Nov 820	9 Dec 820	8 Jan 821	18 Feb 820
3 July 821	2 Aug 821	31 Aug 821	30 Sept 821	30 Oct 821	28 Nov 821	28 Dec 821	
23 June 822	22 July 822	20 Aug 822	19 Sept 822	17 Nov 822	17 Dec 822	16 Jan 823	19 Oct 822
12 July 823	10 Aug 823	8 Sept 823	8 Oct 823	6 Nov 823	6 Dec 823	5 Jan 824	
30 June 824	30 July 824	28 Aug 824	26 Sept 824	26 Oct 824	24 Nov 824	24 Dec 824	
20 June 825	19 July 825	16 Sept 825	15 Oct 825	14 Nov 825	13 Dec 825	12 Jan 826	18 Aug 825
9 July 826	7 Aug 826	6 Sept 826	5 Oct 826	4 Nov 826	3 Dec 826	1 Jan 827	
28 June 827	27 July 827	26 Aug 827	25 Sept 827	24 Oct 827	23 Nov 827	22 Dec 827	
16 July 828	14 Aug 828	13 Sept 828	12 Oct 828	11 Nov 828	11 Dec 828	9 Jan 829	18 Apr 828
5 July 829	3 Aug 829	2 Sept 829	2 Oct 829	31 Oct 829	30 Nov 829	30 Dec 829	
24 June 830	23 July 830	22 Aug 830	21 Sept 830	20 Oct 830	19 Nov 830	19 Dec 830	18 Jan 831
13 July 831	11 Aug 831	10 Sept 831	9 Oct 831	8 Nov 831	8 Dec 831	7 Jan 832	
2 July 832	31 July 832	20 Aug 832	28 Sept 832	27 Oct 832	26 Nov 832	26 Dec 832	
21 June 833	21 July 833	17 Sept 833	17 Oct 833	15 Nov 833	15 Dec 833	14 Jan 834	19 Aug 833
10 July 834	9 Aug 834	7 Sept 834	6 Oct 834	5 Nov 834	4 Dec 834	3 Jan 835	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Jō-wa</b>	<b>2</b>	1495	52	2 Feb 835	3 Mar 835	2 Apr 835	1 May 835	31 May 835
<b>[Shō-wa]</b>	<b>3</b>	1496	53	22 Jan 836	26 Feb 836	21 Mar 836	19 Apr 836	19 May 836
"	<b>4</b>	1497	54	9 Feb 837	10 Mar 837	9 Apr 837	8 May 837	7 June 837
"	<b>5</b>	1498	55	30 Jan 838	28 Feb 838	29 Mar 838	28 Apr 838	27 May 838
"	<b>6</b>	1499	56	19 Jan 839	19 Mar 839	17 Apr 839	17 May 839	15 June 839
"	<b>7</b>	1500	57	7 Feb 840	8 Mar 840	6 Apr 840	5 May 840	4 June 840
"	<b>8</b>	1501	58	26 Jan 841	25 Feb 841	27 Mar 841	25 Apr 841	24 May 841
"	<b>9</b>	1502	59	14 Feb 842	16 Mar 842	15 Apr 842	14 May 842	12 June 842
"	<b>10</b>	1503	60	3 Feb 843	5 Mar 843	4 Apr 843	3 May 843	2 June 843
"	<b>11</b>	1504	1	23 Jan 844	22 Feb 844	23 Mar 844	21 Apr 844	21 May 844
"	<b>12</b>	1505	2	10 Feb 845	12 Mar 845	10 Apr 845	10 May 845	9 June 845
"	<b>13</b>	1506	3	31 Jan 846	1 Mar 846	31 Mar 846	29 Apr 846	29 May 846
"	<b>14</b>	1507	4	21 Jan 847	19 Feb 847	20 Mar 847	18 May 847	17 June 847
<b>Ka-jō</b>	<b>1</b>	1508	5	9 Feb 848	9 Mar 848	7 Apr 848	7 May 848	5 June 848
<b>[Ka-shō]</b>	<b>2</b>	1509	6	28 Jan 849	27 Feb 849	28 Mar 849	26 Apr 849	26 May 849
"	<b>3</b>	1510	7	16 Feb 850	18 Mar 850	16 Apr 850	15 May 850	14 June 850
<b>Nin-ju</b>	<b>1</b>	1511	8	5 Feb 851	7 Mar 851	5 Apr 851	5 May 851	3 June 851
"	<b>2</b>	1512	9	25 Jan 852	24 Feb 852	24 Mar 852	23 Apr 852	23 May 852
"	<b>3</b>	1513	10	12 Feb 853	13 Mar 853	12 Apr 853	12 May 853	10 June 853
<b>Sai-kō</b>	<b>1</b>	1514	11	1 Feb 854	3 Mar 854	1 Apr 854	1 May 854	30 May 854
"	<b>2</b>	1515	12	23 Jan 855	21 Feb 855	22 Mar 855	20 Apr 855	18 June 855
"	<b>3</b>	1516	13	10 Feb 856	19 Mar 856	9 Apr 856	8 May 856	6 June 856
<b>Ten-an</b>	<b>1</b>	1517	14	30 Jan 857	28 Feb 857	29 Mar 857	28 Apr 857	27 May 857
"	<b>2</b>	1518	15	19 Jan 858	18 Feb 858	17 Apr 858	17 May 858	15 June 858
<b>Jō-gwan</b>	<b>1</b>	1519	16	7 Feb 859	8 Mar 859	7 Apr 859	6 May 859	5 June 859
"	<b>2</b>	1520	17	27 Jan 860	26 Feb 860	26 Mar 860	25 Apr 860	24 May 860
"	<b>3</b>	1521	18	14 Feb 861	15 Mar 861	14 Apr 861	14 May 861	12 June 861
"	<b>4</b>	1522	19	3 Feb 862	5 Mar 862	3 Apr 862	3 May 862	1 June 862
"	<b>5</b>	1523	20	23 Jan 863	22 Feb 863	23 Mar 863	22 Apr 863	22 May 863
"	<b>6</b>	1524	21	11 Feb 864	12 Mar 864	10 Apr 864	10 May 864	8 June 864
"	<b>7</b>	1525	22	21 Jan 865	2 Mar 865	31 Mar 865	29 Apr 865	29 May 865
"	<b>8</b>	1526	23	21 Jan 866	19 Feb 866	21 Mar 866	18 May 866	16 June 866

承和 Jō-wa. 嘉祥 Ka-jō. 仁壽 Nin-ju. 齊衡 Sai-kō. 天安 Ten-an. 貞觀 Jō-gwan.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
30 June 835	29 July 835	28 Aug 835	26 Sept 835	25 Oct 835	24 Nov 835	23 Dec 835	
17 July 836	16 Aug 836	15 Sept 836	14 Oct 836	13 Nov 836	12 Dec 836	10 Jan 837	18 June 836
6 July 837	5 Aug 837	4 Sept 837	3 Oct 837	2 Nov 837	2 Dec 837	31 Dec 837	
26 June 838	25 July 838	24 Aug 838	23 Sept 838	22 Oct 838	21 Nov 838	21 Dec 838	
14 July 839	13 Aug 839	12 Sept 839	11 Oct 839	10 Nov 839	10 Dec 839	9 Jan 840	18 Feb 839
3 July 840	1 Aug 840	31 Aug 840	29 Sept 840	29 Oct 840	28 Nov 840	28 Dec 840	
23 June 841	22 July 841	20 Aug 841	19 Sept 841	17 Nov 841	17 Dec 841	15 Jan 842	18 Oct 841
12 July 842	10 Aug 842	8 Sept 842	8 Oct 842	6 Nov 842	6 Dec 842	5 Jan 843	
1 July 843	31 July 843	29 Aug 843	27 Sept 843	27 Oct 843	25 Nov 843	25 Dec 843	
20 June 844	19 July 844	16 Sept 844	16 Oct 844	14 Nov 844	13 Dec 844	12 Jan 845	18 Aug 844
8 July 845	7 Aug 845	5 Sept 845	5 Oct 845	4 Nov 845	3 Dec 845	2 Jan 846	
27 June 846	27 July 846	26 Aug 846	24 Sept 846	24 Oct 846	23 Nov 846	22 Dec 846	
16 July 847	15 Aug 847	13 Sept 847	13 Oct 847	12 Nov 847	12 Dec 847	10 Jan 848	19 Apr 847
4 July 848	3 Aug 848	1 Sept 848	1 Oct 848	31 Oct 848	30 Nov 848	29 Dec 848	
24 June 849	23 July 849	22 Aug 849	20 Sept 849	20 Oct 849	19 Nov 849	18 Dec 849	17 Jan 850
13 July 850	11 Aug 850	10 Sept 850	9 Oct 850	8 Nov 850	7 Dec 850	6 Jan 851	
3 July 851	1 Aug 851	30 Aug 851	29 Sept 851	28 Oct 851	27 Nov 851	26 Dec 851	
21 June 852	21 July 852	19 Aug 852	17 Oct 852	15 Nov 852	15 Dec 852	13 Jan 853	17 Sept 852
10 July 853	9 Aug 853	7 Sept 853	6 Oct 853	5 Nov 853	4 Dec 853	3 Jan 854	
29 June 854	29 July 854	27 Aug 854	26 Sept 854	25 Oct 854	24 Nov 854	24 Dec 854	
18 July 855	16 Aug 855	15 Sept 855	15 Oct 855	13 Nov 855	13 Dec 855	12 Jan 856	20 May 855
6 July 856	4 Aug 856	3 Sept 856	3 Oct 856	2 Nov 856	1 Dec 856	31 Dec 856	
25 June 857	25 July 857	23 Aug 857	22 Sept 857	22 Oct 857	20 Nov 857	20 Dec 857	
14 July 858	13 Aug 858	11 Sept 858	11 Oct 858	9 Nov 858	9 Dec 858	8 Jan 859	19 Mar 858
4 July 859	2 Aug 859	1 Sept 859	30 Sept 859	30 Oct 859	28 Nov 859	28 Dec 859	
23 June 860	22 July 860	20 Aug 860	19 Sept 860	18 Oct 860	17 Dec 860	15 Jan 861	17 Nov 860
12 July 861	10 Aug 861	8 Sept 861	8 Oct 861	6 Nov 861	6 Dec 861	4 Jan 862	
1 July 862	31 July 862	29 Aug 862	28 Sept 862	27 Oct 862	25 Nov 862	25 Dec 862	
20 June 863	18 Aug 863	17 Sept 863	16 Oct 863	15 Nov 863	15 Dec 863	13 Jan 864	20 July 863
8 July 864	6 Aug 864	5 Sept 864	5 Oct 864	3 Nov 864	3 Dec 864	2 Jan 865	
27 June 865	27 July 865	25 Aug 865	24 Sept 865	24 Oct 865	22 Nov 865	22 Dec 865	
16 July 866	14 Aug 866	13 Sept 866	13 Oct 866	11 Nov 866	11 Dec 866	10 Jan 867	19 Apr 866



Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Jō-gwan</b>	<b>9</b>	1527	24	9 Feb 867	10 Mar 867	9 Apr 867	8 May 867	6 June 867
"	<b>10</b>	1528	25	29 Jan 868	27 Feb 868	28 Mar 868	27 Apr 868	26 May 868
"	<b>11</b>	1529	26	15 Feb 869	17 Mar 869	16 Apr 869	15 May 869	14 June 869
"	<b>12</b>	1530	27	5 Feb 870	6 Mar 870	5 Apr 870	5 May 870	3 June 870
"	<b>13</b>	1531	28	25 Jan 871	23 Feb 871	25 Mar 871	24 Apr 871	23 May 871
"	<b>14</b>	1532	29	13 Feb 872	13 Mar 872	12 Apr 872	11 May 872	10 June 872
"	<b>15</b>	1533	30	2 Feb 873	3 Mar 873	1 Apr 873	1 May 873	30 May 873
"	<b>16</b>	1534	31	23 Jan 874	21 Feb 874	22 Mar 874	20 Apr 874	18 June 874
"	<b>17</b>	1535	32	10 Feb 875	12 Mar 875	10 Apr 875	9 May 875	7 June 875
"	<b>18</b>	1536	33	30 Jan 876	29 Feb 876	30 Mar 876	28 Apr 876	27 May 876
<b>Gwan-giō</b>	<b>1</b>	1537	34	18 Jan 877	17 Feb 877	17 Apr 877	17 May 877	15 June 877
<b>[Gen-kei]</b>	<b>2</b>	1538	35	6 Feb 878	8 Mar 878	7 Apr 878	6 May 878	5 June 878
"	<b>3</b>	1539	36	26 Jan 879	25 Feb 879	27 Mar 879	25 Apr 879	25 May 879
"	<b>4</b>	1540	37	14 Feb 880	15 Mar 880	13 Apr 880	13 May 880	12 June 880
"	<b>5</b>	1541	38	3 Feb 881	4 Mar 881	3 Apr 881	2 May 881	1 June 881
"	<b>6</b>	1542	39	23 Jan 882	22 Feb 882	23 Mar 882	22 Apr 882	21 May 882
"	<b>7</b>	1543	40	11 Feb 883	13 Mar 883	11 Apr 883	11 May 883	9 June 883
"	<b>8</b>	1544	41	1 Feb 884	1 Mar 884	31 Mar 884	29 Apr 884	28 May 884
<b>Nin-na</b>	<b>1</b>	1545	42	20 Jan 885	19 Feb 885	20 Mar 885	18 May 885	17 June 885
"	<b>2</b>	1546	43	8 Feb 886	10 Mar 886	8 Apr 886	8 May 886	6 June 886
"	<b>3</b>	1547	44	28 Jan 887	27 Feb 887	29 Mar 887	27 Apr 887	27 May 887
"	<b>4</b>	1548	45	16 Feb 888	17 Mar 888	15 Apr 888	15 May 888	13 June 888
<b>Kwam-peī</b>	<b>1</b>	1549	46	4 Feb 889	6 Mar 889	4 Apr 889	4 May 889	2 June 889
"	<b>2</b>	1550	47	25 Jan 890	23 Feb 890	25 Mar 890	23 Apr 890	23 May 890
"	<b>3</b>	1551	48	13 Feb 891	14 Mar 891	13 Apr 891	12 May 891	10 June 891
"	<b>4</b>	1552	49	2 Feb 892	3 Mar 892	1 Apr 892	30 Apr 892	30 May 892
"	<b>5</b>	1553	50	22 Jan 893	20 Feb 893	22 Mar 893	20 Apr 893	20 May 893
"	<b>6</b>	1554	51	10 Feb 894	11 Mar 894	10 Apr 894	9 May 894	8 June 894
"	<b>7</b>	1555	52	30 Jan 895	1 Mar 895	30 Mar 895	29 Apr 895	28 May 895
"	<b>8</b>	1556	53	19 Jan 896	18 Mar 896	17 Apr 896	17 May 896	15 June 896
"	<b>9</b>	1557	54	6 Feb 897	7 Mar 897	6 Apr 897	6 May 897	4 June 897
<b>Shō-tai</b>	<b>1</b>	1558	55	26 Jan 898	25 Feb 898	25 Mar 898	25 Apr 898	24 May 898

貞觀 Jō-gwan. 元慶 Gwan-giō. 仁和 Nin-na. 寬平 Kwam-peī. 昌泰 Shō-tai.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
5 July 867	4 Aug 867	2 Sept 867	2 Oct 867	31 Oct 867	30 Nov 867	30 Dec 867	
24 June 868	23 July 868	22 Aug 868	20 Sept 868	20 Oct 868	18 Nov 868	18 Dec 868*	17 Jan 869
13 July 869	12 Aug 869	10 Sept 869	9 Oct 869	8 Nov 869	7 Dec 869	6 Jan 870	
3 July 870	1 Aug 870	31 Aug 870	29 Sept 870	28 Oct 870	27 Nov 870	26 Dec 870	
22 June 871	21 July 871	20 Aug 871	18 Oct 871	16 Nov 871	16 Dec 871	14 Jan 872	18 Sept 871
10 July 872	8 Aug 872	7 Sept 872	6 Oct 872	5 Nov 872	4 Dec 872	3 Jan 873	
29 June 873	28 July 873	27 Aug 873	26 Sept 873	25 Oct 873	24 Nov 873	24 Dec 873	
17 July 874	16 Aug 874	15 Sept 874	14 Oct 874	13 Nov 874	13 Dec 874	11 Jan 875	20 May 874
7 July 875	5 Aug 875	4 Sept 875	3 Oct 875	2 Nov 875	2 Dec 875	1 Jan 876	
25 June 876	25 July 876	23 Aug 876	22 Sept 876	21 Oct 876	20 Nov 876	20 Dec 876	
14 July 877	13 Aug 877	11 Sept 877	11 Oct 877	9 Nov 877	9 Dec 877	7 Jan 878	19 Mar 877
4 July 878	2 Aug 878	1 Sept 878	30 Sept 878	30 Oct 878	28 Nov 878	28 Dec 878	
24 June 879	23 July 879	21 Aug 879	20 Sept 879	19 Oct 879	17 Dec 879*	16 Jan 880	18 Nov 879
11 July 880	10 Aug 880	8 Sept 880	8 Oct 880	6 Nov 880	6 Dec 880	4 Jan 881	
30 June 881	30 July 881	29 Aug 881	27 Sept 881	27 Oct 881	25 Nov 881	25 Dec 881	
20 June 882	19 July 882*	16 Sept 882	16 Oct 882	15 Nov 882	14 Dec 882	13 Jan 883	18 Aug 882
8 July 883	7 Aug 883	5 Sept 883	5 Oct 883	4 Nov 883	4 Dec 883	2 Jan 884	
27 June 884	26 July 884	25 Aug 884	23 Sept 884	23 Oct 884	22 Nov 884	21 Dec 884	
16 July 885	14 Aug 885	13 Sept 885	12 Oct 885	11 Nov 885	10 Dec 885	9 Jan 886	19 Apr 885
6 July 886	4 Aug 886	2 Sept 886	1 Oct 886	31 Oct 886	30 Nov 886	29 Dec 886	
25 June 887	24 July 887	23 Aug 887	21 Sept 887	21 Oct 887	19 Nov 887*	17 Jan 888	19 Dec 887
13 July 888	11 Aug 888	10 Sept 888	9 Oct 888	8 Nov 888	7 Dec 888	6 Jan 889	
2 July 889	1 Aug 889	30 Aug 889	29 Sept 889	28 Oct 889	27 Nov 889	26 Dec 889	
21 June 890	21 July 890	19 Aug 890	18 Sept 890*	16 Nov 890	16 Dec 890	14 Jan 891	18 Oct 890
10 July 891	9 Aug 891	7 Sept 891	7 Oct 891	6 Nov 891	5 Dec 891	4 Jan 892	
28 June 892	28 July 892	26 Aug 892	25 Sept 892	25 Oct 892	23 Nov 892	23 Dec 892	
17 July 893	16 Aug 893	14 Sept 893	14 Oct 893	12 Nov 893	12 Dec 893	11 Jan 894	18 June 893
7 July 894	5 Aug 894	3 Sept 894	3 Oct 894	2 Nov 894	1 Dec 894	31 Dec 894	
27 June 895	26 July 895	24 Aug 895	22 Sept 895	22 Oct 895	20 Nov 895	20 Dec 895	
14 July 896	13 Aug 896	11 Sept 896	11 Oct 896	9 Nov 896	8 Dec 896	7 Jan 897	18 Feb 896
4 July 897	2 Aug 897	1 Sept 897	30 Sept 897	30 Oct 897	28 Nov 897	28 Dec 897	
3 June 898	23 July 898	21 Aug 898	20 Sept 898	19 Oct 898*	17 Dec 898	16 Jan 899	18 Nov 898

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Shō-tai	2	1559	56	14 Feb 899	16 Mar 899	14 Apr 899	14 May 899	12 June 899
"	3	1560	57	4 Feb 900	4 Mar 900	2 Apr 900	2 May 900	31 May 900
En-gi	1	1561	58	23 Jan 901	22 Feb 901	23 Mar 901	22 Apr 901	21 May 901
"	2	1562	59	11 Feb 902	13 Mar 902	11 Apr 902	11 May 902	9 June 902
"	3	1563	60	1 Feb 903	2 Mar 903	1 Apr 903	30 Apr 903	30 May 903
"	4	1564	1	21 Jan 904	19 Feb 904	20 Mar 904	18 May 904	16 June 904
"	5	1565	2	7 Feb 905	9 Mar 905	8 Apr 905	7 May 905	6 June 905
"	6	1566	3	28 Jan 906	26 Feb 906	28 Mar 906	26 Apr 906	26 May 906
"	7	1567	4	15 Feb 907	17 Mar 907	16 Apr 907	15 May 907	14 June 907
"	8	1568	5	5 Feb 908	5 Mar 908	4 Apr 908	3 May 908	2 June 908
"	9	1569	6	25 Jan 909	23 Feb 909	24 Mar 909	23 Apr 909	22 May 909
"	10	1570	7	13 Feb 910	14 Mar 910	13 Apr 910	12 May 910	10 June 910
"	11	1571	8	2 Feb 911	4 Mar 911	2 Apr 911	2 May 911	31 May 911
"	12	1572	9	22 Jan 912	21 Feb 912	22 Mar 912	20 Apr 912	20 May 912
"	13	1573	10	9 Feb 913	11 Mar 913	10 Apr 913	9 May 913	7 June 913
"	14	1574	11	29 Jan 914	28 Feb 914	30 Mar 914	28 Apr 914	28 May 914
"	15	1575	12	*18 Jan 915	17 Feb 915	17 Apr 915	17 May 915	16 June 915
"	16	1576	13	6 Feb 916	7 Mar 916	5 Apr 916	5 May 916	4 June 916
"	17	1577	14	26 Jan 917	24 Feb 917	26 Mar 917	24 Apr 917	24 May 917
"	18	1578	15	14 Feb 918	15 Mar 918	14 Apr 918	13 May 918	12 June 918
"	19	1579	16	4 Feb 919	5 Mar 919	4 Apr 919	3 May 919	1 June 919
"	20	1580	17	24 Jan 920	23 Feb 920	23 Mar 920	22 Apr 920	21 May 920
"	21	1581	18	11 Feb 921	13 Mar 921	11 Apr 921	11 May 921	9 June 921
"	22	1582	19	31 Jan 922	2 Mar 922	31 Mar 922	30 Apr 922	29 May 922
En-chō	1	1583	20	20 Jan 923	19 Feb 923	20 Mar 923	19 Apr 923	*17 June 923
"	2	1584	21	8 Feb 924	8 Mar 924	7 Apr 924	7 May 924	5 June 924
"	3	1585	22	27 Jan 925	26 Feb 925	27 Mar 925	26 Apr 925	25 May 925
"	4	1586	23	15 Feb 926	17 Mar 926	15 Apr 926	15 May 926	13 June 926
"	5	1587	24	5 Feb 927	6 Mar 927	5 Apr 927	4 May 927	3 June 927
"	6	1588	25	26 Jan 928	24 Feb 928	25 Mar 928	23 Apr 928	22 May 928
"	7	1589	26	13 Feb 929	14 Mar 929	13 Apr 929	12 May 929	10 June 929
"	8	1590	27	2 Feb 930	3 Mar 930	2 Apr 930	1 May 930	31 May 930

昌泰 Shō-tai. 延喜 En-gi. 延長 En-chō.

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1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
12 July 899	10 Aug 899	9 Sept 899	9 Oct 899	7 Nov 899	7 Dec 899	5 Jan 900	
30 June 900	29 July 900	28 Aug 900	27 Sept 900	26 Oct 900	25 Nov 900	25 Dec 900	
19 June 901*	17 Aug 901	16 Sept 901	15 Oct 901	14 Nov 901	14 Dec 901	13 Jan 902	19 July 901
8 July 902	6 Aug 902	5 Sept 902	5 Oct 902	3 Nov 902	3 Dec 902	2 Jan 903	
28 June 903	27 July 903	25 Aug 903	24 Sept 903	23 Oct 903	22 Nov 903	22 Dec 903	
16 July 904	14 Aug 904	12 Sept 904	12 Oct 904	10 Nov 904	10 Dec 904	9 Jan 905	19 Apr 904
5 July 905	4 Aug 905	2 Sept 905	2 Oct 905	31 Oct 905	29 Nov 905	29 Dec 905	
25 June 906	24 July 906	23 Aug 906	21 Sept 906	21 Oct 906	19 Nov 906	18 Dec 906*	17 Jan 907
13 July 907	12 Aug 907	11 Sept 907	10 Oct 907	9 Nov 907	8 Dec 907	7 Jan 908	
1 July 908	31 July 908	30 Aug 908	28 Sept 908	28 Oct 908	27 Nov 908	26 Dec 908	
21 June 909	20 July 909	19 Aug 909*	17 Oct 909	16 Nov 909	16 Dec 909	14 Jan 910	17 Sept 909
10 July 910	8 Aug 910	7 Sept 910	6 Oct 910	5 Nov 910	5 Dec 910	4 Jan 911	
29 June 911	28 July 911	27 Aug 911	25 Sept 911	25 Oct 911	24 Nov 911	24 Dec 911	
17 July 912	15 Aug 912	14 Sept 912	13 Oct 912	12 Nov 912	12 Dec 912	10 Jan 913	18 June 912
7 July 913	5 Aug 913	3 Sept 913	3 Oct 913	1 Nov 913	1 Dec 913	30 Dec 913	
26 June 914	26 July 914	24 Aug 914	23 Sept 914	22 Oct 914	20 Nov 914	20 Dec 914	
15 July 915	14 Aug 915	12 Sept 915	12 Oct 915	10 Nov 915*	9 Dec 915	8 Jan 916	19 Mar 915
3 July 916	2 Aug 916	31 Aug 916	30 Sept 916	30 Oct 916	28 Nov 916	28 Dec 916	
22 June 917	22 July 917	21 Aug 917	19 Sept 917	19 Oct 917	17 Dec 917	16 Jan 918	18 Nov 917
11 July 918	10 Aug 918	8 Sept 918	8 Oct 918	7 Nov 918	6 Dec 918	5 Jan 919	
30 June 919	30 July 919	28 Aug 919	27 Sept 919	27 Oct 919	26 Nov 919	25 Dec 919	
19 June 920*	17 Aug 920	15 Sept 920	15 Oct 920	14 Nov 920	13 Dec 920	12 Jan 921	18 July 920
8 July 921	6 Aug 921	5 Sept 921	4 Oct 921	3 Nov 921	2 Dec 921	1 Jan 922	
28 June 922	27 July 922	25 Aug 922	24 Sept 922	23 Oct 922	22 Nov 922	21 Dec 922	
17 July 923	15 Aug 923	13 Sept 923	13 Oct 923	11 Nov 923	11 Dec 923	9 Jan 924	19 May 923
5 July 924	4 Aug 924	2 Sept 924	1 Oct 924	31 Oct 924	29 Nov 924	29 Dec 924	
24 June 925	24 July 925	22 Aug 925	21 Sept 925	20 Oct 925	19 Nov 925	19 Dec 925*	17 Jan 925
13 July 926	11 Aug 926	10 Sept 926	10 Oct 926	8 Nov 926	8 Dec 926	7 Jan 927	
2 July 927	31 July 927	30 Aug 927	29 Sept 927	29 Oct 927	27 Nov 927	27 Dec 927	
20 June 928	20 July 928	18 Aug 928*	17 Oct 928	15 Nov 928	15 Dec 928	14 Jan 929	17 Sept 928
9 July 929	8 Aug 929	6 Sept 929	6 Oct 929	4 Nov 929	4 Dec 929	3 Jan 930	
29 June 930	28 July 930	27 Aug 930	25 Sept 930	25 Oct 930	23 Nov 930	23 Dec 930	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimma Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Jō-hei</b>	1	1591	28	22 Jan 931	20 Feb 931	22 Mar 931	21 Apr 931	20 May 931 <sup>*</sup>
[Shō-hei]	2	1592	29	9 Feb 932	10 Mar 932	9 Apr 932	9 May 932	7 June 932
"	3	1593	30	29 Jan 933	27 Feb 933	29 Mar 933	28 Apr 933	27 May 933
"	4	1594	31	18 Jan 934	18 Mar 934	17 Apr 934	16 May 934	15 June 934
"	5	1595	32	6 Feb 935	8 Mar 935	6 Apr 935	6 May 935	4 June 935
"	6	1596	33	27 Jan 936	25 Feb 936	26 Mar 936	24 Apr 936	23 May 936
"	7	1597	34	14 Feb 937	16 Mar 937	14 Apr 937	13 May 937	11 June 937
<b>Ten-giō</b>	1	1598	35	3 Feb 938	5 Mar 938	3 Apr 938	3 May 938	1 June 938
[Ten-kei]	2	1599	36	23 Jan 939	22 Feb 939	24 Mar 939	22 Apr 939	22 May 939
"	3	1600	37	11 Feb 940	12 Mar 940	11 Apr 940	10 May 940	9 June 940
"	4	1601	38	30 Jan 941	1 Mar 941	31 Mar 941	29 Apr 941	29 May 941
"	5	1602	39	20 Jan 942	18 Feb 942	20 Mar 942	18 May 942	17 June 942
"	6	1603	40	8 Feb 943	9 Mar 943	8 Apr 943	7 May 943	6 June 943
"	7	1604	41	28 Jan 944	27 Feb 944	27 Mar 944	26 Apr 944	25 May 944
"	8	1605	42	15 Feb 945	17 Mar 945	15 Apr 945	14 May 945	13 June 945
"	9	1606	43	5 Feb 946	6 Mar 946	5 Apr 946	4 May 946	2 June 946
<b>Ten-riaku</b>	1	1607	44	25 Jan 947	24 Feb 947	25 Mar 947	24 Apr 947	23 May 947
"	2	1608	45	13 Feb 948	14 Mar 948	12 Apr 948	12 May 948	10 June 948
"	3	1609	46	1 Feb 949	3 Mar 949	1 Apr 949	1 May 949	31 May 949
"	4	1610	47	21 Jan 950	20 Feb 950	21 Mar 950	20 Apr 950	20 May 950 <sup>*</sup>
"	5	1611	48	9 Feb 951	11 Mar 951	9 Apr 951	9 May 951	8 June 951
"	6	1612	49	30 Jan 952	28 Feb 952	29 Mar 952	27 Apr 952	27 May 952
"	7	1613	50	18 Jan 953	18 Mar 953	16 Apr 953	16 May 953	14 June 953
"	8	1614	51	6 Feb 954	8 Mar 954	6 Apr 954	5 May 954	4 June 954
"	9	1615	52	27 Jan 955	25 Feb 955	27 Mar 955	25 Apr 955	24 May 955
"	10	1616	53	15 Feb 956	15 Mar 956	14 Apr 956	13 May 956	11 June 956
<b>Ten-toku</b>	1	1617	54	3 Feb 957	5 Mar 957	3 Apr 957	3 May 957	1 June 957
"	2	1618	55	23 Jan 958	22 Feb 958	23 Mar 958	22 Apr 958	22 May 958
"	3	1619	56	11 Feb 959	12 Mar 959	11 Apr 959	11 May 959	9 June 959
"	4	1620	57	31 Jan 960	1 Mar 960	30 Mar 960	29 Apr 960	28 May 960
<b>Ō-wa</b>	1	1621	58	20 Jan 961	18 Feb 961	19 Mar 961	17 May 961	16 June 961
"	2	1622	59	8 Feb 962	9 Mar 962	7 Apr 962	7 May 962	5 June 962

承平 Jō-hei. 天長 Ten-giō. 天曆 Ten-riaku. 天志 Ten-shi. 應和 Ōwa.

## TABLES.

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1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
18 July 931	16 Aug 931	15 Sept 931	14 Oct 931	13 Nov 931	12 Dec 931	11 Jan 932	19 June 931
7 July 932	5 Aug 932	3 Sept 932	3 Oct 932	1 Nov 932	1 Dec 932	30 Dec 932	
26 June 933	25 July 933	24 Aug 933	22 Sept 933	22 Oct 933	20 Nov 933	20 Dec 933	
15 July 934	13 Aug 934	12 Sept 934	11 Oct 934	10 Nov 934	9 Dec 934	8 Jan 935	17 Feb 934
4 July 935	2 Aug 935	1 Sept 935	1 Oct 935	30 Oct 935	29 Nov 935	28 Dec 935	
22 June 936	21 July 936	20 Aug 936	19 Sept 936	18 Oct 936	17 Nov 936	15 Jan 937	17 Dec 936
11 July 937	9 Aug 937	8 Sept 937	7 Oct 937	6 Nov 937	6 Dec 937	5 Jan 938	
30 June 938	30 July 938	28 Aug 938	27 Sept 938	26 Oct 938	25 Nov 938	25 Dec 938	
20 June 939	19 July 939	16 Sept 939	16 Oct 939	14 Nov 939	14 Dec 939	12 Jan 940	18 Aug 939
8 July 940	6 Aug 940	5 Sept 940	1 Oct 940	3 Nov 940	2 Dec 940	1 Jan 941	
28 June 941	27 July 941	25 Aug 941	24 Sept 941	23 Oct 941	22 Nov 941	21 Dec 941	
16 July 942	15 Aug 942	13 Sept 942	13 Oct 942	11 Nov 942	11 Dec 942	9 Jan 943	18 Apr 942
5 July 943	4 Aug 943	3 Sept 943	2 Oct 943	1 Nov 943	30 Nov 943	30 Dec 943	
23 June 944	23 July 944	22 Aug 944	20 Sept 944	20 Oct 944	19 Nov 944	18 Dec 944	17 Jan 945
12 July 945	11 Aug 945	9 Sept 945	9 Oct 945	8 Nov 945	8 Dec 945	6 Jan 946	
2 July 946	31 July 946	30 Aug 946	28 Sept 946	28 Oct 946	27 Nov 946	26 Dec 946	
21 June 947	21 July 947	17 Sept 947	17 Oct 947	16 Nov 947	15 Dec 947	14 Jan 948	19 Aug 947
9 July 948	8 Aug 948	6 Sept 948	5 Oct 948	4 Nov 948	4 Dec 948	2 Jan 949	
29 June 949	28 July 949	27 Aug 949	25 Sept 949	24 Oct 949	23 Nov 949	23 Dec 949	
18 July 950	16 Aug 950	15 Sept 950	14 Oct 950	13 Nov 950	12 Dec 950	11 Jan 951	18 June 950
7 July 951	6 Aug 951	4 Sept 951	4 Oct 951	2 Nov 951	2 Dec 951	31 Dec 951	
25 June 952	25 July 952	23 Aug 952	22 Sept 952	22 Oct 952	20 Nov 952	20 Dec 952	
14 July 953	12 Aug 953	11 Sept 953	11 Oct 953	10 Nov 953	9 Dec 953	8 Jan 954	17 Feb 953
3 July 954	2 Aug 954	31 Aug 954	30 Sept 954	30 Oct 954	28 Nov 954	28 Dec 954	
23 June 955	22 July 955	20 Aug 955	19 Sept 955	17 Nov 955	17 Dec 955	16 Jan 956	19 Oct 955
11 July 956	9 Aug 956	7 Sept 956	7 Oct 956	6 Nov 956	5 Dec 956	4 Jan 957	
30 June 957	30 July 957	28 Aug 957	26 Sept 957	26 Oct 957	24 Nov 957	24 Dec 957	
20 June 958	19 July 958	16 Sept 958	15 Oct 958	14 Nov 958	13 Dec 958	12 Jan 959	18 Aug 958
9 July 959	7 Aug 959	6 Sept 959	5 Oct 959	4 Nov 959	3 Dec 959	1 Jan 960	
27 June 960	27 July 960	25 Aug 960	24 Sept 960	23 Oct 960	22 Nov 960	21 Dec 960	
16 July 961	14 Aug 961	13 Sept 961	13 Oct 961	11 Nov 961	11 Dec 961	9 Jan 962	18 Apr 961
5 July 962	3 Aug 962	2 Sept 962	2 Oct 962	31 Oct 962	30 Nov 962	30 Dec 962	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tenno.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Ō-wa	3	1623	60	23 Jan 963	27 Feb 963	28 Mar 963	26 Apr 963	26 May 963
Kō-hō	1	1624	1	16 Feb 964	17 Mar 964	15 Apr 964	14 May 964	13 June 964
"	2	1625	2	5 Feb 965	6 Mar 965	5 Apr 965	4 May 965	2 June 965
"	3	1626	3	25 Jan 966	23 Feb 966	25 Mar 966	24 Apr 966	23 May 966
"	4	1627	4	12 Feb 967	14 Mar 967	13 Apr 967	12 May 967	11 June 967
An-na	1	1628	5	2 Feb 968	2 Mar 968	1 Apr 968	30 Apr 968	30 May 968
"	2	1629	6	21 Jan 969	19 Feb 969	21 Mar 969	20 Apr 969	19 May 969
Ten-roku	1	1630	7	9 Feb 970	19 Mar 970	9 Apr 970	8 May 970	7 June 970
"	2	1631	8	30 Jan 971	28 Feb 971	29 Mar 971	28 Apr 971	27 May 971
"	3	1632	9	19 Jan 972	18 Feb 972	16 Apr 972	16 May 972	14 June 972
Ten-en	1	1633	10	6 Feb 973	8 Mar 973	6 Apr 973	6 May 973	4 June 973
"	2	1634	11	26 Jan 974	25 Feb 974	27 Mar 974	25 Apr 974	24 May 974
"	3	1635	12	14 Feb 975	16 Mar 975	14 Apr 975	14 May 975	12 June 975
Jō-gen	1	1636	13	3 Feb 976	4 Mar 976	3 Apr 976	2 May 976	1 June 976
"	2	1637	14	22 Jan 977	21 Feb 977	23 Mar 977	21 Apr 977	21 May 977
Ten-gen	1	1638	15	19 Feb 978	12 Mar 978	10 Apr 978	10 May 978	9 June 978
"	2	1639	16	31 Jan 979	1 Mar 979	31 Mar 979	29 Apr 979	29 May 979
"	3	1640	17	21 Jan 980	19 Feb 980	19 Mar 980	17 May 980	16 June 980
"	4	1641	18	8 Feb 981	9 Mar 981	7 Apr 981	7 May 981	5 June 981
"	5	1642	19	28 Jan 982	27 Feb 982	28 Mar 982	27 Apr 982	26 May 982
Ei-kwan	1	1643	20	16 Feb 983	18 Mar 983	16 Apr 983	15 May 983	14 June 983
"	2	1644	21	5 Feb 984	6 Mar 984	4 Apr 984	4 May 984	2 June 984
Kwan-na	1	1645	22	24 Jan 985	23 Feb 985	24 Mar 985	23 Apr 985	23 May 985
"	2	1646	23	12 Feb 986	13 Mar 986	12 Apr 986	12 May 986	10 June 986
Ei-en	1	1647	24	1 Feb 987	3 Mar 987	1 Apr 987	1 May 987	30 May 987
"	2	1648	25	22 Jan 988	20 Feb 988	21 Mar 988	19 Apr 988	19 May 988
Ei-sho	1	1649	26	9 Feb 989	10 Mar 989	9 Apr 989	8 May 989	6 June 989
Shō-riaku	1	1650	27	30 Jan 990	28 Feb 990	29 Mar 990	28 Apr 990	27 May 990
[Shō-reki]	2	1651	28	19 Jan 991	18 Feb 991	17 Apr 991	17 May 991	15 June 991
"	3	1652	29	7 Feb 992	7 Mar 992	6 Apr 992	5 May 992	4 June 992
"	4	1653	30	26 Jan 993	24 Feb 993	26 Mar 993	25 Apr 993	24 May 993
"	5	1654	31	13 Feb 994	15 Mar 994	14 Apr 994	14 May 994	12 June 994

應和 Ō-wa. 康保 Kō-hō. 安和 An-na. 天保 Ten-roku. 天延 Ten-en. 貞元 Jō-gen. 天元 Ten-gen.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
24 June 963	24 July 963	22 Aug 963	21 Sept 963	20 Oct 963	19 Nov 963	19 Dec 963	18 Jan 964
12 July 964	10 Aug 964	9 Sept 964	8 Oct 964	7 Nov 964	7 Dec 964	6 Jan 965	
2 July 965	31 July 965	29 Aug 965	28 Sept 965	27 Oct 965	26 Nov 965	26 Dec 965	
21 June 966	21 July 966	19 Aug 966	17 Oct 966	15 Nov 966	15 Dec 966	14 Jan 967	17 Sept 966
10 July 967	9 Aug 967	7 Sept 967	6 Oct 967	5 Nov 967	4 Dec 967	3 Jan 968	
29 June 968	28 July 968	27 Aug 968	25 Sept 968	25 Oct 968	23 Nov 968	22 Dec 968	
17 July 969	16 Aug 969	15 Sept 969	14 Oct 969	13 Nov 969	12 Dec 969	11 Jan 970	18 June 969
6 July 970	5 Aug 970	4 Sept 970	3 Oct 970	2 Nov 970	2 Dec 970	31 Dec 970	
26 June 971	25 July 971	24 Aug 971	22 Sept 971	22 Oct 971	21 Nov 971	21 Dec 971	
13 July 972	12 Aug 972	11 Sept 972	10 Oct 972	9 Nov 972	9 Dec 972	8 Jan 973	18 Mar 972
3 July 973	1 Aug 973	31 Aug 973	29 Sept 973	29 Oct 973	28 Nov 973	28 Dec 973	
23 June 974	22 July 974	20 Aug 974	19 Sept 974	18 Oct 974	17 Dec 974	15 Jan 975	17 Nov 974
12 July 975	10 Aug 975	8 Sept 975	8 Oct 975	6 Nov 975	6 Dec 975	4 Jan 976	
30 June 976	30 July 976	28 Aug 976	26 Sept 976	26 Oct 976	24 Nov 976	24 Dec 976	
20 June 977	19 July 977*	16 Sept 977	16 Oct 977	14 Nov 977	13 Dec 977	12 Jan 978	18 Aug 977
8 July 978	7 Aug 978	5 Sept 978	5 Oct 978	4 Nov 978	3 Dec 978	2 Jan 979	
27 June 979	27 July 979	26 Aug 979	24 Sept 979	24 Oct 979	23 Nov 979	22 Dec 979	
15 July 980	14 Aug 980	12 Sept 980	12 Oct 980	11 Nov 980	10 Dec 980	9 Jan 981	18 Apr 980
4 July 981	3 Aug 981	1 Sept 981	1 Oct 981	31 Oct 981	30 Nov 981	29 Dec 981	
24 June 982	23 July 982	22 Aug 982	20 Sept 982	20 Oct 982	19 Nov 982	18 Dec 982	17 Jan 983
13 July 983	11 Aug 983	10 Sept 983	9 Oct 983	8 Nov 983	7 Dec 983	6 Jan 984	
2 July 984	31 July 984	29 Aug 984	28 Sept 984	27 Oct 984	26 Nov 984	25 Dec 984	
21 June 985	21 July 985	19 Aug 985*	17 Oct 985	15 Nov 985	15 Dec 985	13 Jan 986	17 Sept 985
10 July 986	8 Aug 986	7 Sept 986	6 Oct 986	5 Nov 986	4 Dec 986	3 Jan 987	
29 June 987	29 July 987	27 Aug 987	26 Sept 987	25 Oct 987	24 Nov 987	23 Dec 987	
17 July 988	15 Aug 988	14 Sept 988	14 Oct 988	12 Nov 988	12 Dec 988	11 Jan 989	17 June 988
6 July 989	4 Aug 989	3 Sept 989	3 Oct 989	2 Nov 989	1 Dec 989	31 Dec 989	
25 June 990	25 July 990	23 Aug 990	22 Sept 990	22 Oct 990	20 Nov 990	20 Dec 990	
14 July 991	13 Aug 991	11 Sept 991	11 Oct 991	9 Nov 991	9 Dec 991	8 Jan 992	19 Mar 991
3 July 992	1 Aug 992	31 Aug 992	29 Sept 992	29 Oct 992	27 Nov 992	27 Dec 992	
23 June 993	22 July 993	20 Aug 993	19 Sept 993	18 Oct 993*	16 Dec 993	15 Jan 994	17 Nov 993
12 July 994	10 Aug 994	8 Sept 994	8 Oct 994	6 Nov 994	6 Dec 994	4 Jan 995	

永觀 *Ei-kwan*. 寛和 *Kwan-na*. 永延 *Ei-en*. 永祚 *Ei-sho*. 正暦 *Shō-riaku*.



Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Chō-toku</b>	1	1655	32	3 Feb 995	4 Mar 995	3 Apr 995	3 May 995	1 June 995
"	2	1656	33	23 Jan 996	22 Feb 996	22 Mar 996	21 Apr 996	20 May 996
"	3	1657	34	10 Feb 997	12 Mar 997	10 Apr 997	10 May 997	8 June 997
"	4	1658	35	31 Jan 998	1 Mar 998	31 Mar 998	29 Apr 998	28 May 998
<b>Chō-hō</b>	1	1659	36	20 Jan 999	19 Feb 999	20 Mar 999	18 May 999	16 June 999
"	2	1660	37	8 Feb 1000	9 Mar 1000	7 Apr 1000	7 May 1000	5 June 1000
"	3	1661	38	27 Jan 1001	26 Feb 1001	28 Mar 1001	26 Apr 1001	26 May 1001
"	4	1662	39	15 Feb 1002	17 Mar 1002	16 Apr 1002	15 May 1002	14 June 1002
"	5	1663	40	4 Feb 1003	6 Mar 1003	5 Apr 1003	4 May 1003	3 June 1003
<b>Kwan-kō</b>	1	1664	41	25 Jan 1004	23 Feb 1004	24 Mar 1004	22 Apr 1004	22 May 1004
"	2	1665	42	12 Feb 1005	13 Mar 1005	12 Apr 1005	11 May 1005	10 June 1005
"	3	1666	43	1 Feb 1006	3 Mar 1006	1 Apr 1006	30 Apr 1006	30 May 1006
"	4	1667	44	22 Jan 1007	20 Feb 1007	22 Mar 1007	20 Apr 1007	19 May 1007*
"	5	1668	45	10 Feb 1008	10 Mar 1008	9 Apr 1008	8 May 1008	6 June 1008
"	6	1669	46	29 Jan 1009	28 Feb 1009	29 Mar 1009	28 Apr 1009	27 May 1009
"	7	1670	47	18 Jan 1010	17 Feb 1010*	17 Apr 1010	17 May 1010	15 June 1010
"	8	1671	48	6 Feb 1011	8 Mar 1011	6 Apr 1011	6 May 1011	5 June 1011
<b>Chō-wa</b>	1	1672	49	26 Jan 1012	25 Feb 1012	25 Mar 1012	24 Apr 1012	24 May 1012
"	2	1673	50	13 Feb 1013	15 Mar 1013	13 Apr 1013	13 May 1013	11 June 1013
"	3	1674	51	3 Feb 1014	4 Mar 1014	3 Apr 1014	2 May 1014	1 June 1014
"	4	1675	52	23 Jan 1015	22 Feb 1015	23 Mar 1015	21 Apr 1015	21 May 1015
"	5	1676	53	11 Feb 1016	12 Mar 1016	10 Apr 1016	9 May 1016	8 June 1016
<b>Kwan-nin</b>	1	1677	54	31 Jan 1017	1 Mar 1017	31 Mar 1017	29 Apr 1017	28 May 1017
"	2	1678	55	20 Jan 1018	19 Feb 1018	20 Mar 1018	19 Apr 1018*	16 June 1018
"	3	1679	56	8 Feb 1019	10 Mar 1019	8 Apr 1019	8 May 1019	6 June 1019
"	4	1680	57	28 Jan 1020	27 Feb 1020	27 Mar 1020	26 Apr 1020	25 May 1020
<b>Ji-an</b>	1	1681	58	15 Feb 1021	16 Mar 1021	15 Apr 1021	15 May 1021	13 June 1021
"	2	1682	59	4 Feb 1022	6 Mar 1022	4 Apr 1022	4 May 1022	2 June 1022
"	3	1683	60	25 Jan 1023	23 Feb 1023	24 Mar 1023	23 Apr 1023	22 May 1023
<b>Man-ju</b>	1	1684	1	13 Feb 1024	13 Mar 1024	11 Apr 1024	11 May 1024	9 June 1024
"	2	1685	2	1 Feb 1025	3 Mar 1025	1 Apr 1025	30 Apr 1025	30 May 1025
"	3	1686	3	22 Jan 1026	20 Feb 1026	22 Mar 1026	20 Apr 1026	19 May 1026*

長徳 Chō-toku. 長保 Chō-hō. 寛弘 Kuan-kō. 長和 Chō-wa. 寛仁 Kwan-nin. 治安 Ji-an. 萬壽 Man-ju.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter- Month.
1 July 995	30 July 995	29 Aug 995	27 Sept 995	27 Oct 995	25 Nov 995	25 Dec 995	
19 June 996	18 July 996	16 Sept 996	15 Oct 996	14 Nov 996	13 Dec 996	12 Jan 997	17 Aug 996
8 July 997	6 Aug 997	5 Sept 997	5 Oct 997	3 Nov 997	3 Dec 997	1 Jan 998	
27 June 998	26 July 998	25 Aug 998	24 Sept 998	23 Oct 998	22 Nov 998	22 Dec 998	
16 July 999	14 Aug 999	13 Sept 999	12 Oct 999	11 Nov 999	11 Dec 999	10 Jan 1000	19 Apr 999
4 July 1000	3 Aug 1000	1 Sept 1000	1 Oct 1000	30 Oct 1000	29 Nov 1000	29 Dec 1000	
24 June 1001	23 July 1001	22 Aug 1001	20 Sept 1001	19 Oct 1001	18 Nov 1001	16 Jan 1002	18 Dec 1001
13 July 1002	11 Aug 1002	10 Sept 1002	9 Oct 1002	8 Nov 1002	7 Dec 1002	6 Jan 1003	
22 July 1003	1 Aug 1003	30 Aug 1003	29 Sept 1003	28 Oct 1003	27 Nov 1003	26 Dec 1003	
31 June 1004	20 July 1004	19 Aug 1004	17 Sept 1004	15 Nov 1004	15 Dec 1004	13 Jan 1005	17 Oct 1004
20 July 1005	8 Aug 1005	7 Sept 1005	6 Oct 1005	5 Nov 1005	4 Dec 1005	3 Jan 1006	
28 June 1006	28 July 1006	27 Aug 1006	25 Sept 1006	25 Oct 1006	24 Nov 1006	23 Dec 1006	
17 July 1007	16 Aug 1007	14 Sept 1007	14 Oct 1007	13 Nov 1007	13 Dec 1007	11 Jan 1008	18 June 1007
6 July 1008	4 Aug 1008	3 Sept 1008	2 Oct 1008	1 Nov 1008	1 Dec 1008	30 Dec 1008	
26 June 1009	25 July 1009	23 Aug 1009	21 Sept 1009	21 Oct 1009	20 Nov 1009	19 Dec 1009	
15 July 1010	13 Aug 1010	11 Sept 1010	10 Oct 1010	9 Nov 1010	9 Dec 1010	7 Jan 1011	19 Mar 1010
4 July 1011	2 Aug 1011	1 Sept 1011	30 Sept 1011	29 Oct 1011	28 Nov 1011	28 Dec 1011	
24 June 1012	22 July 1012	20 Aug 1012	19 Sept 1012	18 Oct 1012	16 Dec 1012	15 Jan 1013	17 Nov 1012
13 July 1013	10 Aug 1013	8 Sept 1013	8 Oct 1013	6 Nov 1013	6 Dec 1013	4 Jan 1014	
2 June 1014	30 July 1014	28 Aug 1014	27 Sept 1014	27 Oct 1014	25 Nov 1014	25 Dec 1014	
24 June 1015	17 Aug 1015	16 Sept 1015	16 Oct 1015	15 Nov 1015	14 Dec 1015	13 Jan 1016	19 July 1015
17 July 1016	6 Aug 1016	4 Sept 1016	4 Oct 1016	3 Nov 1016	2 Dec 1016	1 Jan 1017	
7 June 1017	26 July 1017	24 Aug 1017	23 Sept 1017	23 Oct 1017	21 Nov 1017	21 Dec 1017	
6 July 1018	14 Aug 1018	12 Sept 1018	12 Oct 1018	10 Nov 1018	10 Dec 1018	9 Jan 1019	18 May 1018
5 July 1019	4 Aug 1019	2 Sept 1019	1 Oct 1019	31 Oct 1019	29 Nov 1019	29 Dec 1019	
24 June 1020	23 July 1020	22 Aug 1020	20 Sept 1020	19 Oct 1020	18 Nov 1020	17 Dec 1020	16 Jan 1021
13 July 1021	11 Aug 1021	10 Sept 1021	9 Oct 1021	8 Nov 1021	7 Dec 1021	5 Jan 1022	
2 July 1022	1 Aug 1022	30 Aug 1022	29 Sept 1022	28 Oct 1022	27 Nov 1022	26 Dec 1022	
1 June 1023	21 July 1023	19 Aug 1023	18 Sept 1023	16 Nov 1023	16 Dec 1023	14 Jan 1024	18 Oct 1023
9 July 1024	7 Aug 1024	6 Sept 1024	6 Oct 1024	4 Nov 1024	4 Dec 1024	3 Jan 1025	
3 June 1025	28 July 1025	26 Aug 1025	25 Sept 1025	24 Oct 1025	23 Nov 1025	23 Dec 1025	
7 July 1026	15 Aug 1026	14 Sept 1026	13 Oct 1026	12 Nov 1026	12 Dec 1026	11 Jan 1027	18 June 1026

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Man-ju</b>	4	1687	4	10 Feb 1027	11 Mar 1027	10 Apr 1027	9 May 1027	7 June 1027
<b>Chō-gen</b>	1	1688	5	30 Jan 1028	28 Feb 1028	29 Mar 1028	28 Apr 1028	27 May 1028
"	2	1689	6	18 Jan 1029	16 Feb 1029*	17 Apr 1029	16 May 1029	15 June 1029
"	3	1690	7	5 Feb 1030	7 Mar 1030	6 Apr 1030	5 May 1030	4 June 1030
"	4	1691	8	26 Jan 1031	24 Feb 1031	26 Mar 1031	25 Apr 1031	24 May 1031
"	5	1692	9	14 Feb 1032	14 Mar 1032	13 Apr 1032	12 May 1032	11 June 1032
"	6	1693	10	3 Feb 1033	4 Mar 1033	2 Apr 1033	2 May 1033	31 May 1033
"	7	1694	11	23 Jan 1034	22 Feb 1034	23 Mar 1034	21 Apr 1034	21 May 1034
"	8	1695	12	11 Feb 1035	13 Mar 1035	11 Apr 1035	10 May 1035	9 June 1035
"	9	1696	13	31 Jan 1036	1 Mar 1036	31 Mar 1036	29 Apr 1036	28 May 1036
<b>Chō-riaku</b>	1	1697	14	19 Jan 1037	18 Feb 1037	20 Mar 1037	18 Apr 1037*	16 June 1037
<b>[Chō-reki]</b>	2	1698	15	7 Feb 1038	9 Mar 1038	8 Apr 1038	7 May 1038	6 June 1038
"	3	1699	16	27 Jan 1039	26 Feb 1039	28 Mar 1039	26 Apr 1039	26 May 1039
<b>Chō-kiū</b>	1	1700	17	15 Feb 1040	16 Mar 1040	14 Apr 1040	14 May 1040	13 June 1040
"	2	1701	18	4 Feb 1041	5 Mar 1041	4 Apr 1041	3 May 1041	2 June 1041
"	3	1702	19	25 Jan 1042	23 Feb 1042	24 Mar 1042	23 Apr 1042	22 June 1042
"	4	1703	20	13 Feb 1043	14 Mar 1043	12 Apr 1043	12 May 1043	10 June 1043
<b>Kwan-toku</b>	1	1704	21	2 Feb 1044	3 Mar 1044	1 Apr 1044	30 Apr 1044	30 May 1044
"	2	1705	22	21 Jan 1045	20 Feb 1045	21 Mar 1045	20 Apr 1045	19 May 1045*
<b>Ei-jō</b>	1	1706	23	9 Feb 1046	11 Mar 1046	9 Apr 1046	9 May 1046	7 June 1046
<b>[Ei-shō]</b>	2	1707	24	29 Jan 1047	28 Feb 1047	29 Mar 1047	28 Apr 1047	28 May 1047
"	3	1708	25	18 Jan 1048*	17 Mar 1048	16 Apr 1048	16 May 1048	14 June 1048
"	4	1709	26	5 Feb 1049	7 Mar 1049	5 Apr 1049	5 May 1049	3 June 1049
"	5	1710	27	26 Jan 1050	24 Feb 1050	26 Mar 1050	24 Apr 1050	24 May 1050
"	6	1711	28	14 Feb 1051	15 Mar 1051	14 Apr 1051	13 May 1051	11 June 1051
"	7	1712	29	4 Feb 1052	4 Mar 1052	2 Apr 1052	2 May 1052	31 May 1052
<b>Ten-gi</b>	1	1713	30	23 Jan 1053	21 Feb 1053	23 Mar 1053	21 Apr 1053	21 May 1053
<b>[Ten-ki]</b>	2	1714	31	11 Feb 1054	12 Mar 1054	11 Apr 1054	10 May 1054	9 June 1054
"	3	1715	32	31 Jan 1055	1 Mar 1055	31 Mar 1055	30 Apr 1055	29 May 1055
"	4	1716	33	20 Jan 1056	18 Feb 1056	19 Mar 1056*	17 May 1056	16 June 1056
"	5	1717	34	7 Feb 1057	8 Mar 1057	7 Apr 1057	7 May 1057	5 June 1057
<b>Kō-hei</b>	1	1718	35	27 Jan 1058	20 Feb 1058	27 Mar 1058	26 Apr 1058	25 May 1058

萬壽 *Man-ju*. 長元 *Chō-gen*. 長曆 *Chō-riaku*. 長久 *Chō-kiū*. 寛德 *Kwan-toku*. 永承 *Ei-jō*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
7 July 1027	5 Aug 1027	3 Sept 1027	3 Oct 1027	1 Nov 1027	1 Dec 1027	31 Dec 1027	
25 June 1028	25 July 1028	23 Aug 1028	21 Sept 1028	21 Oct 1028	19 Nov 1028	19 Dec 1028	
14 July 1029	13 Aug 1029	11 Sept 1029	10 Oct 1029	9 Nov 1029	8 Dec 1029	7 Jan 1030	18 Mar 1029
4 July 1030	2 Aug 1030	1 Sept 1030	30 Sept 1030	30 Oct 1030	28 Nov 1030	27 Dec 1030	
23 June 1031	22 July 1031	21 Aug 1031	20 Sept 1031	19 Oct 1031	17 Dec 1031	16 Jan 1032	18 Nov 1031
10 July 1032	9 Aug 1032	8 Sept 1032	7 Oct 1032	6 Nov 1032	6 Dec 1032	4 Jan 1033	
30 June 1033	29 July 1033	28 Aug 1033	26 Sept 1033	26 Oct 1033	25 Nov 1033	25 Dec 1033	
10 June 1034	17 Aug 1034	15 Sept 1034	15 Oct 1034	14 Nov 1034	14 Dec 1034	13 Jan 1035	18 July 1034
8 July 1035	6 Aug 1035	5 Sept 1035	4 Oct 1035	3 Nov 1035	3 Dec 1035	2 Jan 1036	
27 June 1036	26 July 1036	24 Aug 1036	23 Sept 1036	22 Oct 1036	21 Nov 1036	21 Dec 1036	
16 July 1037	14 Aug 1037	12 Sept 1037	12 Oct 1037	10 Nov 1037	10 Dec 1037	8 Jan 1038	18 May 1037
6 July 1038	4 Aug 1038	2 Sept 1038	1 Oct 1038	31 Oct 1038	29 Nov 1038	29 Dec 1038	
24 June 1039	24 July 1039	23 Aug 1039	21 Sept 1039	20 Oct 1039	19 Nov 1039	18 Dec 1039	17 Jan 1040
12 July 1040	11 Aug 1040	9 Sept 1040	9 Oct 1040	8 Nov 1040	7 Dec 1040	6 Jan 1041	
1 July 1041	31 July 1041	30 Aug 1041	28 Sept 1041	28 Oct 1041	26 Nov 1041	26 Dec 1041	
21 June 1042	20 July 1042	19 Aug 1042	17 Sept 1042	16 Nov 1042	15 Dec 1042	14 Jan 1043	17 Oct 1042
9 July 1043	8 Aug 1043	6 Sept 1043	6 Oct 1043	5 Nov 1043	5 Dec 1043	3 Jan 1044	
29 June 1044	27 July 1044	26 Aug 1044	24 Sept 1044	24 Oct 1044	23 Nov 1044	22 Dec 1044	
17 July 1045	15 Aug 1045	14 Sept 1045	13 Oct 1045	12 Nov 1045	11 Dec 1045	10 Jan 1046	18 June 1045
7 July 1046	5 Aug 1046	3 Sept 1046	3 Oct 1046	1 Nov 1046	1 Dec 1046	30 Dec 1046	
27 June 1047	26 July 1047	24 Aug 1047	22 Sept 1047	22 Oct 1047	20 Nov 1047	20 Dec 1047	
14 July 1048	12 Aug 1048	11 Sept 1048	10 Oct 1048	9 Nov 1048	8 Dec 1048	7 Jan 1049	17 Feb 1048
3 July 1049	2 Aug 1049	31 Aug 1049	30 Sept 1049	29 Oct 1049	28 Nov 1049	27 Dec 1049	
22 June 1050	22 July 1050	20 Aug 1050	19 Sept 1050	19 Oct 1050	17 Nov 1050	16 Jan 1051	17 Dec 1050
11 July 1051	9 Aug 1051	8 Sept 1051	8 Oct 1051	7 Nov 1051	6 Dec 1051	5 Jan 1052	
29 June 1052	29 July 1052	27 Aug 1052	26 Sept 1052	26 Oct 1052	24 Nov 1052	24 Dec 1052	
19 June 1053	18 July 1053	15 Sept 1053	15 Oct 1053	13 Nov 1053	13 Dec 1053	12 Jan 1054	17 Aug 1053
8 July 1054	6 Aug 1054	5 Sept 1054	4 Oct 1054	3 Nov 1054	2 Dec 1054	1 Jan 1055	
28 June 1055	27 July 1055	25 Aug 1055	24 Sept 1055	23 Oct 1055	22 Nov 1055	21 Dec 1055	
16 July 1056	14 Aug 1056	12 Sept 1056	12 Oct 1056	10 Nov 1056	10 Dec 1056	8 Jan 1057	13 Apr 1056
5 July 1057	3 Aug 1057	2 Sept 1057	1 Oct 1057	31 Oct 1057	29 Nov 1057	29 Dec 1057	
4 June 1058	23 July 1058	22 Aug 1058	21 Sept 1058	20 Oct 1058	19 Nov 1058	18 Dec 1058	17 Jan 1059

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Kō-hei</b>	<b>2</b>	1719	36	15 Feb 1659	17 Mar 1659	15 Apr 1659	15 May 1659	13 June 1659
"	<b>3</b>	1720	37	5 Feb 1660	5 Mar 1660	4 Apr 1660	3 May 1660	1 June 1660
"	<b>4</b>	1721	38	24 Jan 1661	23 Feb 1661	24 Mar 1661	13 Apr 1661	22 May 1661
"	<b>5</b>	1722	39	12 Feb 1662	14 Mar 1662	12 Apr 1662	12 May 1662	10 June 1662
"	<b>6</b>	1723	40	1 Feb 1663	3 Mar 1663	2 Apr 1663	1 May 1663	31 May 1663
"	<b>7</b>	1724	41	21 Jan 1664	20 Feb 1664	21 Mar 1664	20 Apr 1664	19 May 1664
<b>Ji-riaku</b>	<b>1</b>	1725	42	8 Feb 1665	10 Mar 1665	9 Apr 1665	8 May 1665	7 June 1665
"	<b>2</b>	1726	43	29 Jan 1666	27 Feb 1666	29 Mar 1666	27 Apr 1666	27 May 1666
"	<b>3</b>	1727	44	18 Jan 1667*	18 Mar 1667	17 Apr 1667	16 May 1667	15 June 1667
"	<b>4</b>	1728	45	6 Feb 1668	7 Mar 1668	5 Apr 1668	4 May 1668	3 June 1668
<b>En-kiū</b>	<b>1</b>	1729	46	26 Jan 1669	24 Feb 1669	26 Mar 1669	24 Apr 1669	23 May 1669
"	<b>2</b>	1730	47	14 Feb 1670	15 Mar 1670	14 Apr 1670	13 May 1670	11 June 1670
"	<b>3</b>	1731	48	3 Feb 1671	5 Mar 1671	3 Apr 1671	3 May 1671	1 June 1671
"	<b>4</b>	1732	49	23 Jan 1672	22 Feb 1672	23 Mar 1672	21 Apr 1672	21 May 1672
"	<b>5</b>	1733	50	10 Feb 1673	12 Mar 1673	10 Apr 1673	10 May 1673	9 June 1673
<b>Jō-hō</b>	<b>1</b>	1734	51	30 Jan 1674	1 Mar 1674	30 Mar 1674	29 Apr 1674	29 May 1674
[Shō-hō]	<b>2</b>	1735	52	20 Jan 1675	18 Feb 1675	20 Mar 1675	18 Apr 1675*	16 June 1675
"	<b>3</b>	1736	53	8 Feb 1676	8 Mar 1676	6 Apr 1676	6 May 1676	5 June 1676
<b>Jō-riaku</b>	<b>1</b>	1737	54	27 Jan 1677	26 Feb 1677	27 Mar 1677	25 Apr 1677	25 May 1677
[Shō-reki]	<b>2</b>	1738	55	15 Feb 1678	17 Mar 1678	15 Apr 1678	14 May 1678	13 June 1678
"	<b>3</b>	1739	56	5 Feb 1679	6 Mar 1679	5 Apr 1679	4 May 1679	2 June 1679
"	<b>4</b>	1740	57	25 Jan 1680	24 Feb 1680	24 Mar 1680	23 Apr 1680	22 May 1680
<b>Ei-hō</b>	<b>1</b>	1741	58	12 Feb 1681	13 Mar 1681	12 Apr 1681	12 May 1681	10 June 1681
"	<b>2</b>	1742	59	1 Feb 1682	3 Mar 1682	1 Apr 1682	1 May 1682	30 May 1682
"	<b>3</b>	1743	60	24 Jan 1683	20 Feb 1683	21 Mar 1683	20 Apr 1683	20 May 1683
<b>Ō-toku</b>	<b>1</b>	1744	1	9 Feb 1684	9 Mar 1684	8 Apr 1684	8 May 1684	6 June 1684
"	<b>2</b>	1745	2	29 Jan 1685	27 Feb 1685	28 Mar 1685	27 Apr 1685	26 May 1685
"	<b>3</b>	1746	3	18 Jan 1686	17 Feb 1686	16 Apr 1686	16 May 1686	14 June 1686
<b>Kwan-ji</b>	<b>1</b>	1747	4	6 Feb 1687	8 Mar 1687	6 Apr 1687	5 May 1687	4 June 1687
"	<b>2</b>	1748	5	27 Jan 1688	25 Feb 1688	26 Mar 1688	24 Apr 1688	23 May 1688
"	<b>3</b>	1749	6	14 Feb 1689	15 Mar 1689	14 Apr 1689	13 May 1689	11 June 1689
"	<b>4</b>	1750	7	3 Feb 1690	4 Mar 1690	3 Apr 1690	3 May 1690	1 June 1690

康平 Kō-hei. 治暦 Ji-riaku. 延久 En-kiū. 承保 Jō-hō. 承暦 Jō-riaku. 永保 Ei-hō. 應徳 Ō-toku.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
13 July 1059	11 Aug 1059	10 Sept 1059	10 Oct 1059	8 Nov 1059	8 Dec 1059	6 Jan 1060	
1 July 1060	30 July 1060	29 Aug 1060	28 Sept 1060	27 Oct 1060	26 Nov 1060	26 Dec 1060	
20 June 1061	20 July 1061	18 Aug 1061*	16 Oct 1061	15 Nov 1061	15 Dec 1061	14 Jan 1062	17 Sept 1061
9 July 1062	8 Aug 1062	6 Sept 1062	6 Oct 1062	4 Nov 1062	14 Dec 1062	3 Jan 1063	
29 June 1063	28 July 1063	27 Aug 1063	25 Sept 1063	24 Oct 1063	23 Nov 1063	23 Dec 1063	
17 July 1064	15 Aug 1064	14 Sept 1064	13 Oct 1064	11 Nov 1064	11 Dec 1064	10 Jan 1065	18 June 1064
6 July 1065	5 Aug 1065	3 Sept 1065	3 Oct 1065	1 Nov 1065	1 Dec 1065	30 Dec 1065	
26 June 1066	25 July 1066	24 Aug 1066	22 Sept 1066	22 Oct 1066	20 Nov 1066	20 Dec 1066	
14 July 1067	13 Aug 1067	12 Sept 1067	11 Oct 1067	10 Nov 1067	9 Dec 1067	8 Jan 1068	17 Feb 1067
2 July 1068	1 Aug 1068	31 Aug 1068	29 Sept 1068	29 Oct 1068	28 Nov 1068	27 Dec 1068	
22 June 1069	21 July 1069	20 Aug 1069	18 Sept 1069	18 Oct 1069	17 Nov 1069*	15 Jan 1070	17 Dec 1069
11 July 1070	9 Aug 1070	8 Sept 1070	7 Oct 1070	6 Nov 1070	6 Dec 1070	4 Jan 1071	
30 June 1071	30 July 1071	28 Aug 1071	26 Sept 1071	26 Oct 1071	25 Nov 1071	24 Dec 1071	
19 June 1072	18 July 1072*	15 Sept 1072	14 Oct 1072	13 Nov 1072	13 Dec 1072	11 Jan 1073	17 Aug 1072
8 July 1073	6 Aug 1073	5 Sept 1073	4 Oct 1073	2 Nov 1073	2 Dec 1073	1 Jan 1074	
27 June 1074	27 July 1074	25 Aug 1074	24 Sept 1074	23 Oct 1074	22 Nov 1074	21 Dec 1074	
16 July 1075	15 Aug 1075	13 Sept 1075	13 Oct 1075	11 Nov 1075	11 Dec 1075	9 Jan 1076	18 May 1075
4 July 1076	3 Aug 1076	1 Sept 1076	1 Oct 1076	31 Oct 1076	29 Nov 1076	29 Dec 1076	
13 June 1077	23 July 1077	21 Aug 1077	20 Sept 1077	20 Oct 1077	19 Nov 1077	18 Dec 1077*	17 Jan 1078
2 July 1078	11 Aug 1078	9 Sept 1078	9 Oct 1078	8 Nov 1078	7 Dec 1078	6 Jan 1079	
2 July 1079	31 July 1079	29 Aug 1079	28 Sept 1079	28 Oct 1079	26 Nov 1079	26 Dec 1079	
20 June 1080	20 July 1080	18 Aug 1080*	16 Oct 1080	14 Nov 1080	14 Dec 1080	13 Jan 1081	16 Sept 1080
9 July 1081	8 Aug 1081	6 Sept 1081	5 Oct 1081	1 Nov 1081	3 Dec 1081	2 Jan 1082	
29 June 1082	28 July 1082	27 Aug 1082	25 Sept 1082	24 Oct 1082	23 Nov 1082	22 Dec 1082	
18 June 1083	16 Aug 1083	15 Sept 1083	14 Oct 1083	13 Nov 1083	12 Dec 1083	10 Jan 1084	18 July 1083
6 July 1084	4 Aug 1084	3 Sept 1084	3 Oct 1084	1 Nov 1084	1 Dec 1084	30 Dec 1084	
25 June 1085	25 July 1085	23 Aug 1085	22 Sept 1085	22 Oct 1085	20 Nov 1085	20 Dec 1085	
14 July 1086	12 Aug 1086	11 Sept 1086	11 Oct 1086	9 Nov 1086	9 Dec 1086	8 Jan 1087	18 Mar 1086
3 July 1087	1 Aug 1087	31 Aug 1087	30 Sept 1087	29 Oct 1087	28 Nov 1087	25 Dec 1087	
22 June 1088	21 July 1088	19 Aug 1088	18 Sept 1088	17 Oct 1088*	16 Dec 1088	15 Jan 1089	16 Nov 1088
11 July 1089	9 Aug 1089	7 Sept 1089	7 Oct 1089	5 Nov 1089	5 Dec 1089	4 Jan 1090	
30 June 1090	30 July 1090	28 Aug 1090	26 Sept 1090	26 Oct 1090	24 Nov 1090	24 Dec 1090	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Kwan-ji	5	1751	8	23 Jan 1091	21 Feb 1091	23 Mar 1091	22 Apr 1091	21 May 1091
"	6	1752	9	10 Feb 1092	11 Mar 1092	10 Apr 1092	9 May 1092	8 June 1092
"	7	1753	10	30 Jan 1093	28 Feb 1093	30 Mar 1093	28 Apr 1093	28 May 1093
Ka-hō	1	1754	11	19 Jan 1094	18 Feb 1094	19 Mar 1094	17 May 1094	16 June 1094
"	2	1755	12	8 Feb 1095	9 Mar 1095	7 Apr 1095	7 May 1095	5 June 1095
Ei-chō	1	1756	13	23 Jan 1096	27 Feb 1096	27 Mar 1096	25 Apr 1096	25 May 1096
Jō-toku	1	1757	14	16 Jan 1097	17 Mar 1097	15 Apr 1097	14 May 1097	13 June 1097
[Shō-toku]	2	1758	15	4 Feb 1098	6 Mar 1098	5 Apr 1098	4 May 1098	2 June 1098
Kō-wa	1	1759	16	24 Jan 1099	23 Feb 1099	25 Mar 1099	23 Apr 1099	23 May 1099
"	2	1760	17	12 Feb 1100	13 Mar 1100	12 Apr 1100	11 May 1100	10 June 1100
"	3	1761	18	31 Jan 1101	2 Mar 1101	1 Apr 1101	30 Apr 1101	30 May 1101
"	4	1762	19	21 Jan 1102	19 Feb 1102	21 Mar 1102	19 Apr 1102	19 May 1102
"	5	1763	20	9 Feb 1103	10 Mar 1103	9 Apr 1103	8 May 1103	7 June 1103
Chō-ji	1	1764	21	30 Jan 1104	28 Feb 1104	28 Mar 1104	27 Apr 1104	16 May 1104
"	2	1765	22	18 Jan 1105	17 Feb 1105	16 Apr 1105	16 May 1105	14 June 1105
Ka-jō	1	1766	23	6 Feb 1106	8 Mar 1106	6 Apr 1106	5 May 1106	4 June 1106
[Ka-shō]	2	1767	24	26 Jan 1107	25 Feb 1107	26 Mar 1107	25 Apr 1107	24 May 1107
Ten-nin	1	1768	25	14 Feb 1108	15 Mar 1108	13 Apr 1108	13 May 1108	11 June 1108
"	2	1769	26	2 Feb 1109	4 Mar 1109	2 Apr 1109	2 May 1109	1 June 1109
Ten-ei	1	1770	27	22 Jan 1110	21 Feb 1110	22 Mar 1110	21 Apr 1110	21 May 1110
"	2	1771	28	10 Feb 1111	12 Mar 1111	10 Apr 1111	10 May 1111	8 June 1111
"	3	1772	29	31 Jan 1112	29 Feb 1112	30 Mar 1112	28 Apr 1112	28 May 1112
Ei-kiū	1	1773	30	20 Jan 1113	18 Feb 1113	19 Mar 1113	17 May 1113	15 June 1113
"	2	1774	31	8 Feb 1114	9 Mar 1114	7 Apr 1114	7 May 1114	5 June 1114
"	3	1775	32	23 Jan 1115	26 Feb 1115	28 Mar 1115	26 Apr 1115	26 May 1115
"	4	1776	33	17 Jan 1116	16 Mar 1116	15 Apr 1116	14 May 1116	13 June 1116
"	5	1777	34	4 Feb 1117	5 Mar 1117	4 Apr 1117	4 May 1117	2 June 1117
Gen-ei	1	1778	35	24 Jan 1118	22 Feb 1118	24 Mar 1118	23 Apr 1118	22 May 1118
"	2	1779	36	12 Feb 1119	13 Mar 1119	12 Apr 1119	11 May 1119	10 June 1119
Hō-an	1	1780	37	1 Feb 1120	2 Mar 1120	31 Mar 1120	30 Apr 1120	29 May 1120
"	2	1781	38	21 Jan 1121	19 Feb 1121	21 Mar 1121	19 Apr 1121	18 May 1121
"	3	1782	39	9 Feb 1122	10 Mar 1122	9 Apr 1122	8 May 1122	6 June 1122

寛治 Kwan-ji. 嘉保 Ka-hō. 承長 Ei-chō. 承徳 Jō-toku. 康和 Kō-wa. 長治 Chō-ji. 嘉承 Ka-jō.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
20 June 1091	19 July 1091*	16 Sept 1091	16 Oct 1091	14 Nov 1091	13 Dec 1091	12 Jan 1092	18 Aug 1091
8 July 1092	6 Aug 1092	5 Sept 1092	4 Oct 1092	2 Nov 1092	2 Dec 1092	31 Dec 1092	
27 June 1093	26 July 1093	25 Aug 1093	23 Sept 1093	23 Oct 1093	22 Nov 1093	21 Dec 1093	
15 July 1094	14 Aug 1094	13 Sept 1094	12 Oct 1094	11 Nov 1094	11 Dec 1094	9 Jan 1095	18 Apr 1094
5 July 1095	3 Aug 1095	2 Sept 1095	1 Oct 1095	31 Oct 1095	30 Nov 1095	30 Dec 1095	
23 June 1096	22 July 1096	21 Aug 1096	19 Sept 1096	19 Oct 1096	18 Nov 1096	18 Dec 1096	
12 July 1097	10 Aug 1097	9 Sept 1097	8 Oct 1097	7 Nov 1097	7 Dec 1097	6 Jan 1098	15 Feb 1097
2 July 1098	31 July 1098	29 Aug 1098	28 Sept 1098	27 Oct 1098	26 Nov 1098	26 Dec 1098	
21 June 1099	21 July 1099	19 Aug 1099	17 Sept 1099*	15 Nov 1099	15 Dec 1099	13 Jan 1100	17 Oct 1099
9 July 1100	8 Aug 1100	6 Sept 1100	5 Oct 1100	4 Nov 1100	3 Dec 1100	2 Jan 1101	
28 June 1101	28 July 1101	27 Aug 1101	25 Sept 1101	24 Oct 1101	23 Nov 1101	22 Dec 1101	
17 July 1102	16 Aug 1102	14 Sept 1102	14 Oct 1102	12 Nov 1102	12 Dec 1102	10 Jan 1103	18 June 1102
6 July 1103	5 Aug 1103	4 Sept 1103	3 Oct 1103	2 Nov 1103	1 Dec 1103	31 Dec 1103	
24 June 1104	24 July 1104	23 Aug 1104	21 Sept 1104	21 Oct 1104	20 Nov 1104	19 Dec 1104	
23 July 1105	12 Aug 1105	10 Sept 1105	10 Oct 1105	9 Nov 1105	9 Dec 1105	7 Jan 1106	18 Mar 1105
3 July 1106	1 Aug 1106	31 Aug 1106	29 Sept 1106	29 Oct 1106	28 Nov 1106	27 Dec 1106	
3 June 1107	22 July 1107	20 Aug 1107	19 Sept 1107	18 Oct 1107*	16 Dec 1107	15 Jan 1108	17 Nov 1107
1 July 1108	9 Aug 1108	7 Sept 1108	7 Oct 1108	5 Nov 1108	5 Dec 1108	3 Jan 1109	
0 June 1109	30 July 1109	28 Aug 1109	26 Sept 1109	26 Oct 1109	24 Nov 1109	24 Dec 1109	
9 June 1110	19 July 1110*	16 Sept 1110	15 Oct 1110	14 Nov 1110	13 Dec 1110	12 Jan 1111	17 Aug 1110
8 July 1111	7 Aug 1111	5 Sept 1111	5 Oct 1111	3 Nov 1111	3 Dec 1111	1 Jan 1112	
6 June 1112	26 July 1112	24 Aug 1112	23 Sept 1112	23 Oct 1112	21 Nov 1112	21 Dec 1112	
15 July 1113	13 Aug 1113	12 Sept 1113	12 Oct 1113	11 Nov 1113	10 Dec 1113	9 Jan 1114	18 Apr 1113
4 July 1114	3 Aug 1114	1 Sept 1114	1 Oct 1114	30 Oct 1114	29 Nov 1114	29 Dec 1114	
24 June 1115	23 July 1115	22 Aug 1115	20 Sept 1115	20 Oct 1115	18 Nov 1115	18 Dec 1115	
12 July 1116	10 Aug 1116	9 Sept 1116	8 Oct 1116	7 Nov 1116	6 Dec 1116	5 Jan 1117	16 Feb 1116
2 July 1117	31 July 1117	29 Aug 1117	28 Sept 1117	27 Oct 1117	26 Nov 1117	25 Dec 1117	
21 June 1118	20 July 1118	19 Aug 1118	17 Sept 1118*	15 Nov 1118	15 Dec 1118	13 Jan 1119	17 Oct 1118
10 July 1119	8 Aug 1119	7 Sept 1119	6 Oct 1119	5 Nov 1119	4 Dec 1119	3 Jan 1120	
28 June 1120	27 July 1120	26 Aug 1120	25 Sept 1120	24 Oct 1120	23 Nov 1120	22 Dec 1120	
16 July 1121	15 Aug 1121	14 Sept 1121	14 Oct 1121	12 Nov 1121	12 Dec 1121	10 Jan 1122	17 June 1121
6 July 1122	4 Aug 1122	3 Sept 1122	3 Oct 1122	1 Nov 1122	1 Dec 1122	31 Dec 1122	

天仁 Ten-nin. 天永 Ten-ei. 永久 Ei-kiū. 元永 Gen-ei. 保安 Hō-an.



Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tenno.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Hō-an	4	1783	40	29 Jan 1123	28 Feb 1123	29 Mar 1123	28 Apr 1123	27 May 1123
Ten-ji	1	1784	41	19 Jan 1124	17 Feb 1124	16 Apr 1124	16 May 1124	14 June 1124
"	2	1785	42	5 Feb 1125	7 Mar 1125	6 Apr 1125	5 May 1125	4 June 1125
Dai-ji	1	1786	43	25 Jan 1126	24 Feb 1126	26 Mar 1126	25 Apr 1126	24 May 1126
"	2	1787	44	13 Feb 1127	15 Mar 1127	14 Apr 1127	13 May 1127	12 June 1127
"	3	1788	45	3 Feb 1128	3 Mar 1128	2 Apr 1128	1 May 1128	31 May 1128
"	4	1789	46	22 Jan 1129	21 Feb 1129	22 Mar 1129	21 Apr 1129	20 May 1129
"	5	1790	47	10 Feb 1130	12 Mar 1130	10 Apr 1130	9 May 1130	8 June 1130
Ten-ō } [Ten-shō]	1	1791	48	31 Jan 1131	1 Mar 1131	31 Mar 1131	29 Apr 1131	28 May 1131
Chō-jō	1	1792	49	20 Jan 1132	19 Feb 1132	19 Mar 1132	18 Apr 1132*	15 June 1132
[Chō-shō]	2	1793	50	7 Feb 1133	9 Mar 1133	7 Apr 1133	7 May 1133	5 June 1133
"	3	1794	51	27 Jan 1134	26 Feb 1134	28 Mar 1134	26 Apr 1134	26 May 1134
Hō-en	1	1795	52	15 Feb 1135	17 Mar 1135	15 Apr 1135	15 May 1135	13 June 1135
"	2	1796	53	4 Feb 1136	5 Mar 1136	3 Apr 1136	3 May 1136	2 June 1136
"	3	1797	54	23 Jan 1137	22 Feb 1137	24 Mar 1137	22 Apr 1137	22 May 1137
"	4	1798	55	12 Feb 1138	13 Mar 1138	11 Apr 1138	11 May 1138	9 June 1138
"	5	1799	56	1 Feb 1139	3 Mar 1139	1 Apr 1139	30 Apr 1139	30 May 1139
"	6	1800	57	22 Jan 1140	20 Feb 1140	21 Mar 1140	19 Apr 1140	18 May 1140*
Ei-ji	1	1801	58	9 Feb 1141	10 Mar 1141	9 Apr 1141	8 May 1141	6 June 1141
Kō-ji	1	1802	59	29 Jan 1142	28 Feb 1142	29 Mar 1142	28 Apr 1142	27 May 1142
"	2	1803	60	18 Jan 1143	17 Feb 1143*	17 Apr 1143	17 May 1143	15 June 1143
Ten-yō	1	1804	1	6 Feb 1144	6 Mar 1144	5 Apr 1144	5 May 1144	3 June 1144
Kiū-an	1	1805	2	25 Jan 1145	24 Feb 1145	25 Mar 1145	24 Apr 1145	24 May 1145
"	2	1806	3	13 Feb 1146	14 Mar 1146	13 Apr 1146	13 May 1146	11 June 1146
"	3	1807	4	2 Feb 1147	4 Mar 1147	2 Apr 1147	2 May 1147	31 May 1147
"	4	1808	5	23 Jan 1148	22 Feb 1148	22 Mar 1148	20 Apr 1148	20 May 1148
"	5	1809	6	10 Feb 1149	12 Mar 1149	10 Apr 1149	9 May 1149	8 June 1149
"	6	1810	7	31 Jan 1150	1 Mar 1150	31 Mar 1150	29 Apr 1150	28 May 1150
Nim-biō	1	1811	8	20 Jan 1151	18 Feb 1151	20 Mar 1151	19 Apr 1151*	16 June 1151
[Nim-pei]	2	1812	9	8 Feb 1152	8 Mar 1152	7 Apr 1152	6 May 1152	5 June 1152
"	3	1813	10	27 Jan 1153	25 Feb 1153	27 Mar 1153	26 Apr 1153	25 May 1153
Kiū-ju	1	1814	11	14 Feb 1154	16 Mar 1154	15 Apr 1154	14 May 1154	13 June 1154

保安 Hō-an. 天治 Ten-ji. 大治 Dai-ji. 天承 Ten-jō. 長承 Chō-jō. 保延 Hō-en. 永治 Ei-ji.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
25 June 1123	25 July 1123	23 Aug 1123	22 Sept 1123	21 Oct 1123	20 Nov 1123	20 Dec 1123	
13 July 1124	12 Aug 1124	10 Sept 1124	9 Oct 1124	8 Nov 1124	8 Dec 1124	7 Jan 1125	18 Mar 1124
3 July 1125	1 Aug 1125	31 Aug 1125	29 Sept 1125	28 Oct 1125	27 Nov 1125	27 Dec 1125	
23 June 1126	22 July 1126	20 Aug 1126	19 Sept 1126	18 Oct 1126	16 Dec 1126	15 Jan 1127	16 Nov 1126
11 July 1127	10 Aug 1127	8 Sept 1127	8 Oct 1127	6 Nov 1127	6 Dec 1127	4 Jan 1128	
30 June 1128	29 July 1128	28 Aug 1128	26 Sept 1128	26 Oct 1128	24 Nov 1128	24 Dec 1128	
19 June 1129	18 July 1129	17 Aug 1129*	15 Oct 1129	14 Nov 1129	13 Dec 1129	12 Jan 1130	16 Sept 1129
7 July 1130	6 Aug 1130	5 Sept 1130	4 Oct 1130	3 Nov 1130	3 Dec 1130	1 Jan 1131	
27 June 1131	26 July 1131	25 Aug 1131	23 Sept 1131	23 Oct 1131	22 Nov 1131	22 Dec 1131	
15 July 1132	13 Aug 1132	11 Sept 1132	11 Oct 1132	10 Nov 1132	10 Dec 1132	8 Jan 1133	17 May 1132
4 July 1133	3 Aug 1133	1 Sept 1133	30 Sept 1133	30 Oct 1133	29 Nov 1133	28 Dec 1133	
24 June 1134	23 July 1134	22 Aug 1134	20 Sept 1134	19 Oct 1134	18 Nov 1134	18 Dec 1134*	16 Jan 1135
13 July 1135	11 Aug 1135	10 Sept 1135	9 Oct 1135	7 Nov 1135	7 Dec 1135	5 Jan 1136	
1 July 1136	31 July 1136	20 Aug 1136	28 Sept 1136	27 Oct 1136	26 Nov 1136	25 Dec 1136	
20 June 1137	20 July 1137	19 Aug 1137	17 Sept 1137*	15 Nov 1137	15 Dec 1137	13 Jan 1138	17 Oct 1137
9 July 1138	8 Aug 1138	6 Sept 1138	6 Oct 1138	5 Nov 1138	4 Dec 1138	3 Jan 1139	
28 June 1139	28 July 1139	26 Aug 1139	25 Sept 1139	25 Oct 1139	24 Nov 1139	23 Dec 1139	
16 July 1140	15 Aug 1140	13 Sept 1140	13 Oct 1140	12 Nov 1140	11 Dec 1140	10 Jan 1141	17 June 1140
6 July 1141	4 Aug 1141	2 Sept 1141	2 Oct 1141	1 Nov 1141	30 Nov 1141	30 Dec 1141	
25 June 1142	25 July 1142	23 Aug 1142	21 Sept 1142	21 Oct 1142	19 Nov 1142	19 Dec 1142	
14 July 1143	13 Aug 1143	11 Sept 1143	10 Oct 1143	9 Nov 1143	8 Dec 1143	7 Jan 1144	18 Mar 1143
3 July 1144	1 Aug 1144	31 Aug 1144	29 Sept 1144	28 Oct 1144	27 Nov 1144	26 Dec 1144	
22 June 1145	22 July 1145	20 Aug 1145	19 Sept 1145	18 Oct 1145*	16 Dec 1145	14 Jan 1146	16 Nov 1145
11 July 1146	9 Aug 1146	8 Sept 1146	8 Oct 1146	6 Nov 1146	6 Dec 1146	4 Jan 1147	
30 June 1147	30 July 1147	28 Aug 1147	27 Sept 1147	26 Oct 1147	25 Nov 1147	25 Dec 1147	
18 June 1148*	16 Aug 1148	15 Sept 1148	15 Oct 1148	13 Nov 1148	13 Dec 1148	12 Jan 1149	18 July 1148
7 July 1149	5 Aug 1149	4 Sept 1149	4 Oct 1149	2 Nov 1149	2 Dec 1149	1 Jan 1150	
27 June 1150	26 July 1150	24 Aug 1150	23 Sept 1150	22 Oct 1150	21 Nov 1150	21 Dec 1150	
16 July 1151	14 Aug 1151	12 Sept 1151	12 Oct 1151	10 Nov 1151	10 Dec 1151	9 Jan 1152	18 May 1151
4 July 1152	3 Aug 1152	1 Sept 1152	30 Sept 1152	30 Oct 1152	28 Nov 1152	28 Dec 1152	
24 June 1153	23 July 1153	22 Aug 1153	20 Sept 1153	19 Oct 1153	18 Nov 1153	17 Dec 1153*	16 Jan 1154
13 July 1154	11 Aug 1154	10 Sept 1154	9 Oct 1154	7 Nov 1154	7 Dec 1154	5 Jan 1155	

康治 Kō-ji. 天養 Ten-yō. 久安 Kiū-an. 仁平 Nim-bi. 久壽 Kiū-ju.

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Kiū-ju	2	1815	12	4 Feb 1155	5 Mar 1155	4 Apr 1155	3 May 1155	2 June 1155
Hō-gen	1	1816	13	24 Jan 1156	23 Feb 1156	23 Mar 1156	22 Apr 1156	21 May 1156
"	2	1817	14	12 Feb 1157	13 Mar 1157	11 Apr 1157	11 May 1157	9 June 1157
"	3	1818	15	1 Feb 1158	3 Mar 1158	1 Apr 1158	30 Apr 1158	30 May 1158
Hei-ji	1	1819	16	21 Jan 1159	20 Feb 1159	22 Mar 1159	20 Apr 1159	19 May 1159
Ei-riaku } Ei-reki }	1	1820	17	9 Feb 1160	10 Mar 1160	9 Apr 1160	8 May 1160	6 June 1160
Ō-hō	1	1821	18	28 Jan 1161	27 Feb 1161	29 Mar 1161	27 Apr 1161	27 May 1161
"	2	1822	19	17 Jan 1162	16 Feb 1162	18 Mar 1162*	16 May 1162	15 June 1162
Chō-kwan	1	1823	20	5 Feb 1163	7 Mar 1163	6 Apr 1163	5 May 1163	4 June 1163
"	2	1824	21	26 Jan 1164	24 Feb 1164	25 Mar 1164	23 Apr 1164	23 May 1164
Ei-man	1	1825	22	13 Feb 1165	14 Mar 1165	13 Apr 1165	12 May 1165	11 June 1165
Nin-an	1	1826	23	3 Feb 1166	4 Mar 1166	2 Apr 1166	2 May 1166	31 May 1166
"	2	1827	24	23 Jan 1167	22 Feb 1167	23 Mar 1167	21 Apr 1167	21 May 1167
"	3	1828	25	11 Feb 1168	12 Mar 1168	10 Apr 1168	9 May 1168	8 June 1168
Ka-ō	1	1829	26	30 Jan 1169	1 Mar 1169	30 Mar 1169	20 Apr 1169	28 May 1169
"	2	1830	27	19 Jan 1170	18 Feb 1170	20 Mar 1170	18 Apr 1170*	16 June 1170
Jō-an	1	1831	28	7 Feb 1171	9 Mar 1171	7 Apr 1171	7 May 1171	6 June 1171
[Shō-an]	2	1832	29	27 Jan 1172	26 Feb 1172	26 Mar 1172	25 Apr 1172	25 May 1172
"	3	1833	30	14 Feb 1173	16 Mar 1173	14 Apr 1173	14 May 1173	12 June 1173
"	4	1834	31	4 Feb 1174	5 Mar 1174	4 Apr 1174	3 May 1174	2 June 1174
An-gen	1	1835	32	24 Jan 1175	23 Feb 1175	24 Mar 1175	23 Apr 1175	22 May 1175
"	2	1836	33	12 Feb 1176	13 Mar 1176	11 Apr 1176	11 May 1176	9 June 1176
Ji-shō	1	1837	34	1 Feb 1177	2 Mar 1177	1 Apr 1177	30 Apr 1177	30 May 1177
"	2	1838	35	21 Jan 1178	20 Feb 1178	21 Mar 1178	20 Apr 1178	19 May 1178
"	3	1839	36	9 Feb 1179	10 Mar 1179	9 Apr 1179	9 May 1179	7 June 1179
"	4	1840	37	29 Jan 1180	27 Feb 1180	28 Mar 1180	27 Apr 1180	26 May 1180
Yō-wa	1	1841	38	17 Jan 1181	16 Feb 1181*	16 Apr 1181	15 May 1181	14 June 1181
Ju-ei	1	1842	39	5 Feb 1182	7 Mar 1182	5 Apr 1182	5 May 1182	3 June 1182
"	2	1843	40	26 Jan 1183	24 Feb 1183	26 Mar 1183	24 Apr 1183	23 May 1183
Gen-riaku	1	1844	41	14 Feb 1184	14 Mar 1184	13 Apr 1184	12 May 1184	10 June 1184
Bun-ji	1	1845	42	2 Feb 1185	4 Mar 1185	2 Apr 1185	2 May 1185	31 May 1185
"	2	1846	43	23 Jan 1186	21 Feb 1186	23 Mar 1186	21 Apr 1186	21 May 1186

久壽 Kiū-ju. 保元 Hō-gen. 平治 Hei-ji. 永曆 Ei-riaku. 應保 Ō-hō. 長寛 Chō-kwan. 永萬 Ei-man.  
元暦 Gen-riaku. 文治 Bun-ji.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
2 July 1155	31 July 1155	30 Aug 1155	28 Sept 1155	28 Oct 1155	27 Nov 1155	26 Dec 1155	
20 June 1156	19 July 1156	18 Aug 1156	17 Sept 1156*	15 Nov 1156	15 Dec 1156	13 Jan 1157	16 Oct 1156
9 July 1157	7 Aug 1157	6 Sept 1157	5 Oct 1157	4 Nov 1157	4 Dec 1157	3 Jan 1158	
28 June 1158	27 July 1158	20 Aug 1158	24 Sept 1158	24 Oct 1158	23 Nov 1158	23 Dec 1158	
17 July 1159	15 Aug 1159	14 Sept 1159	13 Oct 1159	12 Nov 1159	12 Dec 1159	11 Jan 1160	18 June 1159
6 July 1160	4 Aug 1160	2 Sept 1160	2 Oct 1160	31 Oct 1160	30 Nov 1160	30 Dec 1160	
25 June 1161	25 July 1161	23 Aug 1161	21 Sept 1161	21 Oct 1161	19 Nov 1161	19 Dec 1161	
14 July 1162	13 Aug 1162	11 Sept 1162	10 Oct 1162	9 Nov 1162	8 Dec 1162	7 Jan 1163	17 Apr 1162
3 July 1163	2 Aug 1163	31 Aug 1163	30 Sept 1163	29 Oct 1163	28 Nov 1163	27 Dec 1163	
21 June 1164	21 July 1164	20 Aug 1164	18 Sept 1164	18 Oct 1164	16 Nov 1164*	14 Jan 1165	16 Dec 1164
10 July 1165	9 Aug 1165	7 Sept 1165	7 Oct 1165	6 Nov 1165	5 Dec 1165	4 Jan 1166	
29 June 1166	29 July 1166	28 Aug 1166	26 Sept 1166	26 Oct 1166	25 Nov 1166	24 Dec 1166	
19 June 1167	18 July 1167*	15 Sept 1167	15 Oct 1167	14 Nov 1167	14 Dec 1167	12 Jan 1168	17 Aug 1167
7 July 1168	5 Aug 1168	4 Sept 1168	3 Oct 1168	2 Nov 1168	1 Dec 1168	31 Dec 1168	
27 June 1169	26 July 1169	24 Aug 1169	23 Sept 1169	22 Oct 1169	21 Nov 1169	20 Dec 1169	
16 July 1170	14 Aug 1170	12 Sept 1170	12 Oct 1170	10 Nov 1170	10 Dec 1170	8 Jan 1171	18 May 1170
5 July 1171	3 Aug 1171	2 Sept 1171	1 Oct 1171	31 Oct 1171	29 Nov 1171	29 Dec 1171	
23 June 1172	23 July 1172	21 Aug 1172	20 Sept 1172	19 Oct 1172	18 Nov 1172	17 Dec 1172*	16 Jan 1173
12 July 1173	11 Aug 1173	9 Sept 1173	9 Oct 1173	7 Nov 1173	7 Dec 1173	5 Jan 1174	
1 July 1174	31 July 1174	29 Aug 1174	28 Sept 1174	28 Oct 1174	26 Nov 1174	26 Dec 1174	
20 June 1175	20 July 1175	18 Aug 1175	17 Sept 1175*	15 Nov 1175	15 Dec 1175	14 Jan 1176	17 Oct 1175
8 July 1176	7 Aug 1176	5 Sept 1176	5 Oct 1176	3 Nov 1176	3 Dec 1176	2 Jan 1177	
28 June 1177	27 July 1177	26 Aug 1177	24 Sept 1177	24 Oct 1177	22 Nov 1177	22 Dec 1177	
18 June 1178*	15 Aug 1178	14 Sept 1178	13 Oct 1178	12 Nov 1178	11 Dec 1178	10 Jan 1179	17 July 1178
7 July 1179	5 Aug 1179	3 Sept 1179	3 Oct 1179	1 Nov 1179	1 Dec 1179	30 Dec 1179	
25 June 1180	24 July 1180	23 Aug 1180	21 Sept 1180	21 Oct 1180	19 Nov 1180	19 Dec 1180	
14 July 1181	12 Aug 1181	11 Sept 1181	10 Oct 1181	9 Nov 1181	8 Dec 1181	7 Jan 1182	17 Mar 1181
3 July 1182	1 Aug 1182	31 Aug 1182	30 Sept 1182	29 Oct 1182	28 Nov 1182	27 Dec 1182	
22 June 1183	21 July 1183	20 Aug 1183	19 Sept 1183	18 Oct 1183	17 Nov 1183*	15 Jan 1184	17 Dec 1183
10 July 1184	8 Aug 1184	7 Sept 1184	7 Oct 1184	5 Nov 1184	5 Dec 1184	4 Jan 1185	
29 June 1185	29 July 1185	27 Aug 1185	26 Sept 1185	25 Oct 1185	24 Nov 1185	24 Dec 1185	
19 June 1186	18 July 1186*	15 Sept 1186	14 Oct 1186	13 Nov 1186	13 Dec 1186	12 Jan 1187	17 Aug 1186

仁安 *Nin-an*. 嘉應 *Ka-ō*. 承安 *Jū-an*. 安元 *An-gzū*. 治承 *Ji-s'ō*. 養和 *Yō-wa*. 壽永 *Jū-ji*.

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Bun-ji</b>	<b>3</b>	1847	44	10 Feb 1187	12 Mar 1187	11 Apr 1187	10 May 1187	9 June 1187
"	<b>4</b>	1848	45	30 Jan 1188	29 Feb 1188	30 Mar 1188	29 Apr 1188	28 May 1188
"	<b>5</b>	1849	46	19 Jan 1189	17 Feb 1189	19 Mar 1189	18 May 1189	16 June 1189
<b>Ken-kiū</b>	<b>1</b>	1850	47	7 Feb 1190	8 Mar 1190	7 Apr 1190	6 May 1190	5 June 1190
"	<b>2</b>	1851	48	27 Jan 1191	26 Feb 1191	27 Mar 1191	25 Apr 1191	25 May 1191
"	<b>3</b>	1852	49	15 Feb 1192	16 Mar 1192	14 Apr 1192	13 May 1192	12 June 1192
"	<b>4</b>	1853	50	4 Feb 1193	5 Mar 1193	4 Apr 1193	3 May 1193	1 June 1193
"	<b>5</b>	1854	51	24 Jan 1194	23 Feb 1194	24 Mar 1194	23 Apr 1194	22 May 1194
"	<b>6</b>	1855	52	12 Feb 1195	14 Mar 1195	12 Apr 1195	12 May 1195	10 June 1195
"	<b>7</b>	1856	53	1 Feb 1196	2 Mar 1196	1 Apr 1196	30 Apr 1196	30 May 1196
"	<b>8</b>	1857	54	20 Jan 1197	19 Feb 1197	21 Mar 1197	19 Apr 1197	19 May 1197
"	<b>9</b>	1858	55	8 Feb 1198	10 Mar 1198	8 Apr 1198	8 May 1198	7 June 1198
<b>Shō-ji</b>	<b>1</b>	1859	56	28 Jan 1199	27 Feb 1199	29 Mar 1199	27 Apr 1199	27 May 1199
"	<b>2</b>	1860	57	18 Jan 1200	16 Feb 1200	15 Apr 1200	15 May 1200	13 June 1200
<b>Ken-nin</b>	<b>1</b>	1861	58	5 Feb 1201	7 Mar 1201	5 Apr 1201	4 May 1201	3 June 1201
"	<b>2</b>	1862	59	26 Jan 1202	24 Feb 1202	26 Mar 1202	24 Apr 1202	23 May 1202
"	<b>3</b>	1863	60	14 Feb 1203	15 Mar 1203	14 Apr 1203	13 May 1203	11 June 1203
<b>Gen-kiū</b>	<b>1</b>	1864	1	3 Feb 1204	4 Mar 1204	2 Apr 1204	2 May 1204	31 May 1204
"	<b>2</b>	1865	2	22 Jan 1205	21 Feb 1205	22 Mar 1205	21 Apr 1205	21 May 1205
<b>Ken-ei</b>	<b>1</b>	1866	3	10 Feb 1206	11 Mar 1206	10 Apr 1206	10 May 1206	8 June 1206
<b>Jō-gen</b>	<b>1</b>	1867	4	30 Jan 1207	1 Mar 1207	30 Mar 1207	29 Apr 1207	29 May 1207
[ <b>Shō-gen</b> ]	<b>2</b>	1868	5	19 Jan 1208	18 Feb 1208	18 Mar 1208	17 Apr 1208	15 June 1208
"	<b>3</b>	1869	6	6 Feb 1209	8 Mar 1209	6 Apr 1209	6 May 1209	4 June 1209
"	<b>4</b>	1870	7	27 Jan 1210	26 Feb 1210	27 Mar 1210	25 Apr 1210	25 May 1210
<b>Ken-riaku</b>	<b>1</b>	1871	8	17 Jan 1211	17 Mar 1211	15 Apr 1211	14 May 1211	13 June 1211
"	<b>2</b>	1872	9	5 Feb 1212	5 Mar 1212	4 Apr 1212	3 May 1212	1 June 1212
<b>Kem-pō</b>	<b>1</b>	1873	10	24 Jan 1213	22 Feb 1213	24 Mar 1213	23 Apr 1213	22 May 1213
"	<b>2</b>	1874	11	12 Feb 1214	13 Mar 1214	12 Apr 1214	11 May 1214	10 June 1214
"	<b>3</b>	1875	12	1 Feb 1215	2 Mar 1215	1 Apr 1215	1 May 1215	30 May 1215
"	<b>4</b>	1876	13	21 Jan 1216	19 Feb 1216	20 Mar 1216	19 Apr 1216	18 May 1216
"	<b>5</b>	1877	14	8 Feb 1217	9 Mar 1217	8 Apr 1217	7 May 1217	6 June 1217
"	<b>6</b>	1878	15	28 Jan 1218	27 Feb 1218	28 Mar 1218	27 Apr 1218	26 May 1218

文治 *Bun-ji*. 建久 *Ken-kiū*. 正治 *Shō-ji*. 建仁 *Ken-nin*. 元久 *Gen-kiū*. 建永 *Ken-ei*. 承元 *Jō-gen*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
8 July 1187	6 Aug 1187	5 Sept 1187	4 Oct 1187	2 Nov 1187	2 Dec 1187	1 Jan 1188	
26 June 1188	26 July 1188	24 Aug 1188	23 Sept 1188	22 Oct 1188	20 Nov 1188	20 Dec 1188	
15 July 1189	14 Aug 1189	12 Sept 1189	12 Oct 1189	10 Nov 1189	10 Dec 1189	8 Jan 1190	17 May 1189
5 July 1190	3 Aug 1190	2 Sept 1190	1 Oct 1190	31 Oct 1190	29 Nov 1190	29 Dec 1190	
24 June 1191	23 July 1191	22 Aug 1191	21 Sept 1191	20 Oct 1191	19 Nov 1191	18 Dec 1191*	17 Jan 1192
11 July 1192	10 Aug 1192	9 Sept 1192	8 Oct 1192	7 Nov 1192	7 Dec 1192	5 Jan 1193	
1 July 1193	30 July 1193	29 Aug 1193	27 Sept 1193	27 Oct 1193	26 Nov 1193	26 Dec 1193	
20 June 1194	20 July 1194	18 Aug 1194*	16 Oct 1194	15 Nov 1194	15 Dec 1194	13 Jan 1195	16 Sept 1194
9 July 1195	7 Aug 1195	6 Sept 1195	5 Oct 1195	4 Nov 1195	4 Dec 1195	2 Jan 1196	
28 June 1196	27 July 1196	26 Aug 1196	24 Sept 1196	23 Oct 1196	22 Nov 1196	22 Dec 1196	
17 June 1197*	15 Aug 1197	14 Sept 1197	13 Oct 1197	11 Nov 1197	11 Dec 1197	9 Jan 1198	17 July 1197
6 July 1198	5 Aug 1198	3 Sept 1198	3 Oct 1198	1 Nov 1198	30 Nov 1198	30 Dec 1198	
25 June 1199	25 July 1199	24 Aug 1199	22 Sept 1199	22 Oct 1199	20 Nov 1199	20 Dec 1199	
13 July 1200	12 Aug 1200	10 Sept 1200	10 Oct 1200	9 Nov 1200	8 Dec 1200	7 Jan 1201	17 Mar 1200
2 July 1201	1 Aug 1201	30 Aug 1201	29 Sept 1201	29 Oct 1201	28 Nov 1201	27 Dec 1201	
22 June 1202	21 July 1202	19 Aug 1202	18 Sept 1202	18 Oct 1202*	16 Dec 1202	15 Jan 1203	17 Nov 1202
10 July 1203	9 Aug 1203	7 Sept 1203	7 Oct 1203	6 Nov 1203	5 Dec 1203	4 Jan 1204	
29 June 1204	28 July 1204	27 Aug 1204	25 Sept 1204	25 Oct 1204	23 Nov 1204	23 Dec 1204	
19 June 1205	18 July 1205*	15 Sept 1205	14 Oct 1205	13 Nov 1205	12 Dec 1205	11 Jan 1206	17 Aug 1205
8 July 1206	6 Aug 1206	5 Sept 1206	4 Oct 1206	2 Nov 1206	2 Dec 1206	31 Dec 1206	
27 June 1207	27 July 1207	25 Aug 1207	24 Sept 1207	23 Oct 1207	21 Nov 1207	21 Dec 1207	
15 July 1208	13 Aug 1208	12 Sept 1208	12 Oct 1208	10 Nov 1208	10 Dec 1208	8 Jan 1209	17 May 1208
4 July 1209	2 Aug 1209	1 Sept 1209	1 Oct 1209	30 Oct 1209	29 Nov 1209	29 Dec 1209	
23 June 1210	23 July 1210	21 Aug 1210	20 Sept 1210	20 Oct 1210	18 Nov 1210	18 Dec 1210	
12 July 1211	10 Aug 1211	9 Sept 1211	9 Oct 1211	7 Nov 1211	7 Dec 1211	6 Jan 1212	15 Feb 1211
30 June 1212	30 July 1212	28 Aug 1212	27 Sept 1212	26 Oct 1212	25 Nov 1212	25 Dec 1212	
20 June 1213	20 July 1213	18 Aug 1213	16 Sept 1213*	14 Nov 1213	14 Dec 1213	13 Jan 1214	16 Oct 1213
9 July 1214	8 Aug 1214	6 Sept 1214	5 Oct 1214	4 Nov 1214	3 Dec 1214	2 Jan 1215	
29 June 1215	28 July 1215	27 Aug 1215	25 Sept 1215	24 Oct 1215	23 Nov 1215	22 Dec 1215	
17 June 1216*	15 Aug 1216	14 Sept 1216	13 Oct 1216	11 Nov 1216	11 Dec 1216	9 Jan 1217	17 July 1216
6 July 1217	4 Aug 1217	3 Sept 1217	2 Oct 1217	1 Nov 1217	1 Dec 1217	30 Dec 1217	
25 June 1218	24 July 1218	23 Aug 1218	22 Sept 1218	21 Oct 1218	20 Nov 1218	20 Dec 1218	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Jō-kiū	1	1879	16	18 Jan 1219	17 Feb 1219*	16 Apr 1219	16 May 1219	14 June 1219
[Shō-kiū]	2	1880	17	6 Feb 1220	7 Mar 1220	5 Apr 1220	4 May 1220	3 June 1220
"	3	1881	18	25 Jan 1221	24 Feb 1221	26 Mar 1221	24 Apr 1221	23 May 1221
Jō-ō	1	1882	19	13 Feb 1222	15 Mar 1222	13 Apr 1222	13 May 1222	11 June 1222
"	2	1883	20	2 Feb 1223	4 Mar 1223	3 Apr 1223	2 May 1223	1 June 1223
Gen-nin	1	1884	21	22 Jan 1224	21 Feb 1224	22 Mar 1224	20 Apr 1224	20 May 1224
Ka-roku	1	1885	22	9 Feb 1225	11 Mar 1225	10 Apr 1225	9 May 1225	8 June 1225
"	2	1886	23	30 Jan 1226	28 Feb 1226	30 Mar 1226	28 Apr 1226	28 May 1226
An-tei	1	1887	24	19 Jan 1227	18 Feb 1227	19 Mar 1227*	17 May 1227	16 June 1227
"	2	1888	25	8 Feb 1228	8 Mar 1228	6 Apr 1228	6 May 1228	4 June 1228
Kwan-gi	1	1889	26	27 Jan 1229	26 Feb 1229	27 Mar 1229	25 Apr 1229	25 May 1229
[Kwan-ki]	2	1890	27	16 Jan 1230*	16 Mar 1230	15 Apr 1230	14 May 1230	13 June 1230
"	3	1891	28	4 Feb 1231	6 Mar 1231	4 Apr 1231	4 May 1231	2 June 1231
Jō-ei	1	1892	29	24 Jan 1232	23 Feb 1232	24 Mar 1232	22 Apr 1232	22 May 1232
Tem-puku	1	1893	30	11 Feb 1233	13 Mar 1233	11 Apr 1233	11 May 1233	10 June 1233
Bun-riaku	1	1894	31	31 Jan 1234	2 Mar 1234	31 Mar 1234	30 Apr 1234	30 May 1234
Ka-tei	1	1895	32	21 Jan 1235	19 Feb 1235	21 Mar 1235	19 Apr 1235	29 May 1235
"	2	1896	33	9 Feb 1236	9 Mar 1236	8 Apr 1236	7 May 1236	5 June 1236
"	3	1897	34	28 Jan 1237	27 Feb 1237	28 Mar 1237	27 Apr 1237	26 May 1237
Riaku-nin } Reki-nin }	1	1898	35	18 Jan 1238	16 Feb 1238*	16 Apr 1238	16 May 1238	14 June 1238
En-ō	1	1899	36	6 Feb 1239	7 Mar 1239	6 Apr 1239	5 May 1239	4 June 1239
Nin-ji	1	1900	37	26 Jan 1240	25 Feb 1240	25 Mar 1240	24 Apr 1240	23 May 1240
"	2	1901	38	13 Feb 1241	14 Mar 1241	13 Apr 1241	13 May 1241	11 June 1241
"	3	1902	39	2 Feb 1242	3 Mar 1242	2 Apr 1242	2 May 1242	31 May 1242
Kwan-gen	1	1903	40	22 Jan 1243	21 Feb 1243	22 Mar 1243	21 Apr 1243	20 May 1243
"	2	1904	41	10 Feb 1244	11 Mar 1244	9 Apr 1244	9 May 1244	7 June 1244
"	3	1905	42	30 Jan 1245	28 Feb 1245	30 Mar 1245	28 Apr 1245	27 May 1245
"	4	1906	43	19 Jan 1246	18 Feb 1246	19 Mar 1246	18 Apr 1246*	15 June 1246
Hō-ji	1	1907	44	7 Feb 1247	9 Mar 1247	7 Apr 1247	7 May 1247	5 June 1247
"	2	1908	45	28 Jan 1248	26 Feb 1248	27 Mar 1248	25 Apr 1248	25 May 1248
Ken-chō	1	1909	46	14 Feb 1249	16 Mar 1249	15 Apr 1249	14 May 1249	13 June 1249
"	2	1910	47	3 Feb 1250	5 Mar 1250	4 Apr 1250	3 May 1250	2 June 1250

承久 Jō-kiū. 貞應 Jō-ō. 元仁 Gen-nin. 嘉祿 Ka-roku. 安貞 An-tei. 寛喜 Kwan-gi. 貞永 Jō-ei.  
寛元 Kwan-gen. 寶治 Hō-ji. 建長 Ken-chō.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
13 July 1219	12 Aug 1219	11 Sept 1219	10 Oct 1219	9 Nov 1219	9 Dec 1219	8 Jan 1220	18 Mar 1219
2 July 1220	31 July 1220	30 Aug 1220	28 Sept 1220	28 Oct 1220	27 Nov 1220	27 Dec 1220	
22 June 1221	21 July 1221	19 Aug 1221	18 Sept 1221	17 Oct 1221*	15 Dec 1221	14 Jan 1222	16 Nov 1221
11 July 1222	9 Aug 1222	7 Sept 1222	7 Oct 1222	5 Nov 1222	5 Dec 1222	4 Jan 1223	
30 June 1223	30 July 1223	28 Aug 1223	26 Sept 1223	26 Oct 1223	24 Nov 1223	24 Dec 1223	
19 June 1224	18 July 1224*	15 Sept 1224	14 Oct 1224	13 Nov 1224	12 Dec 1224	11 Jan 1225	17 Aug 1224
7 July 1225	6 Aug 1225	4 Sept 1225	4 Oct 1225	2 Nov 1225	2 Dec 1225	31 Dec 1225	
26 June 1226	26 July 1226	25 Aug 1226	23 Sept 1226	23 Oct 1226	21 Nov 1226	21 Dec 1226	
15 July 1227	14 Aug 1227	12 Sept 1227	12 Oct 1227	11 Nov 1227	10 Dec 1227	9 Jan 1228	18 Apr 1227
3 July 1228	2 Aug 1228	31 Aug 1228	30 Sept 1228	30 Oct 1228	29 Nov 1228	28 Dec 1228	
23 June 1229	22 July 1229	21 Aug 1229	19 Sept 1229	19 Oct 1229	18 Nov 1229	18 Dec 1229	
12 July 1230	10 Aug 1230	9 Sept 1230	8 Oct 1230	7 Nov 1230	6 Dec 1230	5 Jan 1231	15 Feb 1230
2 July 1231	31 July 1231	29 Aug 1231	28 Sept 1231	27 Oct 1231	26 Nov 1231	25 Dec 1231	
20 June 1232	20 July 1232	18 Aug 1232	16 Sept 1232*	14 Nov 1232	14 Dec 1232	12 Jan 1233	16 Oct 1232
9 July 1233	7 Aug 1233	6 Sept 1233	5 Oct 1233	4 Nov 1233	3 Dec 1233	2 Jan 1234	
28 June 1234	28 July 1234	26 Aug 1234	25 Sept 1234	24 Oct 1234	23 Nov 1234	22 Dec 1234	
17 June 1235*	16 Aug 1235	14 Sept 1235	14 Oct 1235	12 Nov 1235	12 Dec 1235	10 Jan 1236	17 July 1235
5 July 1236	4 Aug 1236	2 Sept 1236	2 Oct 1236	1 Nov 1236	30 Nov 1236	30 Dec 1236	
24 June 1237	24 July 1237	22 Aug 1237	21 Sept 1237	21 Oct 1237	19 Nov 1237	19 Dec 1237	
13 July 1238	12 Aug 1238	10 Sept 1238	10 Oct 1238	8 Nov 1238	8 Dec 1238	7 Jan 1239	18 Mar 1238
3 July 1239	1 Aug 1239	31 Aug 1239	29 Sept 1239	29 Oct 1239	27 Nov 1239	27 Dec 1239	
22 June 1240	21 July 1240	19 Aug 1240	17 Sept 1240	17 Oct 1240*	15 Dec 1240	14 Jan 1241	15 Nov 1240
10 July 1241	9 Aug 1241	7 Sept 1241	7 Oct 1241	5 Nov 1241	4 Dec 1241	3 Jan 1242	
30 June 1242	29 July 1242	28 Aug 1242	26 Sept 1242	26 Oct 1242	24 Nov 1242	24 Dec 1242	
19 June 1243	19 July 1243	17 Aug 1243*	15 Oct 1243	14 Nov 1243	13 Dec 1243	12 Jan 1244	16 Sept 1243
7 July 1244	5 Aug 1244	4 Sept 1244	4 Oct 1244	2 Nov 1244	2 Dec 1244	31 Dec 1244	
26 June 1245	25 July 1245	24 Aug 1245	23 Sept 1245	22 Oct 1245	21 Nov 1245	21 Dec 1245	
15 July 1246	13 Aug 1246	12 Sept 1246	11 Oct 1246	10 Nov 1246	10 Dec 1246	9 Jan 1247	17 May 1246
4 July 1247	3 Aug 1247	1 Sept 1247	1 Oct 1247	30 Oct 1247	29 Nov 1247	29 Dec 1247	
23 June 1248	22 July 1248	20 Aug 1248	19 Sept 1248	18 Oct 1248	17 Nov 1248	17 Dec 1248*	16 Jan 1249
12 July 1249	10 Aug 1249	8 Sept 1249	8 Oct 1249	6 Nov 1249	6 Dec 1249	5 Jan 1250	
1 July 1250	31 July 1250	29 Aug 1250	28 Sept 1250	27 Oct 1250	25 Nov 1250	25 Dec 1250	

天福 *Tem-puku*. 文曆 *Bun-riaku*. 嘉禎 *Ka-tei*. 曆仁 *Riaku-nin*. 延應 *En-ō*. 仁治 *Nin-ji*.



Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Ken chō	3	1911	48	24 Jan 1251	22 Feb 1251	24 Mar 1251	23 Apr 1251	22 May 1251
"	4	1912	49	12 Feb 1252	12 Mar 1252	11 Apr 1252	10 May 1252	9 June 1252
"	5	1913	50	31 Jan 1253	1 Mar 1253	31 Mar 1253	20 Apr 1253	29 May 1253
"	6	1914	51	21 Jan 1254	19 Feb 1254	21 Mar 1254	19 Apr 1254	18 May 1254*
"	7	1915	52	9 Feb 1255	10 Mar 1255	9 Apr 1255	8 May 1255	6 June 1255
Kō-gen	1	1916	53	29 Jan 1256	28 Feb 1256	28 Mar 1256	27 Apr 1256	26 May 1256
Shō-ka	1	1917	54	17 Jan 1257	16 Feb 1257	18 Mar 1257*	16 May 1257	14 June 1257
"	2	1918	55	5 Feb 1258	7 Mar 1258	6 Apr 1258	5 May 1258	4 June 1258
Shō-gen	1	1919	56	25 Jan 1259	24 Feb 1259	26 Mar 1259	24 Apr 1259	24 May 1259
Bun-ō	1	1920	57	13 Feb 1260	14 Mar 1260	12 Apr 1260	12 May 1260	11 June 1260
Kō-chō	1	1921	58	1 Feb 1261	3 Mar 1261	2 Apr 1261	1 May 1261	31 May 1261
"	2	1922	59	22 Jan 1262	20 Feb 1262	22 Mar 1262	20 Apr 1262	20 May 1262
"	3	1923	60	10 Feb 1263	11 Mar 1263	10 Apr 1263	9 May 1263	8 June 1263
Bun-ei	1	1924	1	31 Jan 1264	29 Feb 1264	30 Mar 1264	28 Apr 1264	27 May 1264
"	2	1925	2	19 Jan 1265	18 Feb 1265	19 Mar 1265	18 Apr 1265*	15 June 1265
"	3	1926	3	7 Feb 1266	9 Mar 1266	7 Apr 1266	7 May 1266	5 June 1266
"	4	1927	4	27 Jan 1267	26 Feb 1267	27 Mar 1267	26 Apr 1267	25 May 1267
"	5	1928	5	16 Jan 1268*	15 Mar 1268	14 Apr 1268	14 May 1268	12 June 1268
"	6	1929	6	3 Feb 1269	5 Mar 1269	3 Apr 1269	3 May 1269	1 June 1269
"	7	1930	7	23 Jan 1270	22 Feb 1270	23 Mar 1270	22 Apr 1270	22 May 1270
"	8	1931	8	11 Feb 1271	13 Mar 1271	11 Apr 1271	11 May 1271	9 June 1271
"	9	1932	9	1 Feb 1272	2 Mar 1272	31 Mar 1272	29 Apr 1272	29 May 1272
"	10	1933	10	21 Jan 1273	19 Feb 1273	21 Mar 1273	19 Apr 1273	18 May 1273*
"	11	1934	11	9 Feb 1274	10 Mar 1274	9 Apr 1274	8 May 1274	6 June 1274
Ken-ji	1	1935	12	29 Jan 1275	27 Feb 1275	29 Mar 1275	28 Apr 1275	27 May 1275
"	2	1936	13	18 Jan 1276	17 Feb 1276	17 Mar 1276*	15 May 1276	14 June 1276
"	3	1937	14	5 Feb 1277	6 Mar 1277	5 Apr 1277	5 May 1277	3 June 1277
Kō-an	1	1938	15	25 Jan 1278	23 Feb 1278	25 Mar 1278	24 Apr 1278	23 May 1278
"	2	1939	16	13 Feb 1279	14 Mar 1279	13 Apr 1279	12 May 1279	11 June 1279
"	3	1940	17	2 Feb 1280	3 Mar 1280	1 Apr 1280	1 May 1280	30 May 1280
"	4	1941	18	22 Jan 1281	20 Feb 1281	22 Mar 1281	20 Apr 1281	20 May 1281
"	5	1942	19	10 Feb 1282	12 Mar 1282	10 Apr 1282	9 May 1282	7 June 1282

建長 *Ken-chō*. 康元 *Kō-gen*. 正嘉 *Shō-ka*. 正元 *Shō-gen*. 文應 *Bun-ō*. 弘長 *Kō-chō*. 文永 *Bun-ei*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
21 June 1251	20 July 1251	19 Aug. 1251	17 Sept 1251	15 Nov 1251	14 Dec 1251	13 Jan 1252	17 Oct 1251
8 July 1252	7 Aug 1252	6 Sept 1252	5 Oct 1252	4 Nov 1252	3 Dec 1252	2 Jan 1253	
28 June 1253	27 July 1253	26 Aug 1253	24 Sept 1253	24 Oct 1253	23 Nov 1253	23 Dec 1253	
16 July 1254	15 Aug 1254	14 Sept 1254	13 Oct 1254	12 Nov 1254	12 Dec 1254	10 Jan 1255	17 June 1254
6 July 1255	4 Aug 1255	3 Sept 1255	2 Oct 1255	1 Nov 1255	1 Dec 1255	31 Dec 1255	
24 June 1256	23 July 1256	22 Aug 1256	20 Sept 1256	20 Oct 1256	19 Nov 1256	19 Dec 1256	
13 July 1257	11 Aug 1257	10 Sept 1257	9 Oct 1257	8 Nov 1257	8 Dec 1257	6 Jan 1258	16 Apr 1257
3 July 1258	1 Aug 1258	30 Aug 1258	29 Sept 1258	28 Oct 1258	27 Nov 1258	27 Dec 1258	
22 June 1259	22 July 1259	20 Aug 1259	19 Sept 1259	18 Oct 1259	16 Nov 1259	14 Jan 1260	16 Dec 1259
10 July 1260	9 Aug 1260	7 Sept 1260	7 Oct 1260	5 Nov 1260	4 Dec 1260	3 Jan 1261	
29 June 1261	29 July 1261	28 Aug 1261	26 Sept 1261	26 Oct 1261	24 Nov 1261	24 Dec 1261	
18 June 1262	18 July 1262	15 Sept 1262	15 Oct 1262	14 Nov 1262	13 Dec 1262	12 Jan 1263	17 Aug 1262
7 July 1263	6 Aug 1263	4 Sept 1263	4 Oct 1263	3 Nov 1263	3 Dec 1263	1 Jan 1264	
26 June 1264	25 July 1264	23 Aug 1264	22 Sept 1264	22 Oct 1264	21 Nov 1264	20 Dec 1264	
14 July 1265	13 Aug 1265	11 Sept 1265	11 Oct 1265	10 Nov 1265	9 Dec 1265	8 Jan 1266	17 May 1265
4 July 1266	2 Aug 1266	1 Sept 1266	30 Sept 1266	30 Oct 1266	28 Nov 1266	28 Dec 1266	
24 June 1267	23 July 1267	21 Aug 1267	20 Sept 1267	19 Oct 1267	18 Nov 1267	17 Dec 1267	
12 July 1268	10 Aug 1268	9 Sept 1268	8 Oct 1268	6 Nov 1268	6 Dec 1268	4 Jan 1269	15 Feb 1268
1 July 1269	31 July 1269	29 Aug 1269	28 Sept 1269	27 Oct 1269	25 Nov 1269	25 Dec 1269	
20 June 1270	20 July 1270	18 Aug 1270	17 Sept 1270	15 Nov 1270	15 Dec 1270	13 Jan 1271	17 Oct 1270
9 July 1271	7 Aug 1271	6 Sept 1271	6 Oct 1271	4 Nov 1271	4 Dec 1271	3 Jan 1272	
27 June 1272	27 July 1272	25 Aug 1272	24 Sept 1272	24 Oct 1272	22 Nov 1272	22 Dec 1272	
16 July 1273	14 Aug 1273	13 Sept 1273	13 Oct 1273	11 Nov 1273	11 Dec 1273	10 Jan 1274	16 June 1273
5 July 1274	4 Aug 1274	2 Sept 1274	2 Oct 1274	31 Oct 1274	30 Nov 1274	30 Dec 1274	
25 June 1275	24 July 1275	23 Aug 1275	21 Sept 1275	21 Oct 1275	19 Nov 1275	19 Dec 1275	
13 July 1276	11 Aug 1276	10 Sept 1276	9 Oct 1276	8 Nov 1276	7 Dec 1276	6 Jan 1277	16 Apr 1276
3 July 1277	1 Aug 1277	31 Aug 1277	20 Sept 1277	28 Oct 1277	27 Nov 1277	26 Dec 1277	
22 June 1278	21 July 1278	20 Aug 1278	18 Sept 1278	18 Oct 1278	16 Nov 1278	14 Jan 1279	16 Dec 1278
11 July 1279	9 Aug 1279	8 Sept 1279	7 Oct 1279	6 Nov 1279	5 Dec 1279	4 Jan 1280	
29 June 1280	28 July 1280	27 Aug 1280	26 Sept 1280	25 Oct 1280	24 Nov 1280	24 Dec 1280	
18 June 1281	17 July 1281	16 Aug 1281	14 Oct 1281	13 Nov 1281	13 Dec 1281	12 Jan 1282	15 Sept 1281
7 July 1282	5 Aug 1282	4 Sept 1282	3 Oct 1282	2 Nov 1282	2 Dec 1282	1 Jan 1283	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Kō-an</b>	<b>6</b>	1943	20	30 Jan 1283	1 Mar 1283	31 Mar 1283	29 Apr 1283	28 May 1283
"	<b>7</b>	1944	21	20 Jan 1284	18 Feb 1284	19 Mar 1284	17 Apr 1284*	15 June 1284
"	<b>8</b>	1945	22	6 Feb 1285	8 Mar 1285	7 Apr 1285	6 May 1285	5 June 1285
"	<b>9</b>	1946	23	26 Jan 1286	25 Feb 1286	27 Mar 1286	25 Apr 1286	25 May 1286
"	<b>10</b>	1947	24	14 Feb 1287	16 Mar 1287	14 Apr 1287	14 May 1287	13 June 1287
<b>Shō-ō</b>	<b>1</b>	1948	25	4 Feb 1288	4 Mar 1288	3 Apr 1288	2 May 1288	1 June 1288
"	<b>2</b>	1949	26	23 Jan 1289	22 Feb 1289	23 Mar 1289	22 Apr 1289	21 May 1289
"	<b>3</b>	1950	27	11 Feb 1290	12 Mar 1290	11 Apr 1290	11 May 1290	9 June 1290
"	<b>4</b>	1951	28	1 Feb 1291	3 Mar 1291	1 Apr 1291	30 Apr 1291	29 May 1291
"	<b>5</b>	1952	29	21 Jan 1292	20 Feb 1292	20 Mar 1292	19 Apr 1292	18 May 1292
<b>Ei-nin</b>	<b>1</b>	1953	30	3 Feb 1293	10 Mar 1293	8 Apr 1293	8 May 1293	6 June 1293
"	<b>2</b>	1954	31	28 Jan 1294	27 Feb 1294	29 Mar 1294	27 Apr 1294	27 May 1294
"	<b>3</b>	1955	32	17 Jan 1295	16 Feb 1295*	16 Apr 1295	16 May 1295	14 June 1295
"	<b>4</b>	1956	33	5 Feb 1296	6 Mar 1296	4 Apr 1296	4 May 1296	3 June 1296
"	<b>5</b>	1957	34	25 Jan 1297	23 Feb 1297	24 Mar 1297	23 Apr 1297	23 May 1297
"	<b>6</b>	1958	35	13 Feb 1298	14 Mar 1298	13 Apr 1298	12 May 1298	10 June 1298
<b>Shō-an</b>	<b>1</b>	1959	36	2 Feb 1299	4 Mar 1299	2 Apr 1299	1 May 1299	31 May 1299
"	<b>2</b>	1960	37	23 Jan 1300	21 Feb 1300	22 Mar 1300	20 Apr 1300	20 May 1300
"	<b>3</b>	1961	38	10 Feb 1301	11 Mar 1301	10 Apr 1301	9 May 1301	8 June 1301
<b>Ken-gen</b>	<b>1</b>	1962	39	30 Jan 1302	1 Mar 1302	30 Mar 1302	29 Apr 1302	28 May 1302
<b>Ka-gen</b>	<b>1</b>	1963	40	19 Jan 1303	18 Feb 1303	19 Mar 1303	18 Apr 1303*	16 June 1303
"	<b>2</b>	1964	41	7 Feb 1304	7 Mar 1304	6 Apr 1304	6 May 1304	4 June 1304
"	<b>3</b>	1965	42	26 Jan 1305	25 Feb 1305	26 Mar 1305	25 Apr 1305	24 May 1305
<b>Toku-ji</b>	<b>1</b>	1966	43	14 Feb 1306	16 Mar 1306	14 Apr 1306	14 May 1306	12 June 1306
"	<b>2</b>	1967	44	4 Feb 1307	5 Mar 1307	3 Apr 1307	3 May 1307	1 June 1307
<b>En-kiō</b>	<b>1</b>	1968	45	24 Jan 1308	23 Feb 1308	23 Mar 1308	21 Apr 1308	21 May 1308
<b>[En-kei]</b>	<b>2</b>	1969	46	11 Feb 1309	13 Mar 1309	11 Apr 1309	11 May 1309	9 June 1309
"	<b>3</b>	1970	47	1 Feb 1310	2 Mar 1310	1 Apr 1310	30 Apr 1310	30 May 1310
<b>Ō-chō</b>	<b>1</b>	1971	48	21 Jan 1311	19 Feb 1311	21 Mar 1311	20 Apr 1311	19 May 1311
<b>Shō-wa</b>	<b>1</b>	1972	49	8 Feb 1312	9 Mar 1312	8 Apr 1312	7 May 1312	6 June 1312
"	<b>2</b>	1973	50	28 Jan 1313	26 Feb 1313	28 Mar 1313	27 Apr 1313	26 May 1313
"	<b>3</b>	1974	51	17 Jan 1314	15 Feb 1314	17 Mar 1314*	15 May 1314	14 June 1314

弘安 *Kō-an*. 正應 *Shō-ō*. 永仁 *Ei-nin*. 正安 *Shō-an*. 乾元 *Ken-gen*. 嘉元 *Ka-gen*. 徳治 *Toku-ji*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
26 June 1283	26 July 1283	24 Aug 1283	23 Sept 1283	22 Oct 1283	21 Nov 1283	21 Dec 1283	
14 July 1284	13 Aug 1284	11 Sept 1284	11 Oct 1284	9 Nov 1284	9 Dec 1284	8 Jan 1285	17 May 1284
4 July 1285	2 Aug 1285	1 Sept 1285	30 Sept 1285	30 Oct 1285	28 Nov 1285	28 Dec 1285	
24 June 1286	23 July 1286	21 Aug 1286	20 Sept 1286	19 Oct 1286	18 Nov 1286	17 Dec 1286	16 Jan 1287
12 July 1287	11 Aug 1287	9 Sept 1287	9 Oct 1287	7 Nov 1287	7 Dec 1287	5 Jan 1288	
30 June 1288	30 July 1288	29 Aug 1288	27 Sept 1288	27 Oct 1288	25 Nov 1288	25 Dec 1288	
20 June 1289	19 July 1289	18 Aug 1289	16 Sept 1289	16 Oct 1289	14 Dec 1289	13 Jan 1290	15 Nov 1289
8 July 1290	7 Aug 1290	5 Sept 1290	5 Oct 1290	4 Nov 1290	4 Dec 1290	2 Jan 1291	
28 June 1291	27 July 1291	26 Aug 1291	24 Sept 1291	24 Oct 1291	23 Nov 1291	23 Dec 1291	
16 June 1292*	14 Aug 1292	13 Sept 1292	12 Oct 1292	11 Nov 1292	10 Dec 1292	9 Jan 1293	16 July 1292
6 July 1293	4 Aug 1293	2 Sept 1293	1 Oct 1293	31 Oct 1293	30 Nov 1293	29 Dec 1293	
25 June 1294	24 July 1294	23 Aug 1294	21 Sept 1294	21 Oct 1294	19 Nov 1294	19 Dec 1294	
14 July 1295	12 Aug 1295	11 Sept 1295	10 Oct 1295	9 Nov 1295	8 Dec 1295	7 Jan 1296	18 Mar 1295
2 July 1296	1 Aug 1296	30 Aug 1296	29 Sept 1296	28 Oct 1296	27 Nov 1296	25 Dec 1296	
21 June 1297	21 July 1297	20 Aug 1297	18 Sept 1297	18 Oct 1297	16 Nov 1297*	14 Jan 1298	16 Dec 1297
10 July 1298	9 Aug 1298	7 Sept 1298	7 Oct 1298	6 Nov 1298	5 Dec 1298	4 Jan 1299	
29 June 1299	29 July 1299	27 Aug 1299	26 Sept 1299	26 Oct 1299	24 Nov 1299	24 Dec 1299	
18 June 1300	17 July 1300*	14 Sept 1300	14 Oct 1300	12 Nov 1300	12 Dec 1300	11 Jan 1301	16 Aug 1300
7 July 1301	5 Aug 1301	3 Sept 1301	3 Oct 1301	2 Nov 1301	1 Dec 1301	31 Dec 1301	
27 June 1302	26 July 1302	24 Aug 1302	22 Sept 1302	22 Oct 1302	20 Nov 1302	20 Dec 1302	
15 July 1303	14 Aug 1303	12 Sept 1303	12 Oct 1303	10 Nov 1303	9 Dec 1303	8 Jan 1304	18 May 1303
4 July 1304	2 Aug 1304	1 Sept 1304	30 Sept 1304	30 Oct 1304	28 Nov 1304	28 Dec 1304	
23 June 1305	23 July 1305	21 Aug 1305	20 Sept 1305	19 Oct 1305	18 Nov 1305	17 Dec 1305	16 Jan 1306
12 July 1306	10 Aug 1306	9 Sept 1306	9 Oct 1306	7 Nov 1306	7 Dec 1306	5 Jan 1307	
1 July 1307	30 July 1307	29 Aug 1307	28 Sept 1307	27 Oct 1307	26 Nov 1307	26 Dec 1307	
19 June 1308	19 July 1308	17 Aug 1308*	15 Oct 1308	14 Nov 1308	14 Dec 1308	13 Jan 1309	16 Sept 1308
8 July 1309	6 Aug 1309	5 Sept 1309	5 Oct 1309	3 Nov 1309	3 Dec 1309	2 Jan 1310	
28 June 1310	27 July 1310	25 Aug 1310	24 Sept 1310	23 Oct 1310	22 Nov 1310	22 Dec 1310	
17 June 1311*	15 Aug 1311	13 Sept 1311	13 Oct 1311	11 Nov 1311	11 Dec 1311	10 Jan 1312	17 July 1311
5 July 1312	4 Aug 1312	2 Sept 1312	2 Oct 1312	31 Oct 1312	29 Nov 1312	29 Dec 1312	
5 June 1313	24 July 1313	23 Aug 1313	21 Sept 1313	21 Oct 1313	19 Nov 1313	18 Dec 1313	
3 July 1314	12 Aug 1314	11 Sept 1314	10 Oct 1314	9 Nov 1314	8 Dec 1314	7 Jan 1315	16 Apr 1314

延慶 *En-kiō*. 應長 *Ō-chō*. 正和 *Shō-wa*.

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Shō-wa	4	1975	52	5 Feb 1315	6 Mar 1315	5 Apr 1315	4 May 1315	3 June 1315
"	5	1976	53	16 Jan 1316	24 Feb 1316	24 Mar 1316	23 Apr 1316	22 May 1316
Bum-pō	1	1977	54	13 Feb 1317	14 Mar 1317	13 Apr 1317	12 May 1317	10 June 1317
"	2	1978	55	2 Feb 1318	4 Mar 1318	2 Apr 1318	2 May 1318	31 May 1318
Gen-ō	1	1979	56	22 Jan 1319	21 Feb 1319	23 Mar 1319	21 Apr 1319	21 June 1319
"	2	1980	57	11 Feb 1320	11 Mar 1320	10 Apr 1320	9 May 1320	7 June 1320
Gen-kō	1	1981	58	29 Jan 1321	28 Feb 1321	30 Mar 1321	28 Apr 1321	28 May 1321
"	2	1982	59	18 Jan 1322	17 Feb 1322	19 Mar 1322	17 Apr 1322	17 May 1322
"	3	1983	60	6 Feb 1323	8 Mar 1323	6 Apr 1323	6 May 1323	5 June 1323
Shō-chū	1	1984	1	27 Jan 1324	25 Feb 1324	26 Mar 1324	24 Apr 1324	24 May 1324
"	2	1985	2	16 Jan 1325	15 Mar 1325	14 Apr 1325	13 May 1325	12 June 1325
Ka-riaku	1	1986	3	4 Feb 1326	5 Mar 1326	4 Apr 1326	3 May 1326	1 June 1326
[Ka-reki]	2	1987	4	24 Jan 1327	23 Feb 1327	24 Mar 1327	23 Apr 1327	22 May 1327
"	3	1988	5	12 Feb 1328	13 Mar 1328	11 Apr 1328	11 May 1328	9 June 1328
Gen-toku	1	1989	6	31 Jan 1329	2 Mar 1329	31 Mar 1329	30 Apr 1329	29 May 1329
"	2	1990	7	20 Jan 1330	19 Feb 1330	20 Mar 1330	19 Apr 1330	19 May 1330
Gen-kō	1	1991	8	8 Feb 1331	10 Mar 1331	8 Apr 1331	8 May 1331	6 June 1331
Gen-kō 2	Shō-kiō 1	1992	9	28 Jan 1332	27 Feb 1332	27 Mar 1332	26 Apr 1332	25 May 1332
3	{Shō- kei}	2	1993	10	17 Jan 1333	15 Feb 1333	15 Apr 1333	15 May 1333
"	2	1993	10	17 Jan 1333	15 Feb 1333	15 Apr 1333	15 May 1333	13 June 1333
Kem-mu	1	1994	11	5 Feb 1334	5 Mar 1334	5 Apr 1334	4 May 1334	3 June 1334
"	2	1995	12	23 Jan 1335	24 Feb 1335	26 Mar 1335	24 Apr 1335	23 May 1335
En-gen 1	Kem-mu 3	1996	13	14 Feb 1336	14 Mar 1336	13 Apr 1336	12 May 1336	10 June 1336
"	2	1997	14	2 Feb 1337	3 Mar 1337	2 Apr 1337	1 May 1337	31 May 1337
"	3 Riaku-ō 1	1998	15	22 Jan 1338	21 Feb 1338	22 Mar 1338	21 Apr 1338	20 May 1338
"	4	1999	16	10 Feb 1339	11 Mar 1339	10 Apr 1339	10 May 1339	8 June 1339
Kō-koku 1	"	2000	17	30 Jan 1340	28 Feb 1340	29 Mar 1340	28 Apr 1340	27 May 1340
"	2	2001	18	18 Jan 1341	17 Feb 1341	18 Mar 1341	17 Apr 1341	15 June 1341
"	3 Kō-ei 1	2002	19	6 Feb 1342	8 Mar 1342	6 Apr 1342	6 May 1342	4 June 1342
"	4	2003	20	27 Jan 1343	25 Feb 1343	27 Mar 1343	25 Apr 1343	24 May 1343
"	5	2004	21	17 Jan 1344	15 Feb 1344	14 Apr 1344	13 May 1344	11 June 1344
"	6 Jō-wa 1	2005	22	3 Feb 1345	5 Mar 1345	3 Apr 1345	3 May 1345	1 June 1345
Shō-hei 1	[Fei-wa] 2	2006	23	24 Jan 1346	22 Feb 1346	24 Mar 1346	22 Apr 1346	22 May 1346

正和 *Shō-wa*. 文保 *Bun-ho*. 元應 *Gen-ō*. 元亨 *Gen-kō*. 正中 *Shō-chū*. 嘉曆 *Ka-riaku*. 貞和 *Jō-wa*.  
 正平 *Shō-hei*. 康永 *Kō-ei*. \* Southern Dynasty. † Northern Dynasty.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
2 July 1315	1 Aug 1315	31 Aug 1315	29 Sept 1315	29 Oct 1315	28 Nov 1315	27 Dec 1315	
21 June 1316	20 July 1316	19 Aug 1316	18 Sept 1316	17 Oct 1316	15 Nov 1316*	14 Jan 1317	15 Dec 1316
10 July 1317	8 Aug 1317	7 Sept 1317	6 Oct 1317	5 Nov 1317	5 Dec 1317	4 Jan 1318	
29 June 1318	28 July 1318	27 Aug 1318	25 Sept 1318	25 Oct 1318	24 Nov 1318	24 Dec 1318	
19 June 1319	18 July 1319*	15 Sept 1319	14 Oct 1319	13 Nov 1319	13 Dec 1319	11 Jan 1320	16 Aug 1319
7 July 1320	5 Aug 1320	3 Sept 1320	3 Oct 1320	1 Nov 1320	1 Dec 1320	31 Dec 1320	
26 June 1321	26 July 1321	24 Aug 1321	22 Sept 1321	22 Oct 1321	20 Nov 1321	20 Dec 1321	
15 July 1322	14 Aug 1322	12 Sept 1322	12 Oct 1322	10 Nov 1322	9 Dec 1322	9 Jan 1323	16 June 1322
4 July 1323	3 Aug 1323	1 Sept 1323	1 Oct 1323	31 Oct 1323	29 Nov 1323	29 Dec 1323	
22 June 1324	22 July 1324	21 Aug 1324	19 Sept 1324	19 Oct 1324	18 Nov 1324	17 Dec 1324	
11 July 1325	10 Aug 1325	8 Sept 1325	8 Oct 1325	7 Nov 1325	6 Dec 1325	5 Jan 1326	14 Feb 1325
30 June 1326	30 July 1326	28 Aug 1326	27 Sept 1326	27 Oct 1326	26 Nov 1326	25 Dec 1326	
20 June 1327	20 July 1327	18 Aug 1327	16 Sept 1327*	15 Nov 1327	14 Dec 1327	13 Jan 1328	16 Oct 1327
8 July 1328	6 Aug 1328	5 Sept 1328	4 Oct 1328	3 Nov 1328	2 Dec 1328	1 Jan 1329	
28 June 1329	27 July 1329	25 Aug 1329	24 Sept 1329	23 Oct 1329	23 Nov 1329	21 Dec 1329	
17 July 1330*	15 Aug 1330	13 Sept 1330	13 Oct 1330	11 Nov 1330	11 Dec 1330	9 Jan 1331	17 July 1330
6 July 1331	5 Aug 1331	3 Sept 1331	3 Oct 1331	1 Nov 1331	30 Nov 1331	30 Dec 1331	
24 June 1332	24 July 1332	22 Aug 1332	21 Sept 1332	20 Oct 1332	19 Nov 1332	19 Dec 1332	
13 July 1333	11 Aug 1333	10 Sept 1333	10 Oct 1333	8 Nov 1333	8 Dec 1333	7 Jan 1334	17 Mar 1333
2 July 1334	1 Aug 1334	30 Aug 1334	29 Sept 1334	29 Oct 1334	27 Nov 1334	27 Dec 1334	
21 June 1335	21 July 1335	19 Aug 1335	18 Sept 1335	18 Oct 1335	16 Nov 1335	16 Dec 1335*	15 Jan 1336
9 July 1336	8 Aug 1336	6 Sept 1336	6 Oct 1336	4 Nov 1336	4 Dec 1336	3 Jan 1337	
29 June 1337	28 July 1337	27 Aug 1337	25 Sept 1337	25 Oct 1337	23 Nov 1337	23 Dec 1337	
19 June 1338	18 July 1338	16 Aug 1338	14 Oct 1338	13 Nov 1338	12 Dec 1338	11 Jan 1339	15 Sept 1338
8 July 1339	6 Aug 1339	4 Sept 1339	4 Oct 1339	2 Nov 1339	2 Dec 1339	31 Dec 1339	
26 June 1340	25 July 1340	24 Aug 1340	22 Sept 1340	22 Oct 1340	20 Nov 1340	20 Dec 1340	
15 July 1341	13 Aug 1341	12 Sept 1341	11 Oct 1341	10 Nov 1341	9 Dec 1341	8 Jan 1342	16 May 1341
4 July 1342	2 Aug 1342	1 Sept 1342	1 Oct 1342	30 Oct 1342	29 Nov 1342	29 Dec 1342	
23 June 1343	22 July 1343	21 Aug 1343	20 Sept 1343	19 Oct 1343	18 Nov 1343	18 Dec 1343	
11 July 1344	9 Aug 1344	8 Sept 1344	7 Oct 1344	6 Nov 1344	6 Dec 1344	5 Jan 1345	18 Mar 1344
30 June 1345	30 July 1345	28 Aug 1345	27 Sept 1345	26 Oct 1345	25 Nov 1345	25 Dec 1345	
20 June 1346	19 July 1346	18 Aug 1346	16 Sept 1346*	14 Nov 1346	14 Dec 1346	13 Jan 1347	16 Oct 1346

元徳 Gen-toku. 元弘 Gen-kō. 建武 Kem-mu. 延元 En-gen. 興國 Kō-koku. 正慶 Shō-kiō. 曆應 Riaku-ō.

Style and Year of Period.	Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Shō-hei 2 [Tei-wa] <sup>†</sup>	2007	24	11 Feb 1347	13 Mar 1347	12 Apr 1347	11 May 1347	10 June 1347
" 3 " 4	2008	25	31 Jan 1348	8 Mar 1348	31 Mar 1348	29 Apr 1348	29 May 1348
" 4 " 5	2009	26	20 Jan 1349	18 Feb 1349	20 Mar 1349	18 Apr 1349	18 May 1349
" 5 Kwan-ō 1	2010	27	8 Feb 1350	9 Mar 1350	8 Apr 1350	7 May 1350	6 June 1350
" 6 " 2	2011	28	28 Jan 1351	27 Feb 1351	28 Mar 1351	27 Apr 1351	26 May 1351
" 7 Bun-na 1	2012	29	18 Jan 1352	16 Feb 1352*	15 Apr 1352	14 May 1352	13 June 1352
" 8 [Bun-wa] <sup>†</sup> 2	2013	30	5 Feb 1353	6 Mar 1353	5 Apr 1353	4 May 1353	2 June 1353
" 9 " 3	2014	31	25 Jan 1354	24 Feb 1354	25 Mar 1354	24 Apr 1354	23 May 1354
" 10 " 4	2015	32	13 Feb 1355	15 Mar 1355	13 Apr 1355	13 May 1355	11 June 1355
" 11 Em-bun 1	2016	33	2 Feb 1356	3 Mar 1356	2 Apr 1356	1 May 1356	31 May 1356
" 12 " 2	2017	34	21 Jan 1357	20 Feb 1357	22 Mar 1357	20 Apr 1357	20 May 1357
" 13 " 3	2018	35	9 Feb 1358	11 Mar 1358	9 Apr 1358	9 May 1358	8 June 1358
" 14 " 4	2019	36	30 Jan 1359	28 Feb 1359	30 Mar 1359	28 Apr 1359	28 May 1359
" 15 " 5	2020	37	19 Jan 1360	18 Feb 1360	18 Mar 1360	16 Apr 1360*	14 June 1360
" 16 Kō-an 1	2021	38	6 Feb 1361	8 Mar 1371	6 Apr 1361	5 May 1361	4 June 1361
" 17 Jō-ji 1	2022	39	27 Jan 1362	25 Feb 1452	27 Mar 1362	25 Apr 1362	24 May 1362
" 18 [Tei-ji] 2	2023	40	16 Jan 1363*	16 Mar 1363	15 Apr 1363	14 May 1463	12 June 1363
" 19 " 3	2024	41	4 Feb 1364	5 Mar 1364	3 Apr 1364	3 May 1364	1 June 1364
" 20 " 4	2025	42	23 Jan 1365	22 Feb 1365	23 Mar 1365	22 Apr 1365	22 May 1365
" 21 " 5	2026	43	11 Feb 1366	12 Mar 1366	11 Apr 1366	11 May 1366	9 June 1366
" 22 " 6	2027	44	31 Jan 1367	2 Mar 1367	31 Mar 1367	30 Apr 1367	29 May 1367
" 23 Ū-an 1	2028	45	21 Jan 1368	19 Feb 1368	19 Mar 1368	18 Apr 1368	17 May 1368
" 24 " 2	2029	46	8 Feb 1369	9 Mar 1369	7 Apr 1369	7 May 1369	5 June 1369
Ken-toku } 1 " 3	2030	47	28 Jan 1370	27 Feb 1370	28 Mar 1370	26 Apr 1370	26 May 1370
" 2 " 4	2031	48	18 Jan 1371	16 Feb 1371	18 Mar 1371*	15 May 1371	14 June 1371
Bun-chū 1 " 5	2032	49	6 Feb 1372	6 Mar 1372	5 Apr 1372	4 May 1372	2 June 1372
" 2 " 6	2033	50	25 Jan 1373	23 Feb 1373	25 Mar 1373	24 Apr 1373	23 May 1373
" 3 " 7	2034	51	12 Feb 1374	14 Mar 1374	13 Apr 1374	12 May 1374	11 June 1374
Ten-jū 1 Ei-wa 1	2035	52	2 Feb 1375	3 Mar 1375	2 Apr 1375	2 May 1375	31 May 1375
" 2 " 2	2036	53	22 Jan 1376	20 Feb 1376	21 Mar 1376	20 Apr 1376	19 May 1376
" 3 " 3	2037	54	9 Feb 1377	10 Mar 1377	9 Apr 1377	8 May 1377	7 June 1377
" 4 " 4	2038	55	30 Jan 1378	28 Feb 1378	29 Mar 1378	28 Apr 1378	27 May 1378

正平 Shō-hei. 貞和 Jō-wa. 觀應 Kuan-ō. 文和 Bun-na(wa). 延文 Em-bun. 建德 Ken-toku.

\* Southern Dynasty. † Northern Dynasty.

1st Day of 1th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
9 July 1347	7 Aug 1347	6 Sept 1347	5 Oct 1347	4 Nov 1347	3 Dec 1347	2 Jan 1348	
28 June 1348	27 July 1348	25 Aug 1348	24 Sept 1348	23 Oct 1348	22 Nov 1348	21 Dec 1348	
17 June 1349	15 Aug 1349	13 Sept 1349	13 Oct 1349	11 Nov 1349	11 Dec 1349	9 Jan 1350	16 July 1349
5 July 1350	4 Aug 1350	3 Sept 1350	2 Oct 1350	1 Nov 1350	30 Nov 1350	30 Dec 1350	
24 June 1351	24 July 1351	23 Aug 1351	21 Sept 1351	21 Oct 1351	20 Nov 1351	19 Dec 1351	
12 July 1352	11 Aug 1352	9 Sept 1352	9 Oct 1352	8 Nov 1352	8 Dec 1352	6 Jan 1353	17 Mar 1352
2 July 1353	31 July 1353	30 Aug 1353	28 Sept 1353	28 Oct 1353	27 Nov 1353	27 Dec 1353	
21 June 1354	21 July 1354	19 Aug 1354	17 Sept 1354	17 Oct 1354	15 Dec 1354	14 Jan 1355	16 Nov 1354
10 July 1355	9 Aug 1355	7 Sept 1355	6 Oct 1355	5 Nov 1355	5 Dec 1355	3 Jan 1356	
29 June 1356	28 July 1356	27 Aug 1356	25 Sept 1356	24 Oct 1356	23 Nov 1356	23 Dec 1356	
18 June 1357	18 July 1357	16 Aug 1357	14 Oct 1357	13 Nov 1357	12 Dec 1357	11 Jan 1358	15 Sept 1357
7 July 1358	6 Aug 1358	4 Sept 1358	4 Oct 1358	2 Nov 1358	2 Dec 1358	31 Dec 1358	
26 June 1359	26 July 1359	24 Aug 1359	23 Sept 1359	23 Oct 1359	21 Nov 1359	21 Dec 1359	
14 July 1360	13 Aug 1360	11 Sept 1360	11 Oct 1360	10 Nov 1360	9 Dec 1360	8 Jan 1361	16 May 1360
3 July 1361	2 Aug 1361	31 Aug 1361	30 Sept 1361	30 Oct 1361	28 Nov 1361	28 Dec 1361	
23 June 1362	22 July 1362	21 Aug 1362	19 Sept 1362	19 Oct 1362	17 Nov 1362	17 Dec 1362	
12 July 1363	10 Aug 1363	8 Sept 1363	8 Oct 1363	7 Nov 1363	6 Dec 1363	5 Jan 1364	15 Feb 1363
30 June 1364	30 July 1364	28 Aug 1364	26 Sept 1364	26 Oct 1364	24 Nov 1364	24 Dec 1364	
20 June 1365	19 July 1365	18 Aug 1365	16 Sept 1365	14 Nov 1365	13 Dec 1365	12 Jan 1366	15 Oct 1365
9 July 1366	7 Aug 1366	6 Sept 1366	5 Oct 1366	4 Nov 1366	3 Dec 1366	1 Jan 1367	
28 June 1367	28 July 1367	26 Aug 1367	25 Sept 1367	24 Oct 1367	23 Nov 1367	22 Dec 1367	
16 June 1368	14 Aug 1368	13 Sept 1368	13 Oct 1368	11 Nov 1368	11 Dec 1368	9 Jan 1369	16 July 1368
5 July 1369	3 Aug 1369	2 Sept 1369	2 Oct 1369	31 Oct 1369	30 Nov 1369	30 Dec 1369	
24 June 1370	24 July 1370	22 Aug 1370	21 Sept 1370	20 Oct 1370	19 Nov 1370	19 Dec 1370	
13 July 1371	11 Aug 1371	10 Sept 1371	10 Oct 1371	8 Nov 1371	8 Dec 1371	7 Jan 1372	16 Apr 1371
2 July 1372	31 July 1372	29 Aug 1372	28 Sept 1372	27 Oct 1372	26 Nov 1372	26 Dec 1373	
21 June 1373	21 July 1373	19 Aug 1373	17 Sept 1373	17 Oct 1373	15 Nov 1373	14 Jan 1374	15 Dec 1373
10 July 1374	9 Aug 1374	7 Sept 1374	6 Oct 1374	5 Nov 1374	4 Dec 1374	3 Jan 1375	
30 June 1375	29 July 1375	28 Aug 1375	26 Sept 1375	26 Oct 1375	24 Nov 1375	23 Dec 1375	
18 June 1376	17 July 1376	16 Aug 1376	14 Oct 1376	13 Nov 1376	12 Dec 1376	11 Jan 1377	15 Sept 1376
6 July 1377	5 Aug 1377	4 Sept 1377	3 Oct 1377	2 Nov 1377	2 Dec 1377	31 Dec 1377	
26 June 1378	25 July 1378	24 Aug 1378	23 Sept 1378	22 Oct 1378	21 Nov 1378	21 Dec 1378	

文中 *Bun-chū*. 天授 *Ten-ju*. 康安 *Kō-an*. 貞治 *Jō-ji*. 應安 *Ō-an*. 永和 *Ei-wa*.



Style and Year of Period.	Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Ten-ju 5 Kō-riaku †	1 2039	56	19 Jan 1379	18 Feb 1379	19 Mar 1379	17 Apr 1379	15 June 1379
" 6 [Kō-reki] 2	2 2040	57	7 Feb 1380	8 Mar 1380	6 Apr 1380	5 May 1380	4 June 1380
Kō-wa 1 Ei-toku 1	2041	58	26 Jan 1381	25 Feb 1381	27 Mar 1381	25 Apr 1381	24 May 1381
" 2 " 2	2042	59	15 Jan 1382	16 Mar 1382	14 Apr 1382	14 May 1382	12 June 1382
" 3 " 3	2043	60	3 Feb 1383	5 Mar 1383	4 Apr 1383	3 May 1383	2 June 1383
Gen-chū 1 Shi-toku 1	2044	1	23 Jan 1384	22 Feb 1384	23 Mar 1384	21 Apr 1384	21 May 1384
" 2 " 2	2045	2	10 Feb 1385	12 Mar 1385	10 Apr 1385	10 May 1385	9 June 1385
" 3 " 3	2046	3	31 Jan 1386	1 Mar 1386	31 Mar 1386	29 Apr 1386	29 May 1386
" 4 Ka-kiō 1	2047	4	21 Jan 1387	19 Feb 1387	20 Mar 1387	19 Apr 1387	18 May 1387
" 5 [Ka-kei] 2	2048	5	9 Feb 1388	9 Mar 1388	7 Apr 1388	7 May 1388	5 June 1388
" 6 Kō-ō 1	2049	6	28 Jan 1389	27 Feb 1389	28 Mar 1389	27 Apr 1389	26 May 1389
" 7 Mei-toku 1	2050	7	17 Jan 1390	16 Feb 1390	18 Mar 1390	15 May 1390	11 June 1390
" 8 " 2	2051	8	5 Feb 1391	7 Mar 1391	5 Apr 1391	5 May 1391	3 June 1391
" 9 " 3	2052	9	25 Jan 1392	24 Feb 1392	24 Mar 1392	23 Apr 1392	23 May 1392
Mei-toku 4	2053	10	12 Feb 1393	13 Mar 1393	12 Apr 1393	12 May 1393	10 June 1393
Ō-ei 1	2054	11	1 Feb 1394	3 Mar 1394	1 Apr 1394	1 May 1394	30 May 1394
" 2	2055	12	22 Jan 1395	20 Feb 1395	22 Mar 1395	20 Apr 1395	20 May 1395
" 3	2056	13	10 Feb 1396	10 Mar 1396	9 Apr 1396	8 May 1396	6 June 1396
" 4	2057	14	30 Jan 1397	28 Feb 1397	29 Mar 1397	28 Apr 1397	27 May 1397
" 5	2058	15	19 Jan 1398	18 Feb 1398	19 Mar 1398	17 Apr 1398	15 June 1398
" 6	2059	16	7 Feb 1399	8 Mar 1399	7 Apr 1399	6 May 1399	5 June 1399
" 7	2060	17	27 Jan 1400	25 Feb 1400	26 Mar 1400	25 Apr 1400	24 May 1400
" 8	2061	18	15 Jan 1401	15 Mar 1401	14 Apr 1401	14 May 1401	12 June 1401
" 9	2062	19	3 Feb 1402	4 Mar 1402	3 Apr 1402	3 May 1402	1 June 1402
" 10	2063	20	23 Jan 1403	22 Feb 1403	23 Mar 1403	22 Apr 1403	21 May 1403
" 11	2064	21	11 Feb 1404	12 Mar 1404	10 Apr 1404	10 May 1404	8 June 1404
" 12	2065	22	31 Jan 1405	1 Mar 1405	31 Mar 1405	29 Apr 1405	28 May 1405
" 13	2066	23	20 Jan 1406	19 Feb 1406	20 Mar 1406	19 Apr 1406	18 May 1406
" 14	2067	24	8 Feb 1407	10 Mar 1407	8 Apr 1407	8 May 1407	6 June 1407
" 15	2068	25	29 Jan 1408	27 Feb 1408	28 Mar 1408	26 Apr 1408	25 May 1408
" 16	2069	26	17 Jan 1409	15 Feb 1409	17 May 1409	15 May 1409	14 June 1409
" 17	2070	27	4 Feb 1410	6 Mar 1410	5 Apr 1410	4 May 1410	3 June 1410

天授 Ten-ju. 弘和 Kō-wa. 元中 Gen-chū. 永和 Ei-wa. 康暦 Kō-riku. 永德 Ei-toku. 至德 Shi-toku.  
 \* Southern Dynasty. † Northern Dynasty.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
14 July 1379	13 Aug 1379	12 Sept 1379	11 Oct 1379	10 Nov 1379	10 Dec 1379	9 Jan 1380	17 May 1379
3 July 1380	1 Aug 1380	31 Aug 1380	29 Sept 1380	29 Oct 1380	28 Nov 1380	28 Dec 1380	
23 June 1381	22 July 1381	20 Aug 1381	19 Sept 1381	18 Oct 1381	17 Nov 1381	17 Dec 1381	
12 July 1382	10 Aug 1382	8 Sept 1382	8 Oct 1382	6 Nov 1382	6 Dec 1382	4 Jan 1383	14 Feb 1382
1 July 1383	31 July 1383	29 Aug 1383	27 Sept 1383	27 Oct 1383	25 Nov 1383	25 Dec 1383	
20 June 1384	19 July 1384	18 Aug 1384	16 Sept 1384	14 Nov 1384	13 Dec 1384	12 Jan 1385	16 Oct 1384
8 July 1385	7 Aug 1385	5 Sept 1385	5 Oct 1385	4 Nov 1385	3 Dec 1385	2 Jan 1386	
27 June 1386	27 July 1386	26 Aug 1386	24 Sept 1386	24 Oct 1386	23 Nov 1386	22 Dec 1386	
16 July 1387	15 Aug 1387	13 Sept 1387	13 Oct 1387	12 Nov 1387	11 Dec 1387	10 Jan 1388	17 June 1387
4 July 1388	3 Aug 1388	1 Sept 1388	1 Oct 1388	31 Oct 1388	30 Nov 1388	29 Dec 1388	
24 June 1389	23 July 1389	22 Aug 1389	20 Sept 1389	20 Oct 1389	19 Nov 1389	18 Dec 1389	
13 July 1390	11 Aug 1390	10 Sept 1390	9 Oct 1390	8 Nov 1390	7 Dec 1390	6 Jan 1391	16 Apr 1390
3 July 1391	1 Aug 1391	30 Aug 1391	29 Sept 1391	28 Oct 1391	27 Nov 1391	26 Dec 1391	
21 June 1392	21 July 1392	19 Aug 1392	17 Sept 1392	17 Oct 1392	15 Nov 1392*	13 Jan 1393	15 Dec 1392
10 July 1393	8 Aug 1393	7 Sept 1393	6 Oct 1393	5 Nov 1393	4 Dec 1393	3 Jan 1394	
29 June 1394	29 July 1394	27 Aug 1394	26 Sept 1394	25 Oct 1394	24 Nov 1394	23 Dec 1394	
18 June 1395	18 July 1395	16 Aug 1395*	15 Oct 1395	13 Nov 1395	13 Dec 1395	12 Jan 1396	15 Sept 1395
6 July 1396	4 Aug 1396	3 Sept 1396	3 Oct 1396	2 Nov 1396	1 Dec 1396	31 Dec 1396	
25 June 1397	25 July 1397	23 Aug 1397	22 Sept 1397	22 Oct 1397	20 Nov 1397	20 Dec 1397	
14 July 1398	13 Aug 1398	11 Sept 1398	11 Oct 1398	9 Nov 1398	9 Dec 1398	8 Jan 1399	17 May 1398
4 July 1399	2 Aug 1399	1 Sept 1399	30 Sept 1399	30 Nov 1399	28 Nov 1399	28 Dec 1399	
23 June 1400	22 July 1400	20 Aug 1400	19 Sept 1400	18 Oct 1400	17 Nov 1400	16 Dec 1400	
12 July 1401	10 Aug 1401	8 Sept 1401	8 Oct 1401	6 Nov 1401	6 Dec 1401	4 Jan 1402	14 Feb 1401
1 July 1402	30 July 1402	29 Aug 1402	27 Sept 1402	27 Oct 1402	25 Nov 1402	25 Dec 1402	
20 June 1403	20 July 1403	18 Aug 1403	17 Sept 1403	16 Oct 1403	14 Dec 1403	13 Jan 1404	15 Nov 1403
8 July 1404	6 Aug 1404	5 Sept 1404	5 Oct 1404	3 Nov 1404	3 Dec 1404	1 Jan 1405	
27 June 1405	26 July 1405	25 Aug 1405	24 Sept 1405	23 Oct 1405	22 Nov 1405	22 Dec 1405	
16 June 1406*	14 Aug 1406	13 Sept 1406	12 Oct 1406	11 Nov 1406	11 Dec 1406	10 Jan 1407	16 July 1406
5 July 1407	4 Aug 1407	2 Sept 1407	2 Oct 1407	31 Oct 1407	30 Nov 1407	30 Dec 1407	
24 June 1408	23 July 1408	22 Aug 1408	20 Sept 1408	20 Oct 1408	18 Nov 1408	18 Dec 1408	
13 July 1409	11 Aug 1409	10 Sept 1409	9 Oct 1409	8 Nov 1409	7 Dec 1409	6 Jan 1410	16 Apr 1409
2 July 1410	1 Aug 1410	30 Aug 1410	29 Sept 1410	28 Oct 1410	27 Nov 1410	26 Dec 1410	

嘉慶 Ka-kiō. 康應 Kō-ō. 明德 Mei-toku. 應永 Ō-ei.

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Ū-ei</b>	18	2071	28	25 Jan 1411	23 Feb 1411	25 Mar 1411	23 Apr 1411	23 May 1411
"	19	2072	29	13 Feb 1412	13 Mar 1412	12 Apr 1412	11 May 1412	10 June 1412
"	20	2073	30	1 Feb 1413	3 Mar 1413	1 Apr 1413	30 Apr 1413	30 May 1413
"	21	2074	31	22 Jan 1414	20 Feb 1414	22 Mar 1414	20 Apr 1414	19 May 1414
"	22	2075	32	10 Feb 1415	11 Mar 1415	10 Apr 1415	9 May 1415	7 June 1415
"	23	2076	33	30 Jan 1416	29 Feb 1416	29 Mar 1416	28 Apr 1416	27 May 1416
"	24	2077	34	18 Jan 1417	17 Feb 1417	19 Mar 1417	17 Apr 1417	17 May 1417*
"	25	2078	35	6 Feb 1418	8 Mar 1418	6 Apr 1418	6 May 1418	5 June 1418
"	26	2079	36	26 Jan 1419	25 Feb 1419	27 Mar 1419	25 Apr 1419	25 May 1419
"	27	2080	37	16 Jan 1420*	15 Mar 1420	13 Apr 1420	13 May 1420	11 June 1420
"	28	2081	38	3 Feb 1421	4 Mar 1421	3 Apr 1421	2 May 1421	1 June 1421
"	29	2082	39	23 Jan 1422	22 Feb 1422	23 Mar 1422	21 Apr 1422	21 May 1422
"	30	2083	40	11 Feb 1423	13 Mar 1423	11 Apr 1423	10 May 1423	9 June 1423
"	31	2084	41	1 Feb 1424	1 Mar 1424	31 Mar 1424	29 Apr 1424	28 May 1424
"	32	2085	42	20 Jan 1425	19 Feb 1425	20 Mar 1425	19 Apr 1425	18 May 1425
"	33	2086	43	8 Feb 1426	10 Mar 1426	8 Apr 1426	8 May 1426	6 June 1426
"	34	2087	44	28 Jan 1427	27 Feb 1427	28 Mar 1427	27 Apr 1427	26 May 1427
<b>Shō-chō</b>	1	2088	45	17 Jan 1428	16 Feb 1428	16 Mar 1428*	15 May 1428	13 June 1428*
<b>Ei-kiō</b>	1	2089	46	4 Feb 1429	6 Mar 1429	4 Apr 1429	4 May 1429	2 June 1429
"	2	2090	47	25 Jan 1430	23 Feb 1430	24 Mar 1430	23 Apr 1430	22 May 1430
"	3	2091	48	13 Feb 1431	14 Mar 1431	12 Apr 1431	12 May 1431	10 June 1431
"	4	2092	49	2 Feb 1432	3 Mar 1432	1 Apr 1432	30 Apr 1432	30 May 1432
"	5	2093	50	22 Jan 1433	20 Feb 1433	22 Mar 1433	20 Apr 1433	19 May 1433
"	6	2094	51	10 Feb 1434	11 Mar 1434	10 Apr 1434	9 May 1434	7 June 1434
"	7	2095	52	30 Jan 1435	28 Feb 1435	30 Mar 1435	29 Apr 1435	28 May 1435
"	8	2096	53	19 Jan 1436	17 Feb 1436	18 Mar 1436	17 Apr 1436	16 May 1436*
"	9	2097	54	6 Feb 1437	7 Mar 1437	6 Apr 1437	5 May 1437	4 June 1437
"	10	2098	55	26 Jan 1438	24 Feb 1438	26 Mar 1438	25 Apr 1438	24 May 1438
"	11	2099	56	16 Jan 1439	15 Mar 1439	14 Apr 1439	13 May 1439	12 June 1439
"	12	2100	57	4 Feb 1440	4 Mar 1440	2 Apr 1440	2 May 1440	31 May 1440
<b>Ka-kitsu</b>	1	2101	58	23 Jan 1441	22 Feb 1441	23 Mar 1441	21 Apr 1441	21 May 1441
"	2	2102	59	11 Feb 1442	13 Mar 1442	11 Apr 1442	10 May 1442	9 June 1442

應永 Ō-ei. 正長 Shō-chō. 永享 Ei-kiō. 嘉吉 Ka-kitsu.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
22 June 1411	21 July 1411	20 Aug 1411	18 Sept 1411	18 Oct 1411	16 Nov 1411 <sup>*</sup>	14 Jan 1412	16 Dec 1411
9 July 1412	8 Aug 1412	7 Sept 1412	6 Oct 1412	5 Nov 1412	4 Dec 1412	3 Jan 1413	
28 June 1413	28 July 1413	27 Aug 1413	25 Sept 1413	25 Oct 1413	24 Nov 1413	23 Dec 1413	
18 June 1414	17 July 1414 <sup>*</sup>	14 Sept 1414	14 Oct 1414	13 Nov 1414	13 Dec 1414	11 Jan 1415	16 Aug 1414
7 July 1415	5 Aug 1415	4 Sept 1415	3 Oct 1415	2 Nov 1415	2 Dec 1415	1 Jan 1416	
25 June 1416	25 July 1416	23 Aug 1416	21 Sept 1416	21 Oct 1416	20 Nov 1416	19 Dec 1416	
14 July 1417	13 Aug 1417	11 Sept 1417	10 Oct 1417	9 Nov 1417	9 Dec 1417	7 Jan 1418	15 June 1417
4 July 1418	2 Aug 1418	1 Sept 1418	30 Sept 1418	29 Oct 1418	28 Nov 1418	28 Dec 1418	
23 June 1419	23 July 1419	21 Aug 1419	20 Sept 1419	19 Oct 1419	18 Nov 1419	17 Dec 1419	
11 July 1420	10 Aug 1420	8 Sept 1420	8 Oct 1420	6 Nov 1420	6 Dec 1420	4 Jan 1421	14 Feb 1420
30 June 1421	30 July 1421	28 Aug 1421	27 Sept 1421	27 Oct 1421	25 Nov 1421	25 Dec 1421	
19 June 1422	19 July 1422	17 Aug 1422	16 Sept 1422	16 Oct 1422	14 Dec 1422	13 Jan 1423	15 Nov 1422
8 July 1423	7 Aug 1423	5 Sept 1423	5 Oct 1423	4 Nov 1423	3 Dec 1423	2 Jan 1424	
27 June 1424	26 July 1424	24 Aug 1424	23 Sept 1424	23 Oct 1424	21 Nov 1424	21 Dec 1424	
16 June 1425 <sup>*</sup>	14 Aug 1425	12 Sept 1425	12 Oct 1425	11 Nov 1425	10 Dec 1425	9 Jan 1426	16 July 1425
5 July 1426	4 Aug 1426	2 Sept 1426	1 Oct 1426	31 Oct 1426	29 Nov 1426	29 Dec 1426	
25 June 1427	24 July 1427	23 Aug 1427	21 Sept 1427	20 Oct 1427	19 Nov 1427	18 Dec 1427	
13 July 1428	11 Aug 1428	10 Sept 1428	9 Oct 1428	8 Nov 1428	7 Dec 1428	5 Jan 1429	15 Apr 1428
2 July 1429	1 Aug 1429	30 Aug 1429	29 Sept 1429	28 Oct 1429	27 Nov 1429	26 Dec 1429	
21 June 1430	21 July 1430	19 Aug 1430	18 Sept 1430	18 Oct 1430	16 Nov 1430 <sup>*</sup>	14 Jan 1431	16 Dec 1430
10 July 1431	8 Aug 1431	7 Sept 1431	7 Oct 1431	5 Nov 1431	5 Dec 1431	4 Jan 1432	
28 June 1432	28 July 1432	26 Aug 1432	25 Sept 1432	24 Oct 1432	23 Nov 1432	23 Dec 1432	
18 June 1433	17 July 1433 <sup>*</sup>	14 Sept 1433	14 Oct 1433	12 Nov 1433	12 Dec 1433	11 Jan 1434	15 Aug 1373
7 July 1434	5 Aug 1434	3 Sept 1434	3 Oct 1434	1 Nov 1434	1 Dec 1434	31 Dec 1434	
26 June 1435	26 July 1435	24 Aug 1435	22 Sept 1435	22 Oct 1435	20 Nov 1435	20 Dec 1435	
14 July 1436	13 Aug 1436	11 Sept 1436	10 Oct 1436	9 Nov 1436	8 Dec 1436	7 Jan 1437	15 June 1436
4 July 1437	2 Aug 1437	1 Sept 1437	30 Sept 1437	30 Oct 1437	28 Nov 1437	27 Dec 1437	
23 June 1438	22 July 1438	21 Aug 1438	20 Sept 1438	19 Oct 1438	18 Nov 1438	17 Dec 1438	
11 July 1439	10 Aug 1439	9 Sept 1439	8 Oct 1439	7 Nov 1439	7 Dec 1439	5 Jan 1440	14 Feb 1439
30 June 1440	29 July 1440	28 Aug 1440	26 Sept 1440	26 Oct 1440	25 Nov 1440	25 Dec 1440	
19 June 1441	18 July 1441	17 Aug 1441	16 Sept 1441	14 Nov 1441	14 Dec 1441	13 Jan 1442	15 Oct 1441
8 July 1442	6 Aug 1442	5 Sept 1442	4 Oct 1442	3 Nov 1442	3 Dec 1442	2 Jan 1443	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Ka-kitsu</b>	<b>3</b>	2103	60	31 Jan 1443	2 Mar 1443	1 Apr 1443	30 Apr 1443	29 May 1443
<b>Bun-an</b>	<b>1</b>	2104	1	20 Jan 1444	19 Feb 1444	20 Mar 1444	18 Apr 1444	18 May 1444
"	<b>2</b>	2105	2	7 Feb 1445	9 Mar 1445	8 Apr 1445	7 May 1445	6 June 1445
"	<b>3</b>	2106	3	27 Jan 1446	26 Feb 1446	28 Mar 1446	26 Apr 1446	26 May 1446
"	<b>4</b>	2107	4	17 Jan 1447	15 Feb 1447	15 Apr 1447	15 May 1447	14 June 1447
"	<b>5</b>	2108	5	5 Feb 1448	5 Mar 1448	4 Apr 1448	3 May 1448	2 June 1448
<b>Hō-toku</b>	<b>1</b>	2109	6	25 Jan 1449	23 Feb 1449	24 Mar 1449	23 Apr 1449	22 May 1449
"	<b>2</b>	2110	7	13 Feb 1450	14 Mar 1450	12 Apr 1450	12 May 1450	10 June 1450
"	<b>3</b>	2111	8	2 Feb 1451	4 Mar 1451	2 Apr 1451	1 May 1451	31 May 1451
<b>Kō-toku</b>	<b>1</b>	2112	9	22 Jan 1452	21 Feb 1452	22 Mar 1452	20 Apr 1452	19 May 1452
"	<b>2</b>	2113	10	9 Feb 1453	11 Mar 1453	9 Apr 1453	9 May 1453	7 June 1453
"	<b>3</b>	2114	11	29 Jan 1454	28 Feb 1454	29 Mar 1454	28 Apr 1454	28 May 1454
<b>Kō-shō</b>	<b>1</b>	2115	12	18 Jan 1455	17 Feb 1455	18 Mar 1455	17 Apr 1455*	15 June 1455
"	<b>2</b>	2116	13	6 Feb 1456	7 Mar 1456	5 Apr 1456	5 May 1456	3 June 1456
<b>Chō-roku</b>	<b>1</b>	2117	14	26 Jan 1457	24 Feb 1457	26 Mar 1457	24 Apr 1457	24 May 1457
"	<b>2</b>	2118	15	16 Jan 1458*	15 Mar 1458	14 Apr 1458	13 May 1458	11 June 1458
"	<b>3</b>	2119	16	4 Feb 1459	5 Mar 1459	3 Apr 1459	3 May 1459	1 June 1459
<b>Kwan-shō</b>	<b>1</b>	2120	17	24 Jan 1460	23 Feb 1460	23 Mar 1460	21 Apr 1460	21 May 1460
"	<b>2</b>	2121	18	11 Feb 1461	12 Mar 1461	11 Apr 1461	10 May 1461	9 June 1461
"	<b>3</b>	2122	19	31 Jan 1462	1 Mar 1462	31 Mar 1462	30 Apr 1462	29 May 1462
"	<b>4</b>	2123	20	20 Jan 1463	18 Feb 1463	20 Mar 1463	19 Apr 1463	19 May 1463
"	<b>5</b>	2124	21	8 Feb 1464	8 Mar 1464	7 Apr 1464	7 May 1464	5 June 1464
"	<b>6</b>	2125	22	27 Jan 1465	26 Feb 1465	27 Mar 1465	26 Apr 1465	25 May 1465
<b>Bun-shō</b>	<b>1</b>	2126	23	17 Jan 1466	15 Feb 1466*	15 Apr 1466	15 May 1466	13 June 1466
<b>Ō-nin</b>	<b>1</b>	2127	24	5 Feb 1467	6 Mar 1467	5 Apr 1467	4 May 1467	2 June 1467
"	<b>2</b>	2128	25	25 Jan 1468	24 Feb 1468	24 Mar 1468	23 Apr 1468	22 May 1468
<b>Bun-meī</b>	<b>1</b>	2129	26	12 Feb 1469	11 Mar 1469	12 Apr 1469	12 May 1469	10 June 1469
"	<b>2</b>	2130	27	2 Feb 1470	3 Mar 1470	2 Apr 1470	1 May 1470	31 May 1470
"	<b>3</b>	2131	28	21 Jan 1471	20 Feb 1471	22 Mar 1471	21 Apr 1471	20 May 1471
"	<b>4</b>	2132	29	9 Feb 1472	10 Mar 1472	9 Apr 1472	8 May 1472	7 June 1472
"	<b>5</b>	2133	30	29 Jan 1473	27 Feb 1473	29 Mar 1473	27 Apr 1473	27 May 1473
"	<b>6</b>	2134	31	18 Jan 1474	17 Feb 1474	18 Mar 1474	17 Apr 1474	16 May 1474*

嘉吉 *Ka-kitsu*. 文安 *Bun-an*. 弘長 *Hō-toku*. 享徳 *Kō-toku*. 康長 *Kō-shō*. 長祿 *Chō-roku*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Intere: Month.
28 June 1443	27 July 1443	25 Aug 1443	24 Sept 1443	23 Oct 1443	22 Nov 1443	22 Dec 1443	16 July 1444
16 June 1444*	14 Aug 1444	12 Sept 1444	12 Oct 1444	10 Nov 1444	10 Dec 1444	8 Jan 1445	
5 July 1445	4 Aug 1445	2 Sept 1445	1 Oct 1445	31 Oct 1445	29 Nov 1445	29 Dec 1445	
25 June 1446	24 July 1446	23 Aug 1446	21 Sept 1446	20 Oct 1446	19 Nov 1446	18 Dec 1446	17 Mar 1447
13 July 1447	12 Aug 1447	10 Sept 1447	10 Oct 1447	9 Nov 1447	8 Dec 1447	7 Jan 1448	
1 July 1448	31 July 1448	30 Aug 1448	28 Sept 1448	28 Oct 1448	27 Nov 1448	26 Dec 1448	
21 June 1449	20 July 1449	19 Aug 1449	17 Sept 1449	17 Oct 1449	16 Nov 1449	15 Dec 1449	14 Jan 1450
9 July 1450	8 Aug 1450	6 Sept 1450	6 Oct 1450	5 Nov 1450	5 Dec 1450	3 Jan 1451	
29 June 1451	28 July 1451	27 Aug 1451	25 Sept 1451	25 Oct 1451	24 Nov 1451	23 Dec 1451	
18 June 1452	17 July 1452	15 Aug 1452*	13 Oct 1452	12 Nov 1452	11 Dec 1452	10 Jan 1453	14 Sept 1452
7 July 1453	5 Aug 1453	3 Sept 1453	3 Oct 1453	1 Nov 1453	1 Dec 1453	30 Dec 1453	
26 June 1454	26 July 1454	24 Aug 1454	22 Sept 1454	22 Oct 1454	20 Nov 1454	20 Dec 1454	
15 July 1455	13 Aug 1455	12 Sept 1455	11 Oct 1455	10 Nov 1455	9 Dec 1455	8 Jan 1456	17 May 1455
3 July 1456	2 Aug 1456	31 Aug 1456	30 Sept 1456	29 Oct 1456	28 Nov 1456	27 Dec 1456	
22 June 1457	22 July 1457	20 Aug 1457	19 Sept 1457	19 Oct 1457	17 Nov 1457*	17 Dec 1457	
11 July 1458	9 Aug 1458	8 Sept 1458	8 Oct 1458	7 Nov 1458	6 Dec 1458	5 Jan 1459	14 Feb 1458
30 June 1459	30 July 1459	28 Aug 1459	27 Sept 1459	27 Oct 1459	25 Nov 1459	25 Dec 1459	
19 June 1460	18 July 1460	17 Aug 1460	15 Sept 1460*	13 Nov 1460	13 Dec 1460	12 Jan 1461	
8 July 1461	6 Aug 1461	5 Sept 1461	4 Oct 1461	3 Nov 1461	2 Dec 1461	1 Jan 1462	
28 June 1462	27 July 1462	25 Aug 1462	24 Sept 1462	23 Oct 1462	22 Nov 1462	21 Dec 1462	
17 June 1463*	15 Aug 1463	13 Sept 1463	13 Oct 1463	11 Nov 1463	11 Dec 1463	9 Jan 1464	
5 July 1464	3 Aug 1464	2 Sept 1464	1 Oct 1464	31 Oct 1464	29 Nov 1464	29 Dec 1464	17 July 1463
24 June 1465	23 July 1465	22 Aug 1465	21 Sept 1465	20 Oct 1465	19 Nov 1465	18 Dec 1465	
13 July 1466	11 Aug 1466	10 Sept 1466	10 Oct 1466	8 Nov 1466	8 Dec 1466	6 Jan 1467	
2 July 1467	31 July 1467	30 Aug 1467	29 Sept 1467	28 Oct 1467	27 Nov 1467	27 Dec 1467	17 Mar 1466
20 June 1468	20 July 1468	18 Aug 1468	17 Sept 1468	16 Oct 1468	15 Nov 1468	15 Dec 1468*	
9 July 1469	8 Aug 1469	6 Sept 1469	6 Oct 1469	4 Nov 1469	4 Dec 1469	3 Jan 1470	
29 June 1470	28 July 1470	27 Aug 1470	25 Sept 1470	24 Oct 1470	23 Nov 1470	23 Dec 1470	
19 June 1471	18 July 1471	16 Aug 1471*	14 Oct 1471	12 Nov 1471	12 Dec 1471	11 Jan 1472	
6 July 1472	5 Aug 1472	3 Sept 1472	3 Oct 1472	1 Nov 1472	1 Dec 1472	30 Dec 1472	
26 June 1473	25 July 1473	24 Aug 1473	22 Sept 1473	22 Oct 1473	20 Nov 1473	20 Dec 1473	15 Sept 1471
14 July 1474	13 Aug 1474	12 Sept 1474	11 Oct 1474	10 Nov 1474	9 Dec 1474	8 Jan 1475	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Bun-meī</b>	7	2135	32	6 Feb 1475	8 Mar 1475	6 Apr 1475	5 May 1475	4 June 1475
"	8	2136	33	27 Jan 1476	25 Feb 1476	26 Mar 1476	24 Apr 1476	23 May 1476
"	9	2137	34	15 Jan 1477	15 Mar 1477	14 Apr 1477	13 May 1477	11 June 1477
"	10	2138	35	3 Feb 1478	5 Mar 1478	3 Apr 1478	3 May 1478	1 June 1478
"	11	2139	36	23 Jan 1479	24 Feb 1479	22 Mar 1479	22 Apr 1479	22 May 1479
"	12	2140	37	11 Feb 1480	12 Mar 1480	10 Apr 1480	10 May 1480	9 June 1480
"	13	2141	38	30 Jan 1481	1 Mar 1481	30 Mar 1481	29 Apr 1481	29 May 1481
"	14	2142	39	20 Jan 1482	18 Feb 1482	20 Mar 1482	18 Apr 1482	18 May 1482
"	15	2143	40	8 Feb 1483	9 Mar 1483	7 Apr 1483	7 May 1483	6 June 1483
"	16	2144	41	28 Jan 1484	27 Feb 1484	27 Mar 1484	25 Apr 1484	25 May 1484
"	17	2145	42	17 Jan 1485	15 Feb 1485	17 Mar 1485	14 May 1485	13 June 1485
"	18	2146	43	5 Feb 1486	6 Mar 1486	5 Apr 1486	4 May 1486	2 June 1486
<b>Chō-kō</b>	1	2147	44	25 Jan 1487	24 Feb 1487	25 Mar 1487	24 Apr 1487	23 May 1487
"	2	2148	45	13 Feb 1488	14 Mar 1488	12 Apr 1488	12 May 1488	10 June 1488
<b>En-toku</b>	1	2149	46	1 Feb 1489	3 Mar 1489	1 Apr 1489	1 May 1489	30 May 1489
"	2	2150	47	21 Jan 1490	20 Feb 1490	21 Mar 1490	20 Apr 1490	20 May 1490
"	3	2151	48	9 Feb 1491	11 Mar 1491	9 Apr 1491	9 May 1491	7 June 1491
<b>Mei-ō</b>	1	2152	49	30 Jan 1492	28 Feb 1492	28 Mar 1492	27 Apr 1492	26 May 1492
"	2	2153	50	18 Jan 1493	17 Feb 1493	18 Mar 1493	16 Apr 1493	14 June 1493
"	3	2154	51	6 Feb 1494	8 Mar 1494	6 Apr 1494	5 May 1494	4 June 1494
"	4	2155	52	27 Jan 1495	25 Feb 1495	27 Mar 1495	25 Apr 1495	24 May 1495
"	5	2156	53	16 Jan 1496	15 Feb 1496	14 Apr 1496	13 May 1496	11 June 1496
"	6	2157	54	3 Feb 1497	4 Mar 1497	3 Apr 1497	3 May 1497	1 June 1497
"	7	2158	55	23 Jan 1498	21 Feb 1498	22 Mar 1498	22 Apr 1498	21 May 1498
"	8	2159	56	10 Feb 1499	12 Mar 1499	11 Apr 1499	10 May 1499	9 June 1499
"	9	2160	57	31 Jan 1500	29 Feb 1500	30 Mar 1500	29 Apr 1500	28 May 1500
<b>Bun-ki</b>	1	2161	58	19 Jan 1501	18 Feb 1501	19 Mar 1501	18 Apr 1501	17 May 1501
"	2	2162	59	8 Feb 1502	9 Mar 1502	7 Apr 1502	7 May 1502	5 June 1502
"	3	2163	60	28 Jan 1503	27 Feb 1503	28 Mar 1503	26 Apr 1503	26 May 1503
<b>Ei-shō</b>	1	2164	1	18 Jan 1504	16 Feb 1504	17 Mar 1504	14 May 1504	13 June 1504
"	2	2165	2	4 Feb 1505	6 Mar 1505	5 Apr 1505	4 May 1505	2 June 1505
"	3	2166	3	24 Jan 1506	23 Feb 1506	25 Mar 1506	23 Apr 1506	23 May 1506

文明 *Bun-meī*. 長享 *Chō-kō*. 延徳 *En-toku*. 明應 *Mei-ō*. 文龜 *Bun-ki*. 永正 *Ei-shō*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Intere: Month.
3 July 1475	2 Aug 1475	1 Sept 1475	30 Sept 1475	30 Oct 1475	29 Nov 1475	28 Dec 1475	
22 June 1476	21 July 1476	20 Aug 1476	18 Sept 1476	18 Oct 1476	17 Nov 1476	17 Dec 1476	
11 July 1477	9 Aug 1477	8 Sept 1477	7 Oct 1477	6 Nov 1477	6 Dec 1477	4 Jan 1478	14 Feb 1477
30 June 1478	30 July 1478	28 Aug 1478	26 Sept 1478	26 Oct 1478	25 Nov 1478	24 Dec 1478	
20 June 1479	19 July 1479	18 Aug 1479	16 Sept 1479	14 Nov 1479	14 Dec 1479	12 Jan 1480	15 Oct 1479
8 July 1480	6 Aug 1480	5 Sept 1480	4 Oct 1480	2 Nov 1480	2 Dec 1480	1 Jan 1481	
27 June 1481	27 July 1481	25 Aug 1481	24 Sept 1481	23 Oct 1481	22 Nov 1481	21 Dec 1481	
16 June 1482	16 July 1482	13 Sept 1482	13 Oct 1482	11 Nov 1482	11 Dec 1482	9 Jan 1483	15 Aug 1482
5 July 1483	4 Aug 1483	2 Sept 1483	2 Oct 1483	1 Nov 1483	30 Nov 1483	30 Dec 1483	
23 June 1484	23 July 1484	21 Aug 1484	20 Sept 1484	20 Oct 1484	19 Nov 1484	18 Dec 1484	
12 July 1485	11 Aug 1485	9 Sept 1485	9 Oct 1485	8 Nov 1485	7 Dec 1485	6 Jan 1486	15 Apr 1485
2 July 1486	31 July 1486	29 Aug 1486	28 Sept 1486	28 Oct 1486	26 Nov 1486	26 Dec 1486	
21 June 1487	21 July 1487	19 Aug 1487	17 Sept 1487	17 Oct 1487	16 Nov 1487	14 Jan 1488	15 Dec 1487
9 July 1488	8 Aug 1488	6 Sept 1488	5 Oct 1488	4 Nov 1488	3 Dec 1488	2 Jan 1489	
29 June 1489	28 July 1489	27 Aug 1489	25 Sept 1489	24 Oct 1489	23 Nov 1489	22 Dec 1489	
18 June 1490	18 July 1490	16 Aug 1490	14 Oct 1490	13 Nov 1490	12 Dec 1490	10 Jan 1491	15 Sept 1490
7 July 1491	6 Aug 1491	4 Sept 1491	4 Oct 1491	2 Nov 1491	2 Dec 1491	31 Dec 1491	
25 June 1492	25 July 1492	23 Aug 1492	22 Sept 1492	22 Oct 1492	20 Nov 1492	20 Dec 1492	
14 July 1493	12 Aug 1493	11 Sept 1493	11 Oct 1493	9 Nov 1493	9 Dec 1493	8 Jan 1494	16 May 1493
3 July 1494	1 Aug 1494	31 Aug 1494	30 Sept 1494	29 Oct 1494	28 Nov 1494	28 Dec 1494	
23 June 1495	22 July 1495	20 Aug 1495	19 Sept 1495	18 Oct 1495	17 Nov 1495	17 Dec 1495	
11 July 1496	9 Aug 1496	7 Sept 1496	7 Oct 1496	5 Nov 1496	5 Dec 1496	4 Jan 1497	15 Mar 1496
30 June 1497	30 July 1497	28 Aug 1497	26 Sept 1497	26 Oct 1497	24 Nov 1497	24 Dec 1497	
20 June 1498	19 July 1498	18 Aug 1498	16 Sept 1498	15 Oct 1498	13 Dec 1498	12 Jan 1499	14 Nov 1498
9 July 1499	7 Aug 1499	6 Sept 1499	5 Oct 1499	3 Nov 1499	3 Dec 1499	1 Jan 1500	
27 June 1500	26 July 1500	25 Aug 1500	24 Sept 1500	23 Oct 1500	22 Nov 1500	21 Dec 1500	
16 June 1501	14 Aug 1501	13 Sept 1501	12 Oct 1501	11 Nov 1501	11 Dec 1501	9 Jan 1502	15 July 1501
5 July 1502	3 Aug 1502	2 Sept 1502	1 Oct 1502	31 Oct 1502	30 Nov 1502	30 Dec 1502	
24 June 1503	24 July 1503	22 Aug 1503	21 Sept 1503	20 Oct 1503	19 Nov 1503	19 Dec 1503	
12 July 1504	10 Aug 1504	9 Sept 1504	8 Oct 1504	7 Nov 1504	7 Dec 1504	6 Jan 1505	15 Apr 1504
2 July 1505	31 July 1505	29 Aug 1505	28 Sept 1505	27 Oct 1505	26 Nov 1505	26 Dec 1505	
21 June 1506	21 July 1506	19 Aug 1506	17 Sept 1506	17 Oct 1506	15 Nov 1506	13 Jan 1507	15 Dec 1506



Style and Year of Period.	Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.	
Ei-shō	4	2167	4	12 Feb 1507	14 Mar 1507	13 Apr 1507	12 May 1507	11 June 1507
"	5	2168	5	1 Feb 1508	2 Mar 1508	1 Apr 1508	30 Apr 1508	30 May 1508
"	6	2169	6	21 Jan 1509	19 Feb 1509	21 Mar 1509	19 Apr 1509	19 May 1509
"	7	2170	7	9 Feb 1510	10 Mar 1510	9 Apr 1510	8 May 1510	7 June 1510
"	8	2171	8	30 Jan 1511	28 Feb 1511	29 Mar 1511	28 Apr 1511	27 May 1511
"	9	2172	9	19 Jan 1512	18 Feb 1512	18 Mar 1512	16 Apr 1512*	14 June 1512
"	10	2173	10	6 Feb 1513	8 Mar 1513	6 Apr 1513	5 May 1513	4 June 1513
"	11	2174	11	26 Jan 1514	25 Feb 1514	26 Mar 1514	25 Apr 1514	24 May 1514
"	12	2175	12	15 Jan 1515	14 Feb 1515*	14 Apr 1515	14 May 1515	12 June 1515
"	13	2176	13	3 Feb 1516	4 Mar 1516	2 Apr 1516	2 May 1516	1 June 1516
"	14	2177	14	22 Jan 1517	21 Feb 1517	22 Mar 1517	21 Apr 1517	21 May 1517
"	15	2178	15	10 Feb 1518	12 Mar 1518	10 Apr 1518	10 May 1518	8 June 1518
"	16	2179	16	31 Jan 1519	1 Mar 1519	31 Mar 1519	29 Apr 1519	29 May 1519
"	17	2180	17	21 Jan 1520	19 Feb 1520	19 Mar 1520	18 Apr 1520	17 May 1520
Dai-ei	1	2181	18	8 Feb 1521	9 Mar 1521	7 Apr 1521	7 May 1521	5 June 1521
[Tai-ei]	2	2182	19	23 Jan 1522	26 Feb 1522	28 Mar 1522	26 Apr 1522	26 May 1522
"	3	2183	20	17 Jan 1523	16 Feb 1523	17 Mar 1523*	15 May 1523	14 June 1523
"	4	2184	21	5 Feb 1524	5 Mar 1524	4 Apr 1524	4 May 1524	2 June 1524
"	5	2185	22	24 Jan 1525	22 Feb 1525	24 Mar 1525	23 Apr 1525	22 May 1525
"	6	2186	23	12 Feb 1526	13 Mar 1526	12 Apr 1526	12 May 1526	10 June 1526
"	7	2187	24	1 Feb 1527	3 Mar 1527	1 Apr 1527	1 May 1527	30 May 1527
Kō-roku	1	2188	25	22 Jan 1528	20 Feb 1528	21 Mar 1528	19 Apr 1528	18 May 1528
"	2	2189	26	9 Feb 1529	10 Mar 1529	9 Apr 1529	8 May 1529	6 June 1529
"	3	2190	27	29 Jan 1530	28 Feb 1530	29 Mar 1530	28 Apr 1530	27 May 1530
"	4	2191	28	19 Jan 1531	17 Feb 1531	19 Mar 1531	17 Apr 1531	17 May 1531*
Tem-bun	1	2192	29	6 Feb 1532	7 Mar 1532	6 Apr 1532	5 May 1532	4 June 1532
"	2	2193	30	25 Jan 1533	24 Feb 1533	26 Mar 1533	25 Apr 1533	24 May 1533
"	3	2194	31	15 Jan 1534	15 Mar 1534	14 Apr 1534	13 May 1534	12 June 1534
"	4	2195	32	3 Feb 1535	4 Mar 1535	3 Apr 1535	2 May 1535	1 June 1535
"	5	2196	33	23 Jan 1536	22 Feb 1536	23 Mar 1536	21 Apr 1536	20 May 1536
"	6	2197	34	10 Feb 1537	12 Mar 1537	10 Apr 1537	9 May 1537	8 June 1537
"	7	2198	35	31 Jan 1538	1 Mar 1538	31 Mar 1538	29 Apr 1538	28 May 1538

永正 *Ei-shō*. 大永 *Dai-ei*. 享祿 *Kō-roku*. 天文 *Tem-bun*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
10 July 1507	9 Aug 1507	7 Sept 1507	6 Oct 1507	5 Nov 1507	4 Dec 1507	3 Jan 1508	
28 June 1508	28 July 1508	27 Aug 1508	25 Sept 1508	24 Oct 1508	23 Nov 1508	22 Dec 1508	
18 June 1509	17 July 1509	16 Aug 1509*	14 Oct 1509	12 Nov 1509	12 Dec 1509	10 Jan 1510	14 Sept 1500
6 July 1510	5 Aug 1510	4 Sept 1510	3 Oct 1510	2 Nov 1510	1 Dec 1510	31 Dec 1510	
25 June 1511	25 July 1511	24 Aug 1511	22 Sept 1511	22 Oct 1511	21 Nov 1511	20 Dec 1511	
13 July 1512	12 Aug 1512	10 Sept 1512	10 Oct 1512	9 Nov 1512	9 Dec 1512	7 Jan 1513	16 May 1512
3 July 1513	1 Aug 1513	31 Aug 1513	29 Sept 1513	29 Oct 1513	28 Nov 1513	27 Dec 1513	
23 June 1514	22 July 1514	20 Aug 1514	19 Sept 1514	18 Oct 1514	17 Nov 1514	16 Dec 1514	
12 July 1515	10 Aug 1515	8 Sept 1515	8 Oct 1515	6 Nov 1515	6 Dec 1515	4 Jan 1516	16 Mar 1515
30 June 1516	30 July 1516	28 Aug 1516	26 Sept 1516	26 Oct 1516	24 Nov 1516	24 Dec 1516	
19 June 1517	19 July 1517	17 Aug 1517	16 Sept 1517	15 Oct 1517*	13 Dec 1517	12 Jan 1518	14 Nov 1517
8 July 1518	7 Aug 1518	5 Sept 1518	5 Oct 1518	3 Nov 1518	3 Dec 1518	1 Jan 1519	
27 June 1519	27 July 1519	25 Aug 1519	24 Sept 1519	24 Oct 1519	22 Nov 1519	22 Dec 1519	
15 June 1520*	13 Aug 1520	12 Sept 1520	12 Oct 1520	11 Nov 1520	10 Dec 1520	9 Jan 1521	15 July 1520
4 July 1521	3 Aug 1521	1 Sept 1521	1 Oct 1521	31 Oct 1521	29 Nov 1521	29 Dec 1521	
24 June 1522	23 July 1522	22 Aug 1522	20 Sept 1522	20 Oct 1522	18 Nov 1522	18 Dec 1522	
13 July 1523	11 Aug 1523	10 Sept 1523	9 Oct 1523	8 Nov 1523	7 Dec 1523	6 Jan 1524	16 Apr 1523
2 July 1524	31 July 1524	29 Aug 1524	28 Sept 1524	27 Oct 1524	26 Nov 1524	25 Dec 1524	
21 June 1525	20 July 1525	19 Aug 1525	17 Sept 1525	17 Oct 1525	15 Nov 1525*	13 Jan 1526	15 Dec 1525
10 July 1526	8 Aug 1526	7 Sept 1526	6 Oct 1526	5 Nov 1526	4 Dec 1526	3 Jan 1527	
29 June 1527	28 July 1527	27 Aug 1527	26 Sept 1527	25 Oct 1527	24 Nov 1527	23 Dec 1527	
17 June 1528	17 July 1528	15 Aug 1528	14 Sept 1528*	12 Nov 1528	12 Dec 1528	10 Jan 1529	14 Oct 1528
6 July 1529	4 Aug 1529	3 Sept 1529	3 Oct 1529	1 Nov 1529	1 Dec 1529	31 Dec 1529	
25 June 1530	25 July 1530	23 Aug 1530	22 Sept 1530	21 Oct 1530	20 Nov 1530	20 Dec 1530	
14 July 1531	13 Aug 1531	11 Sept 1531	11 Oct 1531	9 Nov 1531	9 Dec 1531	8 Jan 1532	15 June 1531
3 July 1532	1 Aug 1532	31 Aug 1532	29 Sept 1532	28 Oct 1532	27 Nov 1532	27 Dec 1532	
23 June 1533	22 July 1533	20 Aug 1533	19 Sept 1533	18 Oct 1533	16 Nov 1533	16 Dec 1533	
11 July 1534	10 Aug 1534	8 Sept 1534	8 Oct 1534	6 Nov 1534	6 Dec 1534	4 Jan 1535	13 Feb 1534
1 July 1535	30 July 1535	29 Aug 1535	27 Sept 1535	27 Oct 1535	25 Nov 1535	25 Dec 1535	
19 June 1536	18 July 1536	17 Aug 1536	16 Sept 1536	15 Oct 1536*	13 Dec 1536	12 Jan 1537	14 Nov 1536
7 July 1537	6 Aug 1537	5 Sept 1537	4 Oct 1537	3 Nov 1537	3 Dec 1537	1 Jan 1538	
27 June 1538	26 July 1538	25 Aug 1538	23 Sept 1538	23 Oct 1538	22 Nov 1538	22 Dec 1538	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmn Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Tem-bun</b>	8	2199	36	20 Jan 1539	19 Feb 1539	20 Mar 1539	19 Apr 1539	18 May 1539
"	9	2200	37	8 Feb 1540	9 Mar 1540	7 Apr 1540	7 May 1540	5 June 1540
"	10	2201	38	27 Jan 1541	26 Feb 1541	28 Mar 1541	26 Apr 1541	26 May 1541
"	11	2202	39	16 Jan 1542	15 Feb 1542	17 Mar 1542*	15 May 1542	13 June 1542
"	12	2203	40	4 Feb 1543	6 Mar 1543	4 Apr 1543	4 May 1543	3 June 1543
"	13	2204	41	24 Jan 1544	23 Feb 1544	24 Mar 1544	22 Apr 1544	22 May 1544
"	14	2205	42	12 Feb 1545	13 Mar 1545	11 Apr 1545	11 May 1545	9 June 1545
"	15	2206	43	1 Feb 1546	3 Mar 1546	1 Apr 1546	30 Apr 1546	30 May 1546
"	16	2207	44	22 Jan 1547	20 Feb 1547	22 Mar 1547	20 Apr 1547	19 May 1547
"	17	2208	45	10 Feb 1548	10 Mar 1548	9 Apr 1548	8 May 1548	6 June 1548
"	18	2209	46	29 Jan 1549	28 Feb 1549	29 Mar 1549	28 Apr 1549	27 May 1549
"	19	2210	47	18 Jan 1550	17 Feb 1550	18 Mar 1550	17 Apr 1550	17 May 1550
"	20	2211	48	6 Feb 1551	8 Mar 1551	6 Apr 1551	6 May 1551	4 June 1551
"	21	2212	49	26 Jan 1552	25 Feb 1552	25 Mar 1552	24 Apr 1552	24 May 1552
"	22	2213	50	14 Jan 1553*	14 Mar 1553	13 Apr 1553	13 May 1553	11 June 1553
"	23	2214	51	2 Feb 1554	4 Mar 1554	2 Apr 1554	2 May 1554	31 May 1554
<b>Kō-ji</b>	1	2215	52	23 Jan 1555	22 Feb 1555	23 Mar 1555	21 Apr 1555	21 May 1555
"	2	2216	53	11 Feb 1556	12 Mar 1556	10 Apr 1556	9 May 1556	8 June 1556
"	3	2217	54	31 Jan 1557	1 Mar 1557	31 Mar 1557	29 Apr 1557	28 May 1557
<b>Ei-roku</b>	1	2218	55	20 Jan 1558	19 Feb 1558	20 Mar 1558	19 Apr 1558	18 May 1558
"	2	2219	56	8 Feb 1559	9 Mar 1559	8 Apr 1559	7 May 1559	6 June 1559
"	3	2220	57	28 Jan 1560	26 Feb 1560	27 Mar 1560	26 Apr 1560	25 May 1560
"	4	2221	58	16 Jan 1561	14 Feb 1561	16 Mar 1561*	14 May 1561	13 June 1561
"	5	2222	59	4 Feb 1562	5 Mar 1562	4 Apr 1562	3 May 1562	2 June 1562
"	6	2223	60	24 Jan 1563	23 Feb 1563	24 Mar 1563	23 Apr 1563	22 May 1563
"	7	2224	1	13 Feb 1564	13 Mar 1564	11 Apr 1564	11 May 1564	9 June 1564
"	8	2225	2	1 Feb 1565	3 Mar 1565	1 Apr 1565	30 Apr 1565	30 May 1565
"	9	2226	3	22 Jan 1566	20 Feb 1566	22 Mar 1566	20 Apr 1566	19 May 1566
"	10	2227	4	9 Feb 1567	11 Mar 1567	10 Apr 1567	9 May 1567	7 June 1567
"	11	2228	5	29 Jan 1568	28 Feb 1568	29 Mar 1568	27 Apr 1568	29 May 1568
"	12	2229	6	17 Jan 1569	16 Feb 1569	18 Mar 1569	17 Apr 1569	16 May 1569*
<b>Gen-ki</b>	1	2230	7	5 Feb 1570	7 Mar 1570	6 Apr 1570	5 May 1570	4 June 1570

天文 *Tem-bun*. 弘治 *Kō-ji*. 永祿 *Ei-roku*. 元龜 *Gen-ki*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc. Month.
16 June 1539*	14 Aug 1539	13 Sept 1539	12 Oct 1539	11 Nov 1539	11 Dec 1539	9 Jan 1540	16 July 1539
4 July 1540	3 Aug 1540	1 Sept 1540	30 Sept 1540	30 Oct 1540	29 Nov 1540	28 Dec 1540	
24 June 1541	23 July 1541	22 Aug 1541	20 Sept 1541	19 Oct 1541	18 Nov 1541	18 Dec 1541	
13 July 1542	11 Aug 1542	10 Sept 1542	9 Oct 1542	7 Nov 1542	7 Dec 1542	6 Jan 1543	15 Apr 1542
2 July 1543	1 Aug 1543	30 Aug 1543	29 Sept 1543	28 Oct 1543	27 Nov 1543	26 Dec 1543	
20 June 1544	20 July 1544	19 Aug 1544	17 Sept 1544	17 Oct 1544	15 Nov 1544*	13 Jan 1545	15 Dec 1544
9 July 1545	8 Aug 1545	6 Sept 1545	6 Oct 1545	5 Nov 1545	4 Dec 1545	3 Jan 1546	
28 June 1546	28 July 1546	26 Aug 1546	25 Sept 1546	25 Oct 1546	24 Nov 1546	23 Dec 1546	
18 June 1547	17 July 1547*	14 Sept 1547	14 Oct 1547	13 Nov 1547	12 Dec 1547	11 Jan 1548	16 Aug 1547
6 July 1548	4 Aug 1548	2 Sept 1548	2 Oct 1548	1 Nov 1548	30 Nov 1548	30 Dec 1548	
25 June 1549	25 July 1549	23 Aug 1549	21 Sept 1549	21 Oct 1549	19 Nov 1549	19 Dec 1549	
14 July 1550	13 Aug 1550	11 Sept 1550	10 Oct 1550	9 Nov 1550	8 Dec 1550	7 Jan 1551	15 June 1550
4 July 1551	2 Aug 1551	1 Sept 1551	30 Sept 1551	29 Oct 1551	28 Nov 1551	27 Dec 1551	
22 June 1552	22 July 1552	20 Aug 1552	19 Sept 1552	18 Oct 1552	16 Nov 1552	16 Dec 1552	
11 July 1553	9 Aug 1553	8 Sept 1553	8 Oct 1553	6 Nov 1553	6 Dec 1553	4 Jan 1554	13 Feb 1553
30 June 1554	30 July 1554	28 Aug 1554	27 Sept 1554	27 Oct 1554	25 Nov 1554	25 Dec 1554	
19 June 1555	19 July 1555	17 Aug 1555	16 Sept 1555	16 Oct 1555*	14 Dec 1555	13 Jan 1556	14 Nov 1555
7 July 1556	5 Aug 1556	4 Sept 1556	4 Oct 1556	2 Nov 1556	2 Dec 1556	1 Jan 1557	
27 June 1557	26 July 1557	24 Aug 1557	23 Sept 1557	22 Oct 1557	21 Nov 1557	21 Dec 1557	
16 June 1558*	14 Aug 1558	12 Sept 1558	12 Oct 1558	10 Nov 1558	10 Dec 1558	9 Jan 1559	16 July 1558
5 July 1559	4 Aug 1559	2 Sept 1559	1 Oct 1559	31 Oct 1559	29 Nov 1559	29 Dec 1559	
24 June 1560	23 July 1560	22 Aug 1560	20 Sept 1560	19 Oct 1560	18 Nov 1560	17 Dec 1560	
13 July 1561	11 Aug 1561	10 Sept 1561	9 Oct 1561	7 Nov 1561	7 Dec 1561	5 Jan 1562	15 Apr 1561
2 July 1562	31 July 1562	30 Aug 1562	28 Sept 1562	28 Oct 1562	27 Nov 1562	26 Dec 1562	
21 June 1563	20 July 1563	19 Aug 1563	18 Sept 1563	17 Oct 1563	16 Nov 1563	16 Dec 1563*	14 Jan 1564
9 July 1564	7 Aug 1564	6 Sept 1564	5 Oct 1564	4 Nov 1564	4 Dec 1564	3 Jan 1565	
28 June 1565	27 July 1565	26 Aug 1565	24 Sept 1565	24 Oct 1565	23 Nov 1565	23 Dec 1565	
18 June 1566	17 July 1566	15 Aug 1566*	13 Oct 1566	12 Nov 1566	12 Dec 1566	11 Jan 1567	14 Sept 1566
7 July 1567	5 Aug 1567	3 Sept 1567	3 Oct 1567	1 Nov 1567	1 Dec 1567	31 Dec 1567	
25 June 1568	25 July 1568	23 Aug 1568	21 Sept 1568	21 Oct 1568	19 Nov 1568	19 Dec 1568	
11 July 1569	13 Aug 1569	11 Sept 1569	10 Oct 1569	9 Nov 1569	8 Dec 1569	7 Jan 1570	15 June 1569
3 July 1570	2 Aug 1570	31 Aug 1570	30 Sept 1570	29 Oct 1570	28 Nov 1570	27 Dec 1570	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Gen-ki</b>	<b>2</b>	2231	8	26 Jan 1571	24 Feb 1571	26 Mar 1571	24 Apr 1571	24 May 1571
"	<b>3</b>	2232	9	15 Jan 1572	14 Mar 1572	13 Apr 1572	12 May 1572	11 June 1572
<b>Ten-shō</b>	<b>1</b>	2233	10	3 Feb 1573	4 Mar 1573	2 Apr 1573	2 May 1573	31 May 1573
"	<b>2</b>	2234	11	23 Jan 1574	22 Feb 1574	23 Mar 1574	21 Apr 1574	21 May 1574
"	<b>3</b>	2235	12	11 Feb 1575	13 Mar 1575	11 Apr 1575	10 May 1575	9 June 1575
"	<b>4</b>	2236	13	31 Jan 1576	1 Mar 1576	30 Mar 1576	29 Apr 1576	28 May 1576
"	<b>5</b>	2237	14	19 Jan 1577	18 Feb 1577	20 Mar 1577	18 Apr 1577	18 May 1577
"	<b>6</b>	2238	15	7 Feb 1578	9 Mar 1578	7 Apr 1578	7 May 1578	6 June 1578
"	<b>7</b>	2239	16	27 Jan 1579	26 Feb 1579	27 Mar 1579	26 Apr 1579	26 May 1579
"	<b>8</b>	2240	17	17 Jan 1580	15 Feb 1580	16 Mar 1580	14 May 1580	12 June 1580
"	<b>9</b>	2241	18	4 Feb 1581	5 Mar 1581	4 Apr 1581	3 May 1581	2 June 1581
"	<b>10</b>	2242	19	24 Jan 1582	23 Feb 1582	24 Mar 1582	23 Apr 1582	22 May 1582
"	<b>11</b>	2243	20	24 Jan 1583*	24 Mar 1583	22 Apr 1583	22 May 1583	20 June 1583
"	<b>12</b>	2244	21	12 Feb 1584	12 Mar 1584	11 Apr 1584	10 May 1584	9 June 1584
"	<b>13</b>	2245	22	31 Jan 1585	2 Mar 1585	31 Mar 1585	30 Apr 1585	29 May 1585
"	<b>14</b>	2246	23	19 Feb 1586	20 Mar 1586	19 Apr 1586	19 May 1586	17 June 1586
"	<b>15</b>	2247	24	8 Feb 1587	9 Mar 1587	8 Apr 1587	8 May 1587	6 June 1587
"	<b>16</b>	2248	25	28 Jan 1588	27 Feb 1588	27 Mar 1588	26 Apr 1588	25 May 1588*
"	<b>17</b>	2249	26	15 Feb 1589	17 Mar 1589	15 Apr 1589	15 May 1589	13 June 1589
"	<b>18</b>	2250	27	5 Feb 1590	6 Mar 1590	5 Apr 1590	4 May 1590	2 June 1590
"	<b>19</b>	2251	28	25 Jan 1591	25 Mar 1591	24 Apr 1591	23 May 1591	21 June 1591
<b>Bun-roku</b>	<b>1</b>	2252	29	13 Feb 1592	14 Mar 1592	12 Apr 1592	12 May 1592	10 June 1592
"	<b>2</b>	2253	30	2 Feb 1593	3 Mar 1593	2 Apr 1593	1 May 1593	31 May 1593
"	<b>3</b>	2254	31	20 Feb 1594	22 Mar 1594	21 Apr 1594	20 May 1594	19 June 1594
"	<b>4</b>	2255	32	9 Feb 1595	11 Mar 1595	10 Apr 1595	10 May 1595	8 June 1595
<b>Kei-chō</b>	<b>1</b>	2256	33	30 Jan 1596	28 Feb 1596	29 Mar 1596	28 Apr 1596	27 May 1596
"	<b>2</b>	2257	34	17 Feb 1597	18 Mar 1597	17 Apr 1597	16 May 1597	15 June 1597
"	<b>3</b>	2258	35	6 Feb 1598	8 Mar 1598	6 Apr 1598	6 May 1598	4 June 1598
"	<b>4</b>	2259	36	27 Jan 1599	25 Feb 1599	27 Mar 1599*	24 May 1599	23 June 1599
"	<b>5</b>	2260	37	15 Feb 1600	15 Mar 1600	14 Apr 1600	13 May 1600	11 June 1600
"	<b>6</b>	2261	38	3 Feb 1601	5 Mar 1601	3 Apr 1601	3 May 1601	1 June 1601
"	<b>7</b>	2262	39	22 Feb 1602	24 Mar 1602	22 Apr 1602	22 May 1602	20 June 1602

元龜 Gen-ki. 天正 Ten-shō. 文祿 Bun-roku. 慶長 Kei-chō.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
23 June 1571	22 July 1571	21 Aug 1571	19 Sept 1571	19 Oct 1571	17 Nov 1571	17 Dec 1571	
10 July 1572	9 Aug 1572	8 Sept 1572	7 Oct 1572	6 Nov 1572	5 Dec 1572	4 Jan 1573	14 Feb 1572
29 June 1573	29 July 1573	28 Aug 1573	26 Sept 1573	26 Oct 1573	25 Nov 1573	24 Dec 1573	
19 June 1574	18 July 1574	17 Aug 1574	15 Sept 1574	15 Oct 1574	14 Nov 1574	12 Jan 1575	14 Dec 1574
8 July 1575	6 Aug 1575	5 Sept 1575	4 Oct 1575	3 Nov 1575	3 Dec 1575	1 Jan 1576	
27 June 1576	26 July 1576	24 Aug 1576	23 Sept 1576	22 Oct 1576	21 Nov 1576	20 Dec 1576	
16 June 1577	16 July 1577*	12 Sept 1577	12 Oct 1577	10 Nov 1577	10 Dec 1577	8 Jan 1578	14 Aug 1577
5 July 1578	4 Aug 1578	2 Sept 1578	1 Oct 1578	31 Oct 1578	29 Nov 1578	29 Dec 1578	
24 June 1579	24 July 1579	22 Aug 1579	21 Sept 1579	20 Oct 1579	19 Nov 1579	18 Dec 1579	
12 July 1580	11 Aug 1580	9 Sept 1580	9 Oct 1580	7 Nov 1580	7 Dec 1580	5 Jan 1581	14 Apr 1580
1 July 1581	31 July 1581	29 Aug 1581	28 Sept 1581	28 Oct 1581	26 Nov 1581	26 Dec 1581	
20 June 1582	20 July 1582	18 Aug 1582	17 Sept 1582	27 Oct 1582	26 Nov 1582	25 Dec 1582	
19 July 1583	18 Aug 1583	16 Sept 1583	16 Oct 1583	15 Nov 1583	14 Dec 1583	13 Jan 1584	23 Feb 1583
8 July 1584	6 Aug 1584	5 Sept 1584	4 Oct 1584	3 Nov 1584	2 Dec 1584	1 Jan 1585	
28 June 1585	27 July 1585	25 Aug 1585*	23 Oct 1585	22 Nov 1585	21 Dec 1585	20 Jan 1586	24 Sept 1585
17 July 1586	15 Aug 1586	13 Sept 1586	13 Oct 1586	11 Nov 1586	11 Dec 1586	9 Jan 1587	
6 July 1587	4 Aug 1587	3 Sept 1587	2 Oct 1587	1 Nov 1587	30 Nov 1587	30 Dec 1587	
24 July 1588	22 Aug 1588	21 Sept 1588	20 Oct 1588	19 Nov 1588	18 Dec 1588	17 Jan 1589	24 June 1588
13 July 1589	11 Aug 1589	10 Sept 1589	10 Oct 1589	8 Nov 1589	8 Dec 1589	6 Jan 1590	
2 July 1590	31 July 1590	30 Aug 1590	29 Sept 1590	29 Oct 1590	27 Nov 1590	27 Dec 1590	
21 July 1591	19 Aug 1591	18 Sept 1591	18 Oct 1591	16 Nov 1591	16 Dec 1591	15 Jan 1592	24 Feb 1591
9 July 1592	8 Aug 1592	6 Sept 1592	6 Oct 1592	4 Nov 1592	4 Dec 1592	3 Jan 1593	
29 June 1593	28 July 1593	27 Aug 1593	25 Sept 1593*	23 Nov 1593	23 Dec 1593	22 Jan 1594	24 Oct 1593
18 July 1594	16 Aug 1594	15 Sept 1594	14 Oct 1594	12 Nov 1594	12 Dec 1594	11 Jan 1595	
7 July 1595	6 Aug 1595	4 Sept 1595	4 Oct 1595	2 Nov 1595	1 Dec 1595	31 Dec 1595	
26 June 1596	25 July 1596*	22 Sept 1596	22 Oct 1596	20 Nov 1596	20 Dec 1596	18 Jan 1597	24 Aug 1596
15 July 1597	13 Aug 1597	12 Sept 1597	11 Oct 1597	10 Nov 1597	9 Dec 1597	8 Jan 1598	
4 July 1598	2 Aug 1598	1 Sept 1598	1 Oct 1598	30 Oct 1598	29 Nov 1598	28 Dec 1598	
22 July 1599	21 Aug 1599	20 Sept 1599	19 Oct 1599	18 Nov 1599	18 Dec 1599	16 Jan 1600	25 Apr 1599
11 July 1600	9 Aug 1600	8 Sept 1600	7 Oct 1600	6 Nov 1600	6 Dec 1600	5 Jan 1601	
30 June 1601	30 July 1601	28 Aug 1601	26 Sept 1601	26 Oct 1601	25 Nov 1601	23 Jan 1602	25 Dec 1601
19 July 1602	17 Aug 1602	16 Sept 1602	15 Oct 1602	14 Nov 1602	14 Dec 1602	12 Jan 1603	

† See page 47.

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Kei-chō</b>	<b>8</b>	2263	40	11 Feb 1603	13 Mar 1603	12 Apr 1603	11 May 1603	10 June 1603
"	<b>9</b>	2264	41	31 Jan 1604	1 Mar 1604	31 Mar 1604	29 Apr 1604	29 May 1604
"	<b>10</b>	2265	42	18 Feb 1605	20 Mar 1605	18 Apr 1605	18 May 1605	17 June 1605
"	<b>11</b>	2266	43	7 Feb 1606	9 Mar 1606	8 Apr 1606	7 May 1606	6 June 1606
"	<b>12</b>	2267	44	28 Jan 1607	26 Feb 1607	28 Mar 1607	26 Apr 1607*	24 June 1607
"	<b>13</b>	2268	45	16 Feb 1608	17 Mar 1608	15 Apr 1608	14 May 1608	13 June 1608
"	<b>14</b>	2269	46	5 Feb 1609	6 Mar 1609	5 Apr 1609	4 May 1609	2 June 1609
"	<b>15</b>	2270	47	25 Jan 1610	24 Feb 1610*	24 Apr 1610	23 May 1610	21 June 1610
"	<b>16</b>	2271	48	13 Feb 1611	15 Mar 1611	13 Apr 1611	13 May 1611	11 June 1611
"	<b>17</b>	2272	49	2 Feb 1612	3 Mar 1612	1 Apr 1612	1 May 1612	31 May 1612
"	<b>18</b>	2273	50	20 Feb 1613	22 Mar 1613	20 Apr 1613	20 May 1613	18 June 1613
"	<b>19</b>	2274	51	9 Feb 1614	11 Mar 1614	9 Apr 1614	9 May 1614	8 June 1614
<b>Gen-na</b>	<b>1</b>	2275	52	29 Jan 1615	28 Feb 1615	29 Mar 1615	28 Apr 1615	28 May 1615
<b>[Gen-wa]</b>	<b>2</b>	2276	53	17 Feb 1616	18 Mar 1616	16 Apr 1616	16 May 1616	14 June 1616
"	<b>3</b>	2277	54	6 Feb 1617	8 Mar 1617	6 Apr 1617	5 May 1617	4 June 1617
"	<b>4</b>	2278	55	27 Jan 1618	25 Feb 1618	27 Mar 1618	24 May 1618	23 June 1618
"	<b>5</b>	2279	56	15 Feb 1619	16 Mar 1619	15 Apr 1619	14 May 1619	12 June 1619
"	<b>6</b>	2280	57	4 Feb 1620	4 Mar 1620	3 Apr 1620	3 May 1620	1 June 1620
"	<b>7</b>	2281	58	22 Feb 1621	23 Mar 1621	22 Apr 1621	21 May 1621	20 June 1621
"	<b>8</b>	2282	59	11 Feb 1622	12 Mar 1622	11 Apr 1622	11 May 1622	9 June 1622
"	<b>9</b>	2283	60	31 Jan 1623	1 Mar 1623	31 Mar 1623	30 Apr 1623	29 May 1623
<b>Kwan-ei</b>	<b>1</b>	2284	1	19 Feb 1624	19 Mar 1624	18 Apr 1624	17 May 1624	16 June 1624
"	<b>2</b>	2285	2	7 Feb 1625	9 Mar 1625	7 Apr 1625	7 May 1625	5 June 1625
"	<b>3</b>	2286	3	28 Jan 1626	27 Feb 1626	28 Mar 1626	26 Apr 1626*	24 June 1626
"	<b>4</b>	2287	4	16 Feb 1627	18 Mar 1627	16 Apr 1627	15 May 1627	14 June 1627
"	<b>5</b>	2288	5	5 Feb 1628	6 Mar 1628	5 Apr 1628	4 May 1628	2 June 1628
"	<b>6</b>	2289	6	25 Jan 1629	23 Feb 1629*	23 Apr 1629	23 May 1629	21 June 1629
"	<b>7</b>	2290	7	12 Feb 1630	14 Mar 1630	13 Apr 1630	12 May 1630	11 June 1630
"	<b>8</b>	2291	8	1 Feb 1631	3 Mar 1631	2 Apr 1631	2 May 1631	31 May 1631
"	<b>9</b>	2292	9	20 Feb 1632	21 Mar 1632	20 Apr 1632	19 May 1632	18 June 1632
"	<b>10</b>	2293	10	9 Feb 1633	10 Mar 1633	9 Apr 1633	8 May 1633	7 June 1633
"	<b>11</b>	2294	11	29 Jan 1634	28 Feb 1634	29 Mar 1634	28 Apr 1634	27 May 1634

慶長 Kei-chō. 元和 Gen-na. 寛永 Kwan-ei.

## TABLES.

III

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
9 July 1603	7 Aug 1603	6 Sept 1603	5 Oct 1603	3 Nov 1603	3 Dec 1603	2 Jan 1604	
27 June 1604	27 July 1604	25 Aug 1604*	23 Oct 1604	21 Nov 1604	21 Dec 1604	19 Jan 1605	24 Sept 1604
16 July 1605	15 Aug 1605	13 Sept 1605	13 Oct 1605	11 Nov 1605	10 Dec 1605	9 Jan 1606	
5 July 1606	4 Aug 1606	3 Sept 1606	2 Oct 1606	1 Nov 1606	30 Nov 1606	30 Dec 1606	
24 July 1607	23 Aug 1607	21 Sept 1607	21 Oct 1607	20 Nov 1607	19 Dec 1607	18 Jan 1608	26 May 1607
12 July 1608	11 Aug 1608	9 Sept 1608	9 Oct 1608	8 Nov 1608	8 Dec 1608	6 Jan 1609	
2 July 1609	31 July 1609	30 Aug 1609	28 Sept 1609	28 Oct 1609	27 Nov 1609	26 Dec 1609	
20 July 1610	19 Aug 1610	17 Sept 1610	17 Oct 1610	16 Nov 1610	15 Dec 1610	14 Jan 1611	25 Mar 1610
10 July 1611	8 Aug 1611	7 Sept 1611	6 Oct 1611	5 Nov 1611	4 Dec 1611	3 Jan 1612	
29 June 1612	28 July 1612	27 Aug 1612	25 Sept 1612	24 Oct 1612*	22 Dec 1612	21 Jan 1613	23 Nov 1612
18 July 1613	16 Aug 1613	15 Sept 1613	14 Oct 1613	12 Nov 1613	12 Dec 1613	10 Jan 1614	
7 July 1614	6 Aug 1614	4 Sept 1614	4 Oct 1614	2 Nov 1614	1 Dec 1614	31 Dec 1614	
26 June 1615*	24 Aug 1615	23 Sept 1615	23 Oct 1615	21 Nov 1615	21 Dec 1615	19 Jan 1616	26 July 1615
14 July 1616	13 Aug 1616	11 Sept 1616	11 Oct 1616	9 Nov 1616	9 Dec 1616	8 Jan 1617	
3 July 1617	2 Aug 1617	31 Aug 1617	30 Sept 1617	30 Oct 1617	28 Nov 1617	28 Dec 1617	
22 July 1618	20 Aug 1618	19 Sept 1618	19 Oct 1618	17 Nov 1618	17 Dec 1618	16 Jan 1619	25 Apr 1618
11 July 1619	10 Aug 1619	8 Sept 1619	8 Oct 1619	6 Nov 1619	6 Dec 1619	5 Jan 1620	
30 June 1620	30 July 1620	28 Aug 1620	26 Sept 1620	25 Oct 1620	24 Nov 1620	24 Dec 1620*	23 Jan 1621
19 July 1621	18 Aug 1621	16 Sept 1621	15 Oct 1621	14 Nov 1621	13 Dec 1621	12 Jan 1622	
9 July 1622	7 Aug 1622	6 Sept 1622	5 Oct 1622	3 Nov 1622	3 Dec 1622	1 Jan 1623	
28 June 1623	28 July 1623	26 Aug 1623*	24 Oct 1623	22 Nov 1623	22 Dec 1623	20 Jan 1624	25 Sept 1623
16 July 1624	14 Aug 1624	13 Sept 1624	12 Oct 1624	11 Nov 1624	11 Dec 1624	9 Jan 1625	
5 July 1625	3 Aug 1625	2 Sept 1625	2 Oct 1625	31 Oct 1625	30 Nov 1625	30 Dec 1625	
23 July 1626	22 Aug 1626	21 Sept 1626	20 Oct 1626	19 Nov 1626	19 Dec 1626	18 Jan 1627	26 May 1626
13 July 1627	11 Aug 1627	10 Sept 1627	9 Oct 1627	8 Nov 1627	8 Dec 1627	7 Jan 1628	
2 July 1628	31 July 1628	29 Aug 1628	28 Sept 1628	27 Oct 1628	26 Nov 1628	26 Dec 1628	
21 July 1629	19 Aug 1629	17 Sept 1629	17 Oct 1629	15 Nov 1629	15 Dec 1629	14 Jan 1630	25 Mar 1629
10 July 1630	9 Aug 1630	7 Sept 1630	6 Oct 1630	5 Nov 1630	4 Dec 1630	3 Jan 1631	
30 June 1631	29 July 1631	28 Aug 1631	26 Sept 1631	25 Oct 1631*	23 Dec 1631	22 Jan 1632	24 Nov 1631
17 July 1632	16 Aug 1632	14 Sept 1632	14 Oct 1632	12 Nov 1632	12 Dec 1632	10 Jan 1633	
6 July 1633	5 Aug 1633	4 Sept 1633	3 Oct 1633	2 Nov 1633	1 Dec 1633	31 Dec 1633	
26 June 1634	25 July 1634*	22 Sept 1634	22 Oct 1634	21 Nov 1634	20 Dec 1634	19 Jan 1635	24 Aug 1634



Style and Year of Period.	Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.	
<b>Kwan-ei</b>	<b>12</b>	2295	12	18 Feb 1635	19 Mar 1635	17 Apr 1635	17 May 1635	15 June 1635
"	<b>13</b>	2296	13	7 Feb 1636	8 Mar 1636	6 Apr 1636	5 May 1636	4 June 1636
"	<b>14</b>	2297	14	26 Jan 1637	25 Feb 1637	27 Mar 1637*	24 May 1637	23 June 1637
"	<b>15</b>	2298	15	14 Feb 1638	16 Mar 1638	14 Apr 1638	14 May 1638	12 June 1638
"	<b>16</b>	2299	16	3 Feb 1639	5 Mar 1639	4 Apr 1639	3 May 1639	2 June 1639
"	<b>17</b>	2300	17	22 Feb 1640	23 Mar 1640	21 Apr 1640	21 May 1640	20 June 1640
"	<b>18</b>	2301	18	10 Feb 1641	12 Mar 1641	10 Apr 1641	10 May 1641	9 June 1641
"	<b>19</b>	2302	19	31 Jan 1642	1 Mar 1642	31 Mar 1642	29 Apr 1642	29 May 1642
"	<b>20</b>	2303	20	19 Feb 1643	20 Mar 1643	19 Apr 1643	18 May 1643	16 June 1643
<b>Shō-hō</b>	<b>1</b>	2304	21	8 Feb 1644	9 Mar 1644	7 Apr 1644	7 May 1644	5 June 1644
"	<b>2</b>	2305	22	28 Jan 1645	26 Feb 1645	28 Mar 1645	26 Apr 1645	26 May 1645*
"	<b>3</b>	2306	23	16 Feb 1646	17 Mar 1646	16 Apr 1646	15 May 1646	14 June 1646
"	<b>4</b>	2307	24	5 Feb 1647	7 Mar 1647	5 Apr 1647	5 May 1647	3 June 1647
<b>Kei-an</b>	<b>1</b>	2308	25	25 Jan 1648*	24 Mar 1648	23 Apr 1648	23 May 1648	21 June 1648
"	<b>2</b>	2309	26	12 Feb 1649	13 Mar 1649	12 Apr 1649	12 May 1649	10 June 1649
"	<b>3</b>	2310	27	1 Feb 1650	3 Mar 1650	1 Apr 1650	1 May 1650	30 May 1650
"	<b>4</b>	2311	28	20 Feb 1651	22 Mar 1651	20 Apr 1651	20 May 1651	18 June 1651
<b>Jō-ō</b>	<b>1</b>	2312	29	10 Feb 1652	10 Mar 1652	9 Apr 1652	8 May 1652	6 June 1652
<b>[Shō-ō]</b>	<b>2</b>	2313	30	29 Jan 1653	28 Feb 1653	29 Mar 1653	28 Apr 1653	27 May 1653
"	<b>3</b>	2314	31	17 Feb 1654	19 Mar 1654	17 Apr 1654	17 May 1654	15 June 1654
<b>Mei-reki</b>	<b>1</b>	2315	32	7 Feb 1655	8 Mar 1655	7 Apr 1655	6 May 1655	5 June 1655
"	<b>2</b>	2316	33	27 Jan 1656	25 Feb 1656	26 Mar 1656	25 Apr 1656*	23 June 1656
"	<b>3</b>	2317	34	13 Feb 1657	15 Mar 1657	14 Apr 1657	14 May 1657	12 June 1657
<b>Man-ji</b>	<b>1</b>	2318	35	3 Feb 1658	4 Mar 1658	3 Apr 1658	3 May 1658	1 June 1658
"	<b>2</b>	2319	36	22 Feb 1659	23 Mar 1659	22 Apr 1659	21 May 1659	20 June 1659
"	<b>3</b>	2320	37	11 Feb 1660	12 Mar 1660	10 Apr 1660	9 May 1660	8 June 1660
<b>Kwam-bun</b>	<b>1</b>	2321	38	31 Jan 1661	1 Mar 1661	31 Mar 1661	29 Apr 1661	28 May 1661
"	<b>2</b>	2322	39	19 Feb 1662	20 Mar 1662	19 Apr 1662	18 May 1662	16 June 1662
"	<b>3</b>	2323	40	8 Feb 1663	10 Mar 1663	8 Apr 1663	8 May 1663	6 June 1663
"	<b>4</b>	2324	41	28 Jan 1664	27 Feb 1664	28 Mar 1664	26 Apr 1664	26 May 1664*
"	<b>5</b>	2325	42	15 Feb 1665	17 Mar 1665	16 Apr 1665	15 May 1665	14 June 1665
"	<b>6</b>	2326	43	4 Feb 1666	6 Mar 1666	5 Apr 1666	4 May 1666	3 June 1666

寛永 Kwan-ei. 正保 Shō-hō. 慶安 Kei-an. 承應 Jō-ō. 明暦 Mei-reki. 萬治 Man-ji. 寛文 Kwan-bun.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
14 July 1635	13 Aug 1635	12 Sept 1635	11 Oct 1635	10 Nov 1635	10 Dec 1635	8 Jan 1636	
3 July 1636	1 Aug 1636	31 Aug 1636	29 Sept 1636	29 Oct 1636	28 Nov 1636	28 Dec 1636	
22 July 1637	20 Aug 1637	19 Sept 1637	18 Oct 1637	17 Nov 1637	17 Dec 1637	15 Jan 1638	25 Apr 1637
12 July 1638	10 Aug 1638	8 Sept 1638	8 Oct 1638	6 Nov 1638	6 Dec 1638	4 Jan 1639	
1 July 1639	31 July 1639	29 Aug 1639	27 Sept 1639	27 Oct 1639	25 Nov 1639*	23 Jan 1640	25 Dec 1639
19 July 1640	17 Aug 1640	16 Sept 1640	15 Oct 1640	14 Nov 1640	13 Dec 1640	12 Jan 1641	
8 July 1641	7 Aug 1641	5 Sept 1641	5 Oct 1641	3 Nov 1641	3 Dec 1641	1 Jan 1642	
27 June 1642	27 July 1642	26 Aug 1642	24 Sept 1642*	22 Nov 1642	22 Dec 1642	20 Jan 1643	24 Oct 1642
16 July 1643	15 Aug 1643	13 Sept 1643	13 Oct 1643	12 Nov 1643	11 Dec 1643	10 Jan 1644	
4 July 1644	3 Aug 1644	1 Sept 1644	1 Oct 1644	31 Oct 1644	30 Nov 1644	29 Dec 1644	
23 July 1645	22 Aug 1645	20 Sept 1645	20 Oct 1645	19 Nov 1645	18 Dec 1645	17 Jan 1646	24 June 1645
13 July 1646	11 Aug 1646	10 Sept 1646	9 Oct 1646	8 Nov 1646	7 Dec 1646	6 Jan 1647	
3 July 1647	1 Aug 1647	30 Aug 1647	28 Sept 1647	28 Oct 1647	27 Nov 1647	26 Dec 1647	
20 July 1648	19 Aug 1648	17 Sept 1648	17 Oct 1648	15 Nov 1648	15 Dec 1648	13 Jan 1649	24 Feb 1648
10 July 1649	8 Aug 1649	7 Sept 1649	6 Oct 1649	5 Nov 1649	4 Dec 1649	3 Jan 1650	
29 June 1650	29 July 1650	27 Aug 1650	26 Sept 1650	25 Oct 1650*	23 Dec 1650	22 Jan 1651	24 Nov 1650
18 July 1651	16 Aug 1651	15 Sept 1651	15 Oct 1651	13 Nov 1651	13 Dec 1651	11 Jan 1652	
6 July 1652	4 Aug 1652	3 Sept 1652	3 Oct 1652	1 Nov 1652	1 Dec 1652	31 Dec 1652	
25 June 1653	23 Aug 1653	22 Sept 1653	22 Oct 1653	20 Nov 1653	20 Dec 1653	19 Jan 1654	25 July 1653
14 July 1654	12 Aug 1654	11 Sept 1654	11 Oct 1654	9 Nov 1654	9 Dec 1654	8 Jan 1655	
4 July 1655	2 Aug 1655	31 Aug 1655	30 Sept 1655	29 Oct 1655	28 Nov 1655	28 Dec 1655	
22 July 1656	20 Aug 1656	18 Sept 1656	18 Oct 1656	16 Nov 1656	16 Dec 1656	15 Jan 1657	24 May 1656
11 July 1657	10 Aug 1657	8 Sept 1657	8 Oct 1657	6 Nov 1657	5 Dec 1657	4 Jan 1658	
1 July 1658	30 July 1658	29 Aug 1658	27 Sept 1658	27 Oct 1658	25 Nov 1658	24 Dec 1658*	23 Jan 1659
20 July 1659	18 Aug 1659	17 Sept 1659	16 Oct 1659	15 Nov 1659	14 Dec 1659	13 Jan 1660	
8 July 1660	6 Aug 1660	6 Sept 1660	5 Oct 1660	3 Nov 1660	3 Dec 1660	1 Jan 1661	
27 June 1661	26 July 1661	25 Aug 1661	23 Oct 1661	22 Nov 1661	22 Dec 1661	20 Jan 1662	24 Sept 1661
16 July 1662	14 Aug 1662	13 Sept 1662	12 Oct 1662	11 Nov 1662	11 Dec 1662	10 Jan 1663	
5 July 1663	3 Aug 1663	2 Sept 1663	1 Oct 1663	31 Oct 1663	30 Nov 1663	30 Dec 1663	
23 July 1664	21 Aug 1664	20 Sept 1664	19 Oct 1664	18 Nov 1664	18 Dec 1664	16 Jan 1665	24 June 1664
13 July 1665	11 Aug 1665	9 Sept 1665	9 Oct 1665	7 Nov 1665	7 Dec 1665	6 Jan 1666	
2 July 1666	1 Aug 1666	30 Aug 1666	29 Sept 1666	28 Oct 1666	26 Nov 1666	26 Dec 1666	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Kwam-bun</b>	7	2327	44	24 Jan 1667	23 Feb 1667 <sup>12</sup>	23 Apr 1667	23 May 1667	22 June 1667
"	8	2328	45	12 Feb 1668	13 Mar 1668	12 Apr 1668	11 May 1668	10 June 1668
"	9	2329	46	1 Feb 1669	2 Mar 1669	1 Apr 1669	30 Apr 1669	30 May 1669
"	10	2330	47	20 Feb 1670	21 Mar 1670	20 Apr 1670	19 May 1670	18 June 1670
"	11	2331	48	10 Feb 1671	11 Mar 1671	10 Apr 1671	9 May 1671	7 June 1671
"	12	2332	49	30 Jan 1672	29 Feb 1672	29 Mar 1672	28 Apr 1672	27 May 1672
<b>Em-pō</b>	1	2333	50	17 Feb 1673	19 Mar 1673	17 Apr 1673	17 May 1673	15 June 1673
"	2	2334	51	6 Feb 1674	8 Mar 1674	6 Apr 1674	6 May 1674	4 June 1674
"	3	2335	52	25 Jan 1675	25 Feb 1675	26 Mar 1675	25 Apr 1675 <sup>5</sup>	23 June 1675
"	4	2336	53	14 Feb 1676	15 Mar 1676	13 Apr 1676	13 May 1676	12 June 1676
"	5	2337	54	2 Feb 1677	4 Mar 1677	2 Apr 1677	2 May 1677	1 June 1677
"	6	2338	55	11 Feb 1678	23 Mar 1678	21 Apr 1678	21 May 1678	19 June 1678
"	7	2339	56	11 Feb 1679	12 Mar 1679	11 Apr 1679	10 May 1679	9 June 1679
"	8	2340	57	1 Feb 1680	1 Mar 1680	31 Mar 1680	29 Apr 1680	28 May 1680
<b>Ten-na</b>	1	2341	58	19 Feb 1681	20 Mar 1681	19 Apr 1681	18 May 1681	16 June 1681
[Ten-wa]	2	2342	59	8 Feb 1682	9 Mar 1682	8 Apr 1682	8 May 1682	6 June 1682
"	3	2343	60	28 Jan 1683	27 Feb 1683	28 Mar 1683	27 Apr 1683	26 May 1683 <sup>5</sup>
<b>Jō-kiō</b>	1	2344	1	16 Feb 1684	16 Mar 1684	15 Apr 1684	15 May 1684	13 June 1684
[Teikiō]	2	2345	2	4 Feb 1685	5 Mar 1685	4 Apr 1685	3 May 1685	2 June 1685
"	3	2346	3	24 Jan 1686	23 Feb 1686	24 Mar 1686 <sup>6</sup>	22 May 1686	21 June 1686
"	4	2347	4	12 Feb 1687	14 Mar 1687	12 Apr 1687	11 May 1687	10 June 1687
<b>Gen-roku</b>	1	2348	5	2 Feb 1688	2 Mar 1688	1 Apr 1688	30 Apr 1688	29 May 1688
"	2	2349	6	21 Jan 1689	21 Mar 1689	20 Apr 1689	19 May 1689	17 June 1689
"	3	2350	7	9 Feb 1690	11 Mar 1690	9 Apr 1690	9 May 1690	7 June 1690
"	4	2351	8	29 Jan 1691	28 Feb 1691	30 Mar 1691	28 Apr 1691	28 May 1691
"	5	2352	9	17 Feb 1692	18 Mar 1692	16 Apr 1692	16 May 1692	15 June 1692
"	6	2353	10	5 Feb 1693	7 Mar 1693	6 Apr 1693	5 May 1693	4 June 1693
"	7	2354	11	25 Jan 1694	24 Feb 1694	26 Mar 1694	24 Apr 1694	24 May 1694 <sup>3</sup>
"	8	2355	12	13 Feb 1695	15 Mar 1695	13 Apr 1695	13 May 1695	12 June 1695
"	9	2356	13	3 Feb 1696	4 Mar 1696	2 Apr 1696	1 May 1696	31 May 1696
"	10	2357	14	23 Jan 1697	21 Feb 1697 <sup>2</sup>	21 Apr 1697	20 May 1697	19 June 1697
"	11	2358	15	11 Feb 1698	12 Mar 1698	11 Apr 1698	10 May 1698	8 June 1698

寛文 *Kwan-ambun*, 延寶 *En-hō*, 天和 *Ten-ni*, 貞享 *Jō-kyō*, 元祿 *Gen-roku*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
21 July 1667	20 Aug 1667	18 Sept 1667	18 Oct 1667	16 Nov 1667	15 Dec 1667	14 Jan 1668	25 Mar 1667
9 July 1668	8 Aug 1668	7 Sept 1668	6 Oct 1668	5 Nov 1668	4 Dec 1668	3 Jan 1669	
28 June 1669	28 July 1669	27 Aug 1669	25 Sept 1669	25 Oct 1669	23 Dec 1669	22 Jan 1670	24 Nov 1669
17 July 1670	16 Aug 1670	14 Sept 1670	14 Oct 1670	13 Nov 1670	13 Dec 1670	11 Jan 1671	
7 July 1671	5 Aug 1671	3 Sept 1671	3 Oct 1671	2 Nov 1671	2 Dec 1671	31 Dec 1671	
25 June 1672	23 Aug 1672	21 Sept 1672	21 Oct 1672	20 Nov 1672	19 Dec 1672	18 Jan 1673	24 July 1672
14 July 1673	12 Aug 1673	11 Sept 1673	10 Oct 1673	9 Nov 1673	8 Dec 1673	7 Jan 1674	
4 July 1674	2 Aug 1674	31 Aug 1674	30 Sept 1674	29 Oct 1674	28 Nov 1674	27 Dec 1674	
23 July 1675	21 Aug 1675	20 Sept 1675	19 Oct 1675	17 Nov 1675	17 Dec 1675	15 Jan 1676	25 May 1675
11 July 1676	10 Aug 1676	8 Sept 1676	8 Oct 1676	6 Nov 1676	5 Dec 1676	4 Jan 1677	
30 June 1677	30 July 1677	28 Aug 1677	27 Sept 1677	27 Oct 1677	25 Nov 1677	25 Dec 1677	23 Jan 1678
19 July 1678	17 Aug 1678	16 Sept 1678	16 Oct 1678	14 Nov 1678	14 Dec 1678	13 Jan 1679	
8 July 1679	7 Aug 1679	5 Sept 1679	5 Oct 1679	4 Nov 1679	3 Dec 1679	2 Jan 1680	
26 June 1680	26 July 1680	24 Aug 1680	23 Oct 1680	21 Nov 1680	21 Dec 1680	10 Jan 1681	23 Sept 1680
15 July 1681	14 Aug 1681	12 Sept 1681	12 Oct 1681	10 Nov 1681	10 Dec 1681	9 Jan 1682	
5 July 1682	3 Aug 1682	2 Sept 1682	1 Oct 1682	31 Oct 1682	29 Nov 1682	29 Dec 1682	
24 July 1683	22 Aug 1683	21 Sept 1683	20 Oct 1683	19 Nov 1683	18 Dec 1683	17 Jan 1684	25 June 1683
13 July 1684	11 Aug 1684	10 Sept 1684	9 Oct 1684	7 Nov 1684	7 Dec 1684	5 Jan 1685	
2 July 1685	31 July 1685	30 Aug 1685	28 Sept 1685	28 Oct 1685	26 Nov 1685	26 Dec 1685	
20 July 1686	19 Aug 1686	18 Sept 1686	17 Oct 1686	16 Nov 1686	15 Dec 1686	14 Jan 1687	23 Apr 1686
9 July 1687	8 Aug 1687	7 Sept 1687	6 Oct 1687	5 Nov 1687	5 Dec 1687	3 Jan 1688	
28 June 1688	27 July 1688	26 Aug 1688	24 Sept 1688	21 Oct 1688	20 Nov 1688	23 Dec 1688	
17 July 1689	15 Aug 1689	14 Sept 1689	13 Oct 1689	12 Nov 1689	12 Dec 1689	11 Jan 1690	20 Feb 1689
6 July 1690	5 Aug 1690	3 Sept 1690	2 Oct 1690	1 Nov 1690	1 Dec 1690	30 Dec 1690	
26 June 1691	25 July 1691	24 Aug 1691	21 Oct 1691	20 Nov 1691	20 Dec 1691	18 Jan 1692	22 Sept 1691
14 July 1692	12 Aug 1692	11 Sept 1692	10 Oct 1692	8 Nov 1692	8 Dec 1692	6 Jan 1693	
3 July 1693	2 Aug 1693	31 Aug 1693	30 Sept 1693	29 Oct 1693	27 Nov 1693	27 Dec 1693	
22 July 1694	21 Aug 1694	19 Sept 1694	19 Oct 1694	17 Nov 1694	17 Dec 1694	15 Jan 1695	23 June 1694
11 July 1695	10 Aug 1695	8 Sept 1695	8 Oct 1695	7 Nov 1695	6 Dec 1695	5 Jan 1696	
29 June 1696	29 July 1696	28 Aug 1696	28 Sept 1696	26 Oct 1696	25 Nov 1696	24 Dec 1696	
18 July 1697	17 Aug 1697	15 Sept 1697	15 Oct 1697	14 Nov 1697	13 Dec 1697	12 Jan 1698	23 Mar 1697
8 July 1698	6 Aug 1698	4 Sept 1698	4 Oct 1698	3 Nov 1698	2 Dec 1698	1 Jan 1699	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Gen-roku</b>	<b>12</b>	2359	16	31 Jan 1699	2 Mar 1699	31 Mar 1699	30 Apr 1699	29 May 1699
"	<b>13</b>	2360	17	19 Feb 1700	21 Mar 1700	19 Apr 1700	19 May 1700	17 June 1700
"	<b>14</b>	2361	18	8 Feb 1701	10 Mar 1701	8 Apr 1701	8 May 1701	6 June 1701
"	<b>15</b>	2362	19	28 Jan 1702	27 Feb 1702	28 Mar 1702	27 Apr 1702	27 May 1702
"	<b>16</b>	2363	20	16 Feb 1703	17 Mar 1703	16 Apr 1703	16 May 1703	14 June 1703
<b>Hō-ei</b>	<b>1</b>	2364	21	5 Feb 1704	6 Mar 1704	4 Apr 1704	4 May 1704	2 June 1704
"	<b>2</b>	2365	22	25 Jan 1705	24 Feb 1705	25 Mar 1705	23 Apr 1705*	21 June 1705
"	<b>3</b>	2366	23	13 Feb 1706	15 Mar 1706	13 Apr 1706	12 May 1706	11 June 1706
"	<b>4</b>	2367	24	3 Feb 1707	4 Mar 1707	3 Apr 1707	2 May 1707	31 May 1707
"	<b>5</b>	2368	25	23 Jan 1708	22 Mar 1708	21 Apr 1708	20 May 1708	18 June 1708
"	<b>6</b>	2369	26	10 Feb 1709	11 Mar 1709	10 Apr 1709	10 May 1709	8 June 1709
"	<b>7</b>	2370	27	30 Jan 1710	28 Feb 1710	30 Mar 1710	29 Apr 1710	28 May 1710
<b>Shō-toku</b>	<b>1</b>	2371	28	17 Feb 1711	19 Mar 1711	18 Apr 1711	18 May 1711	16 June 1711
"	<b>2</b>	2372	29	7 Feb 1712	7 Mar 1712	6 Apr 1712	6 May 1712	4 June 1712
"	<b>3</b>	2373	30	26 Jan 1713	25 Feb 1713	26 Mar 1713	25 Apr 1713	24 May 1713*
"	<b>4</b>	2374	31	15 Feb 1714	16 Mar 1714	14 Apr 1714	14 May 1714	12 June 1714
"	<b>5</b>	2375	32	4 Feb 1715	6 Mar 1715	4 Apr 1715	3 May 1715	2 June 1715
<b>Kiō-hō</b>	<b>1</b>	2376	33	25 Jan 1716	23 Feb 1716*	22 Apr 1716	21 May 1716	20 June 1716
"	<b>2</b>	2377	34	11 Feb 1717	13 Mar 1717	12 Apr 1717	11 May 1717	9 June 1717
"	<b>3</b>	2378	35	31 Jan 1718	2 Mar 1718	1 Apr 1718	30 Apr 1718	30 May 1718
"	<b>4</b>	2379	36	19 Feb 1719	21 Mar 1719	20 Apr 1719	19 May 1719	18 June 1719
"	<b>5</b>	2380	37	8 Feb 1720	9 Mar 1720	8 Apr 1720	7 May 1720	6 June 1720
"	<b>6</b>	2381	38	28 Jan 1721	26 Feb 1721	28 Mar 1721	26 Apr 1721	26 May 1721
"	<b>7</b>	2382	39	16 Feb 1722	17 Mar 1722	16 Apr 1722	15 May 1722	14 June 1722
"	<b>8</b>	2383	40	5 Feb 1723	7 Mar 1723	5 Apr 1723	5 May 1723	3 June 1723
"	<b>9</b>	2384	41	26 Jan 1724	25 Feb 1724	25 Mar 1724	23 Apr 1724*	21 June 1724
"	<b>10</b>	2385	42	13 Feb 1725	15 Mar 1725	13 Apr 1725	12 May 1725	11 June 1725
"	<b>11</b>	2386	43	2 Feb 1726	4 Mar 1726	2 Apr 1726	2 May 1726	31 May 1726
"	<b>12</b>	2387	44	22 Jan 1727	23 Mar 1727	21 Apr 1727	21 May 1727	19 June 1727
"	<b>13</b>	2388	45	10 Feb 1728	11 Mar 1728	9 Apr 1728	9 May 1728	8 June 1728
"	<b>14</b>	2389	46	29 Jan 1729	28 Feb 1729	29 Mar 1729	28 Apr 1729	26 May 1729
"	<b>15</b>	2390	47	17 Feb 1730	19 Mar 1730	17 Apr 1730	17 May 1730	15 June 1730

元禄 *Gen-roku*. 寶永 *Hō-ei*. 正徳 *Shō-toku*. 享保 *Kō-hō*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
27 June 1699	27 July 1699	25 Aug 1699	23 Sept 1699*	21 Nov 1699	21 Dec 1699	20 Jan 1700	23 Oct 1699
16 July 1700	15 Aug 1700	13 Sept 1700	12 Oct 1700	11 Nov 1700	10 Dec 1700	9 Jan 1701	
6 July 1701	4 Aug 1701	3 Sept 1701	2 Oct 1701	31 Oct 1701	30 Nov 1701	29 Dec 1701	
25 June 1702	25 July 1702	23 Aug 1702	21 Oct 1702	19 Nov 1702	19 Dec 1702	17 Jan 1703	22 Sept 1702
14 July 1703	13 Aug 1703	11 Sept 1703	11 Oct 1703	9 Nov 1703	9 Dec 1703	7 Jan 1704	
2 July 1704	1 Aug 1704	30 Aug 1704	29 Sept 1704	29 Oct 1704	27 Nov 1704	27 Dec 1704	
21 July 1705	19 Aug 1705	18 Sept 1705	18 Oct 1705	16 Nov 1705	16 Dec 1705	15 Jan 1706	23 May 1705
10 July 1706	8 Aug 1706	7 Sept 1706	7 Oct 1706	5 Nov 1706	5 Dec 1706	4 Jan 1707	
30 June 1707	29 July 1707	27 Aug 1707	26 Sept 1707	25 Oct 1707	24 Nov 1707	24 Dec 1707	
18 July 1708	16 Aug 1708	14 Sept 1708	14 Oct 1708	12 Nov 1708	12 Dec 1708	11 Jan 1709	22 Feb 1708
7 July 1709	6 Aug 1709	4 Sept 1709	3 Oct 1709	2 Nov 1709	1 Dec 1709	31 Dec 1709	
27 June 1710	26 July 1710	25 Aug 1710*	22 Oct 1710	21 Nov 1710	20 Dec 1710	19 Jan 1711	23 Sept 1710
16 July 1711	14 Aug 1711	13 Sept 1711	12 Oct 1711	10 Nov 1711	10 Dec 1711	8 Jan 1712	
4 July 1712	2 Aug 1712	1 Sept 1712	1 Oct 1712	30 Oct 1712	29 Nov 1712	28 Dec 1712	
22 July 1713	21 Aug 1713	20 Sept 1713	19 Oct 1713	18 Nov 1713	18 Dec 1713	16 Jan 1714	23 June 1713
12 July 1714	10 Aug 1714	9 Sept 1714	9 Oct 1714	7 Nov 1714	7 Dec 1714	6 Jan 1715	
1 July 1715	30 July 1715	29 Aug 1715	28 Sept 1715	27 Oct 1715	26 Nov 1715	26 Dec 1715	
19 July 1716	17 Aug 1716	16 Sept 1716	15 Oct 1716	14 Nov 1716	14 Dec 1716	13 Jan 1717	24 Mar 1716
9 July 1717	7 Aug 1717	5 Sept 1717	5 Oct 1717	3 Nov 1717	3 Dec 1717	2 Jan 1718	
28 June 1718	28 July 1718	26 Aug 1718	24 Sept 1718	24 Oct 1718*	22 Dec 1718	20 Jan 1719	22 Nov 1718
17 July 1719	19 Aug 1719	14 Sept 1719	13 Oct 1719	12 Nov 1719	11 Dec 1719	10 Jan 1720	
6 July 1720	4 Aug 1720	3 Sept 1720	2 Oct 1720	31 Oct 1720	30 Nov 1720	29 Dec 1720	
25 June 1721	24 July 1721*	21 Sept 1721	21 Oct 1721	19 Nov 1721	19 Dec 1721	17 Jan 1722	23 Aug 1721
13 July 1722	12 Aug 1722	11 Sept 1722	10 Oct 1722	9 Nov 1722	8 Dec 1722	7 Jan 1723	
2 July 1723	1 Aug 1723	31 Aug 1723	29 Sept 1723	29 Oct 1723	28 Nov 1723	27 Dec 1723	
20 July 1724	19 Aug 1724	17 Sept 1724	17 Oct 1724	16 Nov 1724	16 Dec 1724	14 Jan 1725	23 May 1724
10 July 1725	8 Aug 1725	7 Sept 1725	6 Oct 1725	5 Nov 1725	5 Dec 1725	3 Jan 1726	
30 June 1726	29 July 1726	27 Aug 1726	26 Sept 1726	25 Oct 1726	24 Nov 1726	23 Dec 1726	
19 July 1727	17 Aug 1727	15 Sept 1727	15 Oct 1727	13 Nov 1727	13 Dec 1727	11 Jan 1728	21 Feb 1727
7 July 1728	6 Aug 1728	4 Sept 1728	3 Oct 1728	2 Nov 1728	1 Dec 1728	31 Dec 1728	
26 June 1729	26 July 1729	24 Aug 1729	23 Sept 1729*	21 Nov 1729	20 Dec 1729	19 Jan 1730	22 Oct 1729
15 July 1730	14 Aug 1730	12 Sept 1730	12 Oct 1730	10 Nov 1730	10 Dec 1730	8 Jan 1731	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
Kiō-hō	16	2391	48	7 Feb 1731	8 Mar 1731	7 Apr 1731	6 May 1731	5 June 1731
"	17	2392	49	27 Jan 1732	26 Feb 1732	26 Mar 1732	25 Apr 1732	24 May 1732*
"	18	2393	50	14 Feb 1733	16 Mar 1733	14 Apr 1733	14 May 1733	12 June 1733
"	19	2394	51	4 Feb 1734	5 Mar 1734	4 Apr 1734	3 May 1734	2 June 1734
"	20	2395	52	24 Jan 1735	23 Feb 1735	24 Mar 1735	22 May 1735	21 June 1735
Gem-bun	1	2396	53	12 Feb 1736	12 Mar 1736	11 Apr 1736	11 May 1736	9 June 1736
"	2	2397	54	31 Jan 1737	1 Mar 1737	31 Mar 1737	30 Apr 1737	30 May 1737
"	3	2398	55	19 Feb 1738	20 Mar 1738	19 Apr 1738	19 May 1738	17 June 1738
"	4	2399	56	8 Feb 1739	10 Mar 1739	8 Apr 1739	8 May 1739	6 June 1739
"	5	2400	57	29 Jan 1740	27 Feb 1740	28 Mar 1740	26 Apr 1740	25 May 1740
Kwam-pō	1	2401	58	16 Feb 1741	17 Mar 1741	16 Apr 1741	15 May 1741	13 June 1741
"	2	2402	59	5 Feb 1742	7 Mar 1742	5 Apr 1742	5 May 1742	3 June 1742
"	3	2403	60	26 Jan 1743	24 Feb 1743	26 Mar 1743	24 Apr 1743	22 June 1743
En-kiō	1	2404	1	14 Feb 1744	14 Mar 1744	13 Apr 1744	12 May 1744	11 June 1744
"	2	2405	2	1 Feb 1745	3 Mar 1745	2 Apr 1745	2 May 1745	31 May 1745
"	3	2406	3	20 Feb 1746	22 Mar 1746	21 Apr 1746	20 May 1746	19 June 1746
"	4	2407	4	10 Feb 1747	11 Mar 1747	10 Apr 1747	9 May 1747	8 June 1747
Kwan-en	1	2408	5	30 Jan 1748	28 Feb 1748	29 Mar 1748	28 Apr 1748	27 May 1748
"	2	2409	6	17 Feb 1749	19 Mar 1749	17 Apr 1749	16 May 1749	15 June 1749
"	3	2410	7	7 Feb 1750	8 Mar 1750	7 Apr 1750	6 May 1750	4 June 1750
Ho-reki	1	2411	8	27 Jan 1751	26 Feb 1751	27 Mar 1751	26 Apr 1751	25 May 1751
"	2	2412	9	15 Feb 1752	16 Mar 1752	14 Apr 1752	14 May 1752	12 June 1752
"	3	2413	10	3 Feb 1753	5 Mar 1753	4 Apr 1753	3 May 1753	2 June 1753
"	4	2414	11	23 Jan 1754	22 Feb 1754*	22 Apr 1754	22 May 1754	21 June 1754
"	5	2415	12	11 Feb 1755	13 Mar 1755	12 Apr 1755	11 May 1755	10 June 1755
"	6	2416	13	31 Jan 1756	1 Mar 1756	31 Mar 1756	29 Apr 1756	29 May 1756
"	7	2417	14	18 Feb 1757	20 Mar 1757	18 Apr 1757	18 May 1757	17 June 1757
"	8	2418	15	8 Feb 1758	10 Mar 1758	8 Apr 1758	7 May 1758	6 June 1758
"	9	2419	16	29 Jan 1759	27 Feb 1759	29 Mar 1759	27 Apr 1759	26 May 1759
"	10	2420	17	17 Feb 1760	17 Mar 1760	16 Apr 1760	15 May 1760	13 June 1760
"	11	2421	18	5 Feb 1761	7 Mar 1761	5 Apr 1761	5 May 1761	3 June 1761
"	12	2422	19	25 Jan 1762	24 Feb 1762	26 Mar 1762	24 Apr 1762*	22 June 1762

享保 Kiō-hō. 元文 Gem-bun. 寛保 Kwam-pō. 延享 En-kiō. 寛延 Kwan-en. 寶曆 Ho-reki.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Intere: Month.
4 July 1731	3 Aug 1731	1 Sept 1731	1 Oct 1731	31 Oct 1731	29 Nov 1731	29 Dec 1731	
22 July 1732	20 Aug 1732	19 Sept 1732	19 Oct 1732	18 Nov 1732	17 Dec 1732	16 Jan 1733	22 June 1732
11 July 1733	10 Aug 1733	8 Sept 1733	8 Oct 1733	7 Nov 1733	6 Dec 1733	5 Jan 1734	
1 July 1734	30 July 1734	29 Aug 1734	27 Sept 1734	27 Oct 1734	25 Nov 1734	25 Dec 1734	
20 July 1735	18 Aug 1735	17 Sept 1735	16 Oct 1735	15 Nov 1735	14 Dec 1735	13 Jan 1736	23 Apr 1735
9 July 1736	7 Aug 1736	5 Sept 1736	5 Oct 1736	3 Nov 1736	2 Dec 1736	1 Jan 1737	
28 June 1737	28 July 1737	26 Aug 1737	24 Sept 1737	24 Oct 1737	22 Nov 1737	20 Jan 1738	22 Dec 1737
17 July 1738	15 Aug 1738	14 Sept 1738	13 Oct 1738	12 Nov 1738	11 Dec 1738	10 Jan 1739	
6 July 1739	5 Aug 1739	3 Sept 1739	3 Oct 1739	1 Nov 1739	1 Dec 1739	30 Dec 1739	
24 June 1740	24 July 1740*	21 Sept 1740	21 Oct 1740	19 Nov 1740	19 Dec 1740	17 Jan 1741	22 Aug 1740
13 July 1741	11 Aug 1741	10 Sept 1741	10 Oct 1741	8 Nov 1741	8 Dec 1741	7 Jan 1742	
2 July 1742	1 Aug 1742	30 Aug 1742	29 Sept 1742	28 Oct 1742	27 Nov 1742	27 Dec 1742	
21 July 1743	20 Aug 1743	18 Sept 1743	17 Oct 1743	16 Nov 1743	16 Dec 1743	15 Jan 1744	24 May 1743
10 July 1744	8 Aug 1744	7 Sept 1744	6 Oct 1744	4 Nov 1744	4 Dec 1744	3 Jan 1745	
30 June 1745	29 July 1745	27 Aug 1745	26 Sept 1745	25 Oct 1745	23 Nov 1745	23 Dec 1745*	22 Jan 1746
18 July 1746	17 Aug 1746	15 Sept 1746	15 Oct 1746	13 Nov 1746	12 Dec 1746	11 Jan 1747	
8 July 1747	6 Aug 1747	5 Sept 1747	4 Oct 1747	3 Nov 1747	2 Dec 1747	1 Jan 1748	
26 June 1748	25 July 1748	24 Aug 1748	23 Sept 1748	22 Oct 1748*	20 Dec 1748	19 Jan 1749	21 Nov 1748
14 July 1749	13 Aug 1749	12 Sept 1749	11 Oct 1749	10 Nov 1749	10 Dec 1749	8 Jan 1750	
4 July 1750	2 Aug 1750	1 Sept 1750	30 Sept 1750	30 Oct 1750	29 Nov 1750	29 Dec 1750	
23 June 1751*	21 Aug 1751	20 Sept 1751	19 Oct 1751	18 Nov 1751	18 Dec 1751	16 Jan 1752	23 July 1751
11 July 1752	10 Aug 1752	8 Sept 1752	7 Oct 1752	6 Nov 1752	6 Dec 1752	4 Jan 1753	
1 July 1753	30 July 1753	29 Aug 1753	27 Sept 1753	26 Oct 1753	25 Nov 1753	25 Dec 1753	
20 July 1754	18 Aug 1754	17 Sept 1754	16 Oct 1754	14 Nov 1754	14 Dec 1754	12 Jan 1755	24 Mar 1754
9 July 1755	8 Aug 1755	6 Sept 1755	6 Oct 1755	4 Nov 1755	3 Dec 1755	2 Jan 1756	
27 June 1756	27 July 1756	26 Aug 1756	24 Sept 1756	24 Oct 1756	22 Nov 1756*	20 Jan 1757	22 Dec 1756
16 July 1757	15 Aug 1756	13 Sept 1757	13 Oct 1757	12 Nov 1757	11 Dec 1757	10 Jan 1758	
5 July 1758	4 Aug 1758	2 Sept 1758	2 Oct 1758	1 Nov 1758	1 Dec 1758	30 Dec 1758	
25 June 1759	24 July 1759	21 Sept 1759	21 Oct 1759	20 Nov 1759	19 Dec 1759	18 Jan 1760	23 Aug 1759
13 July 1760	11 Aug 1760	9 Sept 1760	9 Oct 1760	8 Nov 1760	7 Dec 1760	6 Jan 1761	
2 July 1761	1 Aug 1761	30 Aug 1761	28 Sept 1761	28 Oct 1761	26 Nov 1761	26 Dec 1761	
21 July 1762	20 Aug 1762	18 Sept 1762	17 Oct 1762	16 Nov 1762	15 Dec 1762	14 Jan 1763	24 May 1762



Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Hō-reki</b>	<b>13</b>	2423	20	13 Feb 1763	15 Mar 1763	13 Apr 1763	13 May 1763	11 June 1763
<b>Mei-wa</b>	<b>1</b>	2424	21	2 Feb 1764	3 Mar 1764	1 Apr 1764	1 May 1764	31 May 1764
"	<b>2</b>	2425	22	20 Feb 1765	21 Mar 1765	20 Apr 1765	20 May 1765	18 June 1765
"	<b>3</b>	2426	23	9 Feb 1766	11 Mar 1766	9 Apr 1766	9 May 1766	7 June 1766
"	<b>4</b>	2427	24	30 Jan 1767	28 Feb 1767	30 Mar 1767	28 Apr 1767	28 May 1767
"	<b>5</b>	2428	25	18 Feb 1768	19 Mar 1768	17 Apr 1768	16 May 1768	15 June 1768
"	<b>6</b>	2429	26	7 Feb 1769	8 Mar 1769	7 Apr 1769	6 May 1769	4 June 1769
"	<b>7</b>	2430	27	27 Jan 1770	26 Feb 1770	27 Mar 1770	26 Apr 1770	25 May 1770
"	<b>8</b>	2431	28	15 Feb 1771	16 Mar 1771	15 Apr 1771	14 May 1771	13 June 1771
<b>An-ei</b>	<b>1</b>	2432	29	4 Feb 1772	4 Mar 1772	3 Apr 1772	3 May 1772	1 June 1772
"	<b>2</b>	2433	30	23 Jan 1773	21 Feb 1773	23 Mar 1773	21 May 1773	20 June 1773
"	<b>3</b>	2434	31	11 Feb 1774	12 Mar 1774	11 Apr 1774	11 May 1774	9 June 1774
"	<b>4</b>	2435	32	31 Jan 1775	2 Mar 1775	31 Mar 1775	30 Apr 1775	29 May 1775
"	<b>5</b>	2436	33	19 Feb 1776	20 Mar 1776	18 Apr 1776	18 May 1776	16 June 1776
"	<b>6</b>	2437	34	8 Feb 1777	10 Mar 1777	8 Apr 1777	7 May 1777	6 June 1777
"	<b>7</b>	2438	35	28 Jan 1778	27 Feb 1778	29 Mar 1778	27 Apr 1778	26 May 1778
"	<b>8</b>	2439	36	16 Fe 1779	18 Mar 1779	17 Apr 1779	16 May 1779	14 June 1779
"	<b>9</b>	2440	37	5 Feb 1780	6 Mar 1780	5 Apr 1780	4 May 1780	3 June 1780
<b>Tem-mei</b>	<b>1</b>	2441	38	24 Jan 1781	23 Feb 1781	25 Mar 1781	24 Apr 1781	23 May 1781*
"	<b>2</b>	2442	39	12 Feb 1782	14 Mar 1782	13 Apr 1782	12 May 1782	11 June 1782
"	<b>3</b>	2443	40	2 Feb 1783	3 Mar 1783	2 Apr 1783	1 May 1783	31 May 1783
"	<b>4</b>	2444	41	22 Jan 1784*	21 Mar 1784	20 Apr 1784	19 May 1784	18 June 1784
"	<b>5</b>	2445	42	9 Feb 1785	11 Mar 1785	9 Apr 1785	9 May 1785	7 June 1785
"	<b>6</b>	2446	43	30 Jan 1786	28 Feb 1786	30 Mar 1786	28 Apr 1786	28 May 1786
"	<b>7</b>	2447	44	18 Feb 1787	20 Mar 1787	18 Apr 1787	17 May 1787	16 June 1787
"	<b>8</b>	2448	45	7 Feb 1788	8 Mar 1788	6 Apr 1788	6 May 1788	4 June 1788
<b>Kwan-sei</b>	<b>1</b>	2449	46	26 Jan 1789	25 Feb 1789	27 Mar 1789	25 Apr 1789	25 May 1789
"	<b>2</b>	2450	47	14 Feb 1790	16 Mar 1790	14 Apr 1790	14 May 1790	13 June 1790
"	<b>3</b>	2451	48	3 Feb 1791	5 Mar 1791	3 Apr 1791	3 May 1791	2 June 1791
"	<b>4</b>	2452	49	21 Jan 1792	22 Feb 1792*	21 Apr 1792	21 May 1792	19 June 1792
"	<b>5</b>	2453	50	11 Feb 1793	12 Mar 1793	11 Apr 1793	10 May 1793	9 June 1793
"	<b>6</b>	2454	51	31 Jan 1794	2 Mar 1794	31 Mar 1794	30 Apr 1794	29 May 1794

寶曆 Hō-reki. 明和 Mei-wa. 安永 An-ei. 天明 Tem-mei. 寬政 Kwan-sei.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
11 July 1763	9 Aug 1763	8 Sept 1763	7 Oct 1763	5 Nov 1763	5 Dec 1763	3 Jan 1764	
29 June 1764	29 July 1764	27 Aug 1764	26 Sept 1764	25 Oct 1764	23 Nov 1764	23 Dec 1764*	21 Jan 1765
18 July 1765	17 Aug 1765	15 Sept 1765	15 Oct 1765	13 Nov 1765	13 Dec 1765	11 Jan 1766	
7 July 1766	6 Aug 1766	4 Sept 1766	4 Oct 1766	3 Nov 1766	2 Dec 1766	1 Jan 1767	
26 June 1767	26 July 1767	24 Aug 1767	23 Sept 1767*	21 Nov 1767	21 Dec 1767	20 Jan 1768	23 Oct 1767
14 July 1768	12 Aug 1768	11 Sept 1768	11 Oct 1768	9 Nov 1768	9 Dec 1768	8 Jan 1769	
4 July 1769	2 Aug 1769	31 Aug 1769	30 Sept 1769	29 Oct 1769	28 Nov 1769	28 Dec 1769	
23 June 1770	21 Aug 1770	19 Sept 1770	19 Oct 1770	17 Nov 1770	17 Dec 1770	16 Jan 1771	23 July 1770
12 July 1771	11 Aug 1771	9 Sept 1771	8 Oct 1771	7 Nov 1771	6 Dec 1771	5 Jan 1772	
1 July 1772	29 July 1772	29 Aug 1772	27 Sept 1772	26 Oct 1772	25 Nov 1772	24 Dec 1772	
20 July 1773	18 Aug 1773	17 Sept 1773	16 Oct 1773	14 Nov 1773	14 Dec 1773	12 Jan 1774	22 Apr 1773
9 July 1774	7 Aug 1774	6 Sept 1774	5 Oct 1774	4 Nov 1774	3 Dec 1774	2 Jan 1775	
28 June 1775	27 July 1775	26 Aug 1775	25 Sept 1775	24 Oct 1775	23 Nov 1775	23 Dec 1775*	21 Jan 1776
16 July 1776	14 Aug 1776	13 Sept 1776	12 Oct 1776	11 Nov 1776	11 Dec 1776	10 Jan 1777	
5 July 1777	3 Aug 1777	2 Sept 1777	1 Oct 1777	31 Oct 1777	30 Nov 1777	30 Dec 1777	
25 June 1778	24 July 1778	21 Sept 1778	20 Oct 1778	19 Nov 1778	19 Dec 1778	18 Jan 1779	22 Aug 1778
14 July 1779	12 Aug 1779	10 Sept 1779	10 Oct 1779	8 Nov 1779	8 Dec 1779	7 Jan 1780	
2 July 1780	1 Aug 1780	30 Aug 1780	28 Sept 1780	27 Oct 1780	26 Nov 1780	26 Dec 1780	
21 July 1781	20 Aug 1781	18 Sept 1781	17 Oct 1781	16 Nov 1781	15 Dec 1781	14 Jan 1782	22 June 1781
10 July 1782	9 Aug 1782	7 Sept 1782	7 Oct 1782	5 Nov 1782	5 Dec 1782	3 Jan 1783	
30 June 1783	29 July 1783	28 Aug 1783	26 Sept 1783	26 Oct 1783	24 Nov 1783	24 Dec 1783	
17 July 1784	16 Aug 1784	15 Sept 1784	14 Oct 1784	13 Nov 1784	12 Dec 1784	11 Jan 1785	21 Feb 1784
6 July 1785	5 Aug 1785	4 Sept 1785	3 Oct 1785	2 Nov 1785	2 Dec 1785	31 Dec 1785	
26 June 1786	25 July 1786	24 Aug 1786	22 Sept 1786	22 Oct 1786*	21 Dec 1786	19 Jan 1787	21 Nov 1786
15 July 1787	13 Aug 1787	12 Sept 1787	11 Oct 1787	10 Nov 1787	10 Dec 1787	8 Jan 1788	
4 July 1788	2 Aug 1788	31 Aug 1788	30 Sept 1788	29 Oct 1788	28 Nov 1788	27 Dec 1788	
23 June 1789	21 Aug 1789	19 Sept 1789	19 Oct 1789	17 Nov 1789	17 Dec 1789	15 Jan 1790	23 July 1789
12 July 1790	11 Aug 1790	9 Sept 1790	8 Oct 1790	7 Nov 1790	6 Dec 1790	5 Jan 1791	
1 July 1791	31 July 1791	29 Aug 1791	28 Sept 1791	27 Oct 1791	26 Nov 1791	25 Dec 1791	
19 July 1792	18 Aug 1792	16 Sept 1792	16 Oct 1792	14 Nov 1792	14 Dec 1792	12 Jan 1793	23 Mar 1792
8 July 1793	7 Aug 1793	5 Sept 1793	5 Oct 1793	4 Nov 1793	3 Dec 1793	2 Jan 1794	
27 June 1794	27 July 1794	25 Aug 1794	24 Sept 1794	24 Oct 1794	23 Nov 1794*	21 Jan 1795	22 Dec 1794

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Kwan-sei</b>	7	2455	52	19 Feb 1795	21 Mar 1795	19 Apr 1795	19 May 1795	17 June 1795
"	8	2456	53	9 Feb 1796	9 Mar 1796	8 Apr 1796	7 May 1796	6 June 1796
"	9	2457	54	28 Jan 1797	27 Feb 1797	28 Mar 1797	27 Apr 1797	26 May 1797
"	10	2458	55	16 Feb 1798	17 Mar 1798	16 Apr 1798	16 May 1798	14 June 1798
"	11	2459	56	5 Feb 1799	6 Mar 1799	5 Apr 1799	5 May 1799	4 June 1799
"	12	2460	57	25 Jan 1800	24 Feb 1800	25 Mar 1800	24 Apr 1800	22 June 1800
<b>Kiō-wa</b>	1	2461	58	13 Feb 1801	15 Mar 1801	13 Apr 1801	13 May 1801	11 June 1801
"	2	2462	59	3 Feb 1802	4 Mar 1802	3 Apr 1802	2 May 1802	31 May 1802
"	3	2463	60	23 Jan 1803	23 Mar 1803	22 Apr 1803	21 May 1803	19 June 1803
<b>Bun-kwa</b>	1	2464	1	11 Feb 1804	12 Mar 1804	10 Apr 1804	10 May 1804	8 June 1804
"	2	2465	2	31 Jan 1805	1 Mar 1805	31 Mar 1805	29 Apr 1805	29 May 1805
"	3	2466	3	18 Feb 1806	20 Mar 1806	19 Apr 1806	18 May 1806	17 June 1806
"	4	2467	4	7 Feb 1807	9 Mar 1807	8 Apr 1807	8 May 1807	6 June 1807
"	5	2468	5	28 Jan 1808	26 Feb 1808	27 Mar 1808	26 Apr 1808	25 May 1808
"	6	2469	6	14 Feb 1809	16 Mar 1809	17 Apr 1809	14 May 1809	13 June 1809
"	7	2470	7	4 Feb 1810	5 Mar 1810	4 Apr 1810	3 May 1810	2 June 1810
"	8	2471	8	25 Jan 1811	23 Feb 1811	23 Apr 1811	22 May 1811	21 June 1811
"	9	2472	9	13 Feb 1812	13 Mar 1812	12 Apr 1812	11 May 1812	9 June 1812
"	10	2473	10	1 Feb 1813	3 Mar 1813	1 Apr 1813	1 May 1813	30 May 1813
"	11	2474	11	20 Feb 1814	22 Mar 1814	20 Apr 1814	20 May 1814	18 June 1814
"	12	2475	12	9 Feb 1815	11 Mar 1815	10 Apr 1815	9 May 1815	8 June 1815
"	13	2476	13	29 Jan 1816	28 Feb 1816	29 Mar 1816	27 Apr 1816	27 May 1816
"	14	2477	14	16 Feb 1817	18 Mar 1817	16 Apr 1817	16 May 1817	15 June 1817
<b>Bun-sei</b>	1	2478	15	5 Feb 1818	7 Mar 1818	6 Apr 1818	5 May 1818	4 June 1818
"	2	2479	16	26 Jan 1819	24 Feb 1819	26 Mar 1819	24 Apr 1819	22 June 1819
"	3	2480	17	14 Feb 1820	14 Mar 1820	13 Apr 1820	12 May 1820	11 June 1820
"	4	2481	18	3 Feb 1821	4 Mar 1821	3 Apr 1821	2 May 1821	31 May 1821
"	5	2482	19	23 Jan 1822	23 Mar 1822	22 Apr 1822	21 May 1822	19 June 1822
"	6	2483	20	11 Feb 1823	13 Mar 1823	11 Apr 1823	11 May 1823	9 June 1823
"	7	2484	21	31 Jan 1824	1 Mar 1824	31 Mar 1824	29 Apr 1824	28 May 1824
"	8	2485	22	18 Feb 1825	20 Mar 1825	18 Apr 1825	18 May 1825	16 June 1825
"	9	2486	23	7 Feb 1826	9 Mar 1826	7 Apr 1826	7 May 1826	6 June 1826

寛政 *Kwan-sei*. 享和 *Kiō-wa*. 文化 *Bun-kwa*. 文政 *Bun-sei*.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
16 July 1795	15 Aug 1795	13 Sept 1795	13 Oct 1795	12 Nov 1795	11 Dec 1795	10 Jan 1796	
5 July 1796	3 Aug 1796	2 Sept 1796	1 Oct 1796	31 Oct 1796	29 Nov 1796	29 Dec 1796	
25 June 1797	24 July 1797	20 Sept 1797	20 Oct 1797	18 Nov 1797	18 Dec 1797	17 Jan 1798	22 Aug 1797
14 July 1798	12 Aug 1798	10 Sept 1798	10 Oct 1798	8 Nov 1798	7 Dec 1798	6 Jan 1799	
3 July 1799	1 Aug 1799	31 Aug 1799	29 Sept 1799	23 Oct 1799	27 Nov 1799	26 Dec 1799	
22 July 1800	20 Aug 1800	19 Sept 1800	18 Oct 1800	17 Nov 1800	16 Dec 1800	15 Jan 1801	24 May 1800
11 July 1801	9 Aug 1801	8 Sept 1801	8 Oct 1801	6 Nov 1801	6 Dec 1801	4 Jan 1802	
30 June 1802	29 July 1802	28 Aug 1802	27 Sept 1802	27 Oct 1802	25 Nov 1802	25 Dec 1802	
19 July 1803	17 Aug 1803	16 Sept 1803	16 Oct 1803	14 Nov 1803	14 Dec 1803	13 Jan 1804	22 Feb 1803
7 July 1804	6 Aug 1804	4 Sept 1804	4 Oct 1804	2 Nov 1804	2 Dec 1804	1 Jan 1805	
27 June 1805	26 July 1805	24 Aug 1805	22 Oct 1805	21 Nov 1805	21 Dec 1805	20 Jan 1806	23 Sept 1805
16 July 1806	14 Aug 1806	12 Sept 1806	12 Oct 1806	10 Nov 1806	10 Dec 1806	9 Jan 1807	
6 July 1807	4 Aug 1807	2 Sept 1807	2 Oct 1807	31 Oct 1807	29 Nov 1807	29 Dec 1807	
24 June 1808	22 Aug 1808	20 Sept 1808	20 Oct 1808	18 Nov 1808	17 Dec 1808	16 Jan 1809	23 July 1808
13 July 1809	11 Aug 1809	10 Sept 1809	9 Oct 1809	8 Nov 1809	7 Dec 1809	6 Jan 1810	
2 July 1810	31 July 1810	30 Aug 1810	23 Sept 1810	23 Oct 1810	27 Nov 1810	23 Dec 1810	
20 July 1811	19 Aug 1811	13 Sept 1811	17 Oct 1811	16 Nov 1811	16 Dec 1811	14 Jan 1812	24 Mar 1811
9 July 1812	7 Aug 1812	6 Sept 1812	5 Oct 1812	4 Nov 1812	4 Dec 1812	3 Jan 1813	
28 June 1813	27 July 1813	26 Aug 1813	24 Sept 1813	24 Oct 1813	23 Nov 1813	21 Jan 1814	23 Dec 1813
17 July 1814	15 Aug 1814	14 Sept 1814	13 Oct 1814	12 Nov 1814	12 Dec 1814	10 Jan 1815	
7 July 1815	5 Aug 1815	3 Sept 1815	3 Oct 1815	1 Nov 1815	1 Dec 1815	30 Dec 1815	
25 June 1816	25 July 1816	23 Aug 1816	21 Oct 1816	19 Nov 1816	18 Dec 1816	17 Jan 1817	22 Sept 1816
14 July 1817	13 Aug 1817	11 Sept 1817	11 Oct 1817	9 Nov 1817	8 Dec 1817	7 Jan 1818	
3 July 1818	2 Aug 1818	1 Sept 1818	30 Sept 1818	30 Oct 1818	28 Nov 1818	27 Dec 1818	
22 July 1819	21 Aug 1819	19 Sept 1819	19 Oct 1819	18 Nov 1819	17 Dec 1819	16 Jan 1820	24 May 1819
10 July 1820	9 Aug 1820	7 Sept 1820	7 Oct 1820	6 Nov 1820	6 Dec 1820	4 Jan 1821	
30 June 1821	29 July 1821	28 Aug 1821	26 Sept 1821	26 Oct 1821	25 Nov 1821	24 Dec 1821	
18 July 1822	17 Aug 1822	15 Sept 1822	15 Oct 1822	14 Nov 1822	13 Dec 1822	12 Jan 1823	22 Feb 1822
8 July 1823	6 Aug 1823	5 Sept 1823	4 Oct 1823	3 Nov 1823	2 Dec 1823	1 Jan 1824	
27 June 1824	26 July 1824	24 Aug 1824	22 Oct 1824	21 Nov 1824	20 Dec 1824	19 Jan 1825	23 Sept 1824
16 July 1825	14 Aug 1825	13 Sept 1825	12 Oct 1825	10 Nov 1825	10 Dec 1825	8 Jan 1826	
5 July 1826	4 Aug 1826	2 Sept 1826	2 Oct 1826	31 Oct 1826	29 Nov 1826	29 Dec 1826	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Bun-sei</b>	<b>10</b>	2187	24	27 Jan 1827	23 Feb 1827	27 Mar 1827	23 Apr 1827	26 May 1827
"	<b>11</b>	2488	25	15 Feb 1828	16 Mar 1828	14 Apr 1828	14 May 1828	12 June 1828
"	<b>12</b>	2489	26	4 Feb 1829	5 Mar 1829	4 Apr 1829	3 May 1829	2 June 1829
<b>Tem-pō</b>	<b>1</b>	2490	27	25 Jan 1830	23 Feb 1830	21 Mar 1830	22 May 1830	21 June 1830
"	<b>2</b>	2491	28	13 Feb 1831	14 Mar 1831	13 Apr 1831	12 May 1831	10 June 1831
"	<b>3</b>	2492	29	2 Feb 1832	3 Mar 1832	1 Apr 1832	1 May 1832	30 May 1832
"	<b>4</b>	2493	30	20 Feb 1833	21 Mar 1833	20 Apr 1833	19 May 1833	18 June 1833
"	<b>5</b>	2494	31	9 Feb 1834	10 Mar 1834	9 Apr 1834	9 May 1834	7 June 1834
"	<b>6</b>	2495	32	29 Jan 1835	27 Feb 1835	23 Mar 1835	28 Apr 1835	27 May 1835
"	<b>7</b>	2496	33	17 Feb 1836	17 Mar 1836	16 Apr 1836	15 May 1836	14 June 1836
"	<b>8</b>	2497	34	5 Feb 1837	7 Mar 1837	5 Apr 1837	5 May 1837	3 May 1837
"	<b>9</b>	2498	35	25 Jan 1838	24 Feb 1838	23 Mar 1838	24 Apr 1838	22 June 1838
"	<b>10</b>	2499	36	14 Feb 1839	15 Mar 1839	14 Apr 1839	13 May 1839	11 June 1839
"	<b>11</b>	2500	37	3 Feb 1840	4 Mar 1840	3 Apr 1840	2 May 1840	31 May 1840
"	<b>12</b>	2501	38	23 Jan 1841	23 Mar 1841	21 Apr 1841	21 May 1841	19 June 1841
"	<b>13</b>	2502	39	10 Feb 1842	12 Mar 1842	11 Apr 1842	10 May 1842	8 June 1842
"	<b>14</b>	2503	40	30 Jan 1843	1 Mar 1843	31 Mar 1843	30 Apr 1843	29 May 1843
<b>Kō kwa</b>	<b>1</b>	2504	41	18 Feb 1844	19 Mar 1844	18 Apr 1844	17 May 1844	16 June 1844
"	<b>2</b>	2505	42	7 Feb 1845	8 Mar 1845	7 Apr 1845	6 May 1845	5 June 1845
"	<b>3</b>	2506	43	27 Jan 1846	23 Feb 1846	27 Mar 1846	24 Apr 1846	23 May 1846
"	<b>4</b>	2507	44	15 Feb 1847	17 Mar 1847	15 Apr 1847	15 May 1847	13 June 1847
<b>Ka ei</b>	<b>1</b>	2508	45	5 Feb 1848	5 Mar 1848	4 Apr 1848	3 May 1848	1 June 1848
"	<b>2</b>	2509	46	24 Jan 1849	23 Feb 1849	24 Mar 1849	23 Apr 1849	20 June 1849
"	<b>3</b>	2510	47	12 Feb 1850	14 Mar 1850	12 Apr 1850	12 May 1850	10 June 1850
"	<b>4</b>	2511	48	1 Feb 1851	3 Mar 1851	2 Apr 1851	1 May 1851	31 May 1851
"	<b>5</b>	2512	49	21 Jan 1852	20 Feb 1852	19 Apr 1852	19 May 1852	18 June 1852
"	<b>6</b>	2513	50	8 Feb 1853	10 Mar 1853	8 Apr 1853	8 May 1853	7 June 1853
<b>An-sei</b>	<b>1</b>	2514	51	29 Jan 1854	27 Feb 1854	27 Mar 1854	27 Apr 1854	27 May 1854
"	<b>2</b>	2515	52	17 Feb 1855	18 Mar 1855	17 Apr 1855	16 May 1855	14 June 1855
"	<b>3</b>	2516	53	6 Feb 1856	7 Mar 1856	5 Apr 1856	4 May 1856	3 June 1856
"	<b>4</b>	2517	54	26 Jan 1857	24 Feb 1857	26 Mar 1857	24 Apr 1857	23 May 1857
"	<b>5</b>	2518	55	14 Feb 1858	15 Mar 1858	14 Apr 1858	13 May 1858	11 June 1858

文政 Bun-sei. 天保 Tem-pō. 弘化 Kō-ka. 嘉永 Kō-ei. 安政 An-sei.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter- Month.
21 June 1827	22 Aug 1827	21 Sept 1827	21 Oct 1827	15 Nov 1827	13 Dec 1827	17 Jan 1828	24 July 1827
12 July 1828	11 Aug 1828	10 Sept 1828	9 Oct 1828	7 Nov 1828	7 Dec 1828	6 Jan 1829	
1 July 1829	31 July 1829	29 Aug 1829	28 Sept 1829	28 Oct 1829	26 Nov 1829	26 Dec 1829	
29 July 1830	18 Aug 1830	17 Sept 1830	17 Oct 1830	15 Nov 1830	15 Dec 1830	14 Jan 1831	23 Apr 1830
9 July 1831	8 Aug 1831	6 Sept 1831	6 Oct 1831	4 Nov 1831	4 Dec 1831	3 Jan 1832	
28 June 1832	27 July 1832	26 Aug 1832	24 Sept 1832	24 Oct 1832	22 Nov 1832	21 Jan 1833	22 Dec 1832
17 July 1833	15 Aug 1833	14 Sept 1833	13 Oct 1833	12 Nov 1833	11 Dec 1833	10 Jan 1834	
7 July 1834	5 Aug 1834	3 Sept 1834	3 Oct 1834	1 Nov 1834	1 Dec 1834	9 Jan 1835	
26 June 1835	26 July 1835	24 Sept 1835	22 Oct 1835	20 Nov 1835	20 Dec 1835	18 Jan 1836	29 Aug 1835
14 July 1836	12 Aug 1836	11 Sept 1836	10 Oct 1836	8 Nov 1836	8 Dec 1836	7 Jan 1837	
30 July 1837	28 Aug 1837	26 Sept 1837	24 Oct 1837	22 Nov 1837	21 Dec 1837	19 Jan 1838	
21 July 1838	20 Aug 1838	18 Sept 1838	18 Oct 1838	17 Nov 1838	17 Dec 1838	15 Jan 1839	24 May 1838
11 July 1839	9 Aug 1839	8 Sept 1839	7 Oct 1839	6 Nov 1839	6 Dec 1839	5 Jan 1840	
29 June 1840	29 July 1840	27 Aug 1840	26 Sept 1840	25 Oct 1840	24 Nov 1840	24 Dec 1840	
18 July 1841	17 Aug 1841	15 Sept 1841	15 Oct 1841	13 Nov 1841	13 Dec 1841	12 Jan 1842	21 Feb 1841
7 July 1842	6 Aug 1842	5 Sept 1842	4 Oct 1842	3 Nov 1842	2 Dec 1842	1 Jan 1843	
26 June 1843	27 July 1843	25 Aug 1843	24 Sept 1843	22 Nov 1843	21 Dec 1843	20 Jan 1844	23 Oct 1843
15 July 1844	14 Aug 1844	12 Sept 1844	12 Oct 1844	10 Nov 1844	10 Dec 1844	8 Jan 1845	
5 July 1845	3 Aug 1845	2 Sept 1845	1 Oct 1845	31 Oct 1845	29 Nov 1845	28 Dec 1845	
23 July 1846	22 Aug 1846	21 Sept 1846	20 Oct 1846	18 Nov 1846	18 Dec 1846	17 Jan 1847	24 June 1846
12 July 1847	11 Aug 1847	10 Sept 1847	9 Oct 1847	7 Nov 1847	8 Dec 1847	6 Jan 1848	
1 July 1848	30 July 1848	29 Aug 1848	27 Sept 1848	27 Oct 1848	26 Nov 1848	25 Dec 1848	
20 July 1849	18 Aug 1849	17 Sept 1849	16 Oct 1849	15 Nov 1849	15 Dec 1849	13 Jan 1850	22 May 1849
9 July 1850	8 Aug 1850	6 Sept 1850	6 Oct 1850	4 Nov 1850	4 Dec 1850	2 Jan 1851	
29 June 1851	28 July 1851	27 Aug 1851	25 Sept 1851	25 Oct 1851	23 Nov 1851	23 Dec 1851	
17 July 1852	15 Aug 1852	14 Sept 1852	13 Oct 1852	12 Nov 1852	11 Dec 1852	10 Jan 1853	21 Mar 1852
6 July 1853	5 Aug 1853	3 Sept 1853	3 Oct 1853	1 Nov 1853	1 Dec 1853	30 Dec 1853	
25 June 1854	25 July 1854	22 Sept 1854	21 Oct 1854	20 Nov 1854	20 Dec 1854	18 Jan 1855	21 Aug 1854
14 July 1855	13 Aug 1855	11 Sept 1855	11 Oct 1855	10 Nov 1855	9 Dec 1855	8 Jan 1856	
2 July 1856	1 Aug 1856	30 Aug 1856	29 Sept 1856	29 Oct 1856	28 Nov 1856	27 Dec 1856	
21 July 1857	20 Aug 1857	18 Sept 1857	17 Oct 1857	17 Nov 1857	16 Dec 1857	15 Jan 1858	22 June 1857
11 July 1858	9 Aug 1858	7 Sept 1858	7 Oct 1858	6 Nov 1858	5 Dec 1858	4 Jan 1859	

Style and Year of Period.		Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
An-sei	6	2519	56	3 Feb 1859	5 Mar 1859	3 Apr 1859	3 May 1859	1 June 1859
Man-en	1	2520	57	23 Jan 1860	22 Feb 1860	22 Mar 1860*	21 May 1860	19 June 1860
Ban-kiū	1	2521	58	10 Feb 1861	11 Mar 1861	10 Apr 1861	10 May 1861	8 June 1861
"	2	2522	59	30 Jan 1862	1 Mar 1862	30 Mar 1862	29 Apr 1862	29 May 1862
"	3	2523	60	18 Feb 1863	19 Mar 1863	18 Apr 1863	18 May 1863	16 June 1863
Gen-ji	1	2524	1	8 Feb 1864	8 Mar 1864	6 Apr 1864	6 May 1864	4 June 1864
Kei-ō	1	2525	2	27 Jan 1865	26 Feb 1865	27 Mar 1865	25 Apr 1865	25 May 1865*
"	2	2526	3	15 Feb 1866	17 Mar 1866	15 Apr 1866	15 May 1866	13 June 1866
"	3	2527	4	5 Feb 1867	6 Mar 1867	5 Apr 1867	4 May 1867	2 June 1867
Mei-ji	1	2528	5	25 Jan 1868	23 Feb 1868	24 Mar 1868	23 Apr 1868*	20 June 1868
"	2	2529	6	11 Feb 1869	13 Mar 1869	12 Apr 1869	12 May 1869	10 June 1869
"	3	2530	7	1 Feb 1870	2 Mar 1870	1 Apr 1870	1 May 1870	30 May 1870
"	4	2531	8	19 Feb 1871	21 Mar 1871	20 Apr 1871	19 May 1871	18 June 1871
"	5	2532	9	9 Feb 1872	9 Mar 1872	8 Apr 1872	7 May 1872	6 June 1872

安政 An-sei. 萬延 Man-en. 文久 Ban-kiū. 元治 Gen-ji. 慶應 Kei-ō. 明治 Mei-ji.

In the 5th year of Meiji (1872) the Japanese Government decided to Calendar. As in that year the 2nd day of the 12th month fell on the 31st the remainder of the said 12th month. Thus the day following on the 2nd day month of the 6th year of Meiji (corresponding to the 1st January, 1873)

The system of counting the years by periods (*Nen-gō*) remains unchanged.  
[For the years 1873-1912, see pages 128-131.]

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
30 June 1859	30 July 1859	28 Aug 1859	26 Sept 1859	26 Oct 1859	24 Nov 1859	24 Dec 1859	
18 July 1860	17 Aug 1860	15 Sept 1860	14 Oct 1860	13 Nov 1860	12 Dec 1860	11 Jan 1861	21 Apr 1860
8 July 1861	6 Aug 1861	5 Sept 1861	4 Oct 1861	3 Nov 1861	2 Dec 1861	31 Dec 1861	
27 June 1862	27 July 1862	25 Aug 1862	23 Oct 1862	22 Nov 1862	21 Dec 1862	20 Jan 1863	24 Sept 1862
16 July 1863	14 Aug 1863	13 Sept 1863	13 Oct 1863	11 Nov 1863	11 Dec 1863	9 Jan 1864	
4 July 1864	2 Aug 1864	1 Sept 1864	1 Oct 1864	31 Oct 1864	29 Nov 1864	29 Dec 1864	
23 July 1865	21 Aug 1865	20 Sept 1865	20 Oct 1865	18 Nov 1865	18 Dec 1865	17 Jan 1866	23 June 1865
12 July 1866	10 Aug 1866	9 Sept 1866	9 Oct 1866	7 Nov 1866	7 Dec 1866	6 Jan 1867	
2 July 1867	31 July 1867	29 Aug 1867	28 Sept 1867	27 Oct 1867	26 Nov 1867	26 Dec 1867	
20 July 1868	18 Aug 1868	16 Sept 1868	16 Oct 1868	14 Nov 1868	14 Dec 1868	13 Jan 1869	22 May 1868
9 July 1869	8 Aug 1869	6 Sept 1869	5 Oct 1869	4 Nov 1869	3 Dec 1869	2 Jan 1870	
29 June 1870	28 July 1870	27 Aug 1870	25 Sept 1870	25 Oct 1870	22 Dec 1870	21 Jan 1871	23 Nov 1870
18 July 1871	16 Aug 1871	15 Sept 1871	14 Oct 1871	13 Nov 1871	12 Dec 1871	10 Jan 1872	
6 July 1872	4 Aug 1872	3 Sept 1872	3 Oct 1872	1 Nov 1872	1 Dec 1872	30 Dec 1872	

discontinue the system of lunar months, and to adopt in its stead the Gregorian December, 1872, the change to the new calendar was effected by leaving out of the 12th month of the 5th year of Meiji was called the 1st day of the 1st

[For the years 1873-1912, see pages 123-131.]



## SUPPLEMENT BY

Style and Year of Period.	Year after Japanese Era.	Year after Christian Era.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Meiji 明治</b>	<b>6</b>	1873	29 Jan 1873	27 Feb 1873	27 Mar 1873	27 Apr 1873	26 May 1873
"	<b>7</b>	1874	17 Feb 1874	13 Mar 1874	13 Apr 1874	13 May 1874	14 June 1874
"	<b>8</b>	1875	6 Feb 1875	3 Mar 1875	3 Apr 1875	3 May 1875	4 June 1875
"	<b>9</b>	1876	20 Jan 1876	1 Feb 1876	1 Mar 1876	21 Apr 1876	24 May 1876*
"	<b>10</b>	1877	12 Feb 1877	15 Mar 1877	14 Apr 1877	14 May 1877	11 June 1877
"	<b>11</b>	1878	2 Feb 1878	4 Mar 1878	3 Apr 1878	3 May 1878	1 June 1878
"	<b>12</b>	1879	1 Jan 1879	23 Feb 1879	23 Mar 1879	24 Apr 1879	24 June 1879
"	<b>13</b>	1880	19 Feb 1880	21 Mar 1880	20 Apr 1880	20 May 1880	8 June 1880
"	<b>14</b>	1881	10 Feb 1881	25 Feb 1881	25 Mar 1881	28 Apr 1881	28 May 1881
"	<b>15</b>	1882	18 Feb 1882	19 Mar 1882	18 Apr 1882	17 May 1882	16 June 1882
"	<b>16</b>	1883	8 Feb 1883	9 Mar 1883	7 Apr 1883	7 May 1883	5 June 1883
"	<b>17</b>	1884	21 Jan 1884	27 Feb 1884	27 Mar 1884	23 Apr 1884	25 May 1884*
"	<b>18</b>	1885	15 Feb 1885	17 Mar 1885	15 Apr 1885	15 May 1885	13 June 1885
"	<b>19</b>	1886	4 Feb 1886	6 Mar 1886	4 Apr 1886	4 May 1886	2 June 1886
"	<b>20</b>	1887	24 Jan 1887	23 Feb 1887	25 Mar 1887	23 Apr 1887	21 June 1887
"	<b>21</b>	1888	12 Feb 1888	13 Mar 1888	11 Apr 1888	11 May 1888	10 June 1888
"	<b>22</b>	1889	31 Jan 1889	2 Mar 1889	1 Mar 1889	30 Apr 1889	29 May 1889
"	<b>23</b>	1890	19 Feb 1890	21 Mar 1890	19 Apr 1890	19 May 1890	17 June 1890
"	<b>24</b>	1891	9 Feb 1891	10 Mar 1891	9 Apr 1891	8 May 1891	7 June 1891
"	<b>25</b>	1892	9 Jan 1892	18 Feb 1892	18 Mar 1892	17 Apr 1892	26 May 1892
"	<b>26</b>	1893	17 Feb 1893	18 Mar 1893	16 Apr 1893	16 May 1893	14 June 1893
"	<b>27</b>	1894	6 Feb 1894	7 Mar 1894	6 Apr 1894	5 May 1894	4 June 1894
"	<b>28</b>	1895	26 Jan 1895	7 Feb 1895	26 Mar 1895	25 Apr 1895	21 May 1895
"	<b>29</b>	1896	14 Feb 1896	14 Mar 1896	13 Apr 1896	13 May 1896	11 June 1896
"	<b>30</b>	1897	2 Feb 1897	3 Mar 1897	2 Apr 1897	2 May 1897	31 May 1897
"	<b>31</b>	1898	22 Jan 1898	21 Feb 1898	22 Mar 1898	20 May 1898	19 June 1898
"	<b>32</b>	1899	16 Feb 1899	12 Mar 1899	16 Apr 1899	15 May 1899	8 June 1899
"	<b>33</b>	1900	1 Jan 1900	1 Mar 1900	31 Mar 1900	29 Apr 1900	28 May 1900
"	<b>34</b>	1901	19 Feb 1901	19 Mar 1901	17 Apr 1901	18 May 1901	16 June 1901
"	<b>35</b>	1902	8 Feb 1902	16 Mar 1902	8 Apr 1902	8 May 1902	6 June 1902

# PROFESSOR N. SAKUMA.

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Interc: Month.
25 June 1873*	23 Aug 1873	22 Sept 1873	21 Oct 1873	20 Nov 1873	20 Dec 1873	18 Jan 1874	24 July 1873
14 July 1874	12 Aug 1874	11 Sept 1874	10 Oct 1874	9 Nov 1874	9 Dec 1874	8 Jan 1875	
3 July 1875	1 Aug 1875	31 Aug 1875	29 Sept 1875	29 Oct 1875	28 Nov 1875	28 Dec 1875	
21 July 1876	19 Aug 1876	18 Sept 1876	17 Oct 1876	16 Nov 1876	16 Dec 1876	14 Jan 1877	22 June 1876
11 July 1877	9 Aug 1877	7 Sept 1877	7 Oct 1877	5 Nov 1877	5 Dec 1877	3 Jan 1878	
30 June 1878	30 July 1878	28 Aug 1878	26 Sept 1878	26 Oct 1878	24 Nov 1878	24 Dec 1878	
19 July 1879	18 Aug 1879	16 Sept 1879	16 Oct 1879	14 Nov 1879	13 Dec 1879	12 Jan 1880	21 Apr 1879
7 July 1880	6 Aug 1880	5 Sept 1880	4 Oct 1880	3 Nov 1880	2 Dec 1880	31 Dec 1880	
26 June 1881	26 July 1881*	23 Sept 1881	23 Oct 1881	22 Nov 1881	21 Dec 1881	20 Jan 1882	25 Aug 1881
15 July 1882	14 Aug 1882	12 Sept 1882	12 Oct 1882	11 Nov 1882	11 Dec 1882	9 Jan 1883	
5 July 1883	3 Aug 1883	1 Sept 1883	1 Oct 1883	31 Oct 1883	30 Nov 1883	29 Dec 1883	
22 July 1884	21 Aug 1884	19 Sept 1884	19 Oct 1884	18 Nov 1884	17 Dec 1884	16 Jan 1885	23 June 1884
12 July 1885	10 Aug 1885	9 Sept 1885	8 Oct 1885	7 Nov 1885	6 Dec 1885	5 Jan 1886	
2 July 1886	31 July 1886	29 Aug 1886	28 Sept 1886	27 Oct 1886	26 Nov 1886	25 Dec 1886	
21 July 1887	19 Aug 1887	17 Sept 1887	17 Oct 1887	15 Nov 1887	15 Dec 1887	13 Jan 1888	23 May 1887
9 July 1888	8 Aug 1888	6 Sept 1888	5 Oct 1888	4 Nov 1888	3 Dec 1888	2 Jan 1889	
28 June 1889	28 July 1889	26 Aug 1889	25 Sept 1889	24 Oct 1889	23 Nov 1889	22 Dec 1889*	21 Jan 1890
17 July 1890	16 Aug 1890	14 Sept 1890	14 Oct 1890	12 Nov 1890	12 Dec 1890	11 Jan 1891	
6 July 1891	5 Aug 1891	3 Sept 1891	3 Oct 1891	2 Nov 1891	1 Dec 1891	31 Dec 1891	
24 June 1892	22 Aug 1892	21 Sept 1892	21 Oct 1892	19 Nov 1892	19 Dec 1892	18 Jan 1893	24 July 1892
13 July 1893	12 Aug 1893	10 Sept 1893	10 Oct 1893	8 Nov 1893	8 Dec 1893	7 Jan 1894	
3 July 1894	1 Aug 1894	31 Aug 1894	29 Sept 1894	29 Oct 1894	27 Nov 1894	27 Dec 1894	
22 July 1895	20 Aug 1895	19 Sept 1895	18 Oct 1895	17 Nov 1895	16 Dec 1895	15 Jan 1896	23 June 1895
11 July 1896	9 Aug 1896	7 Sept 1896	7 Oct 1896	5 Nov 1896	5 Dec 1896	3 Jan 1897	
30 June 1897	30 July 1897	28 Aug 1897	26 Sept 1897	26 Oct 1897	24 Nov 1897	24 Dec 1897	
19 July 1898	17 Aug 1898	16 Sept 1898	15 Oct 1898	14 Nov 1898	13 Dec 1898	12 Jan 1899	21 Apr 1898
8 July 1899	6 Aug 1899	5 Sept 1899	5 Oct 1899	3 Nov 1899	3 Dec 1899	1 Jan 1900	
27 June 1900	26 July 1900	25 Aug 1900*	23 Oct 1900	22 Nov 1900	22 Dec 1900	20 Jan 1901	24 Sept 1900
6 July 1901	14 Aug 1901	13 Sept 1901	12 Oct 1901	11 Nov 1901	11 Dec 1901	10 Jan 1902	
5 July 1902	4 Aug 1902	2 Sept 1902	2 Oct 1902	31 Oct 1902	30 Nov 1902	30 Dec 1902	

Style and Year of Period.	Year after Jimmu Tennō.	Year by Cycle.	1st Day of 1st Month.	1st Day of 2nd Month.	1st Day of 3rd Month.	1st Day of 4th Month.	1st Day of 5th Month.
<b>Mei-ji 明治 36</b>	2563	40	29 Jan 1903	27 Feb 1903	29 Mar 1903	27 Apr 1903	27 May 1903*
” <b>37</b>	2564	41	16 Feb 1904	17 Mar 1904	16 Apr 1904	15 May 1904	14 June 1904
” <b>38</b>	2565	42	4 Feb 1905	6 Mar 1905	5 Apr 1905	5 May 1905	3 June 1905
” <b>39</b>	2566	43	25 Jan 1906	23 Feb 1906	25 Mar 1906	24 Apr 1906*	22 June 1906
” <b>40</b>	2567	44	13 Feb 1907	14 Mar 1907	13 Apr 1907	12 May 1907	11 June 1907
” <b>41</b>	2568	45	2 Feb 1908	3 Mar 1908	1 Apr 1908	1 May 1908	30 May 1908
” <b>42</b>	2569	46	22 Jan 1909	20 Feb 1909*	20 Apr 1909	19 May 1909	18 June 1909
” <b>43</b>	2570	47	10 Feb 1910	11 Mar 1910	10 Apr 1910	9 May 1910	7 June 1910
” <b>44</b>	2571	48	30 Jan 1911	1 Mar 1911	30 Mar 1911	29 Apr 1911	28 May 1911
” <b>45</b>	2572	49	18 Feb 1912	19 Mar 1912	17 Apr 1912	17 May 1912	15 June 1912

1st Day of 6th Month.	1st Day of 7th Month.	1st Day of 8th Month.	1st Day of 9th Month.	1st Day of 10th Month.	1st Day of 11th Month.	1st Day of 12th Month.	1st Day of Inter: Month.
24 July 1903	23 Aug 1903	21 Sept 1903	21 Oct 1903	19 Nov 1903	19 Dec 1903	18 Jan 1904	25 June 1903
13 July 1904	11 Aug 1904	10 Sept 1904	9 Oct 1904	8 Nov 1904	7 Dec 1904	6 Jan 1905	
3 July 1905	1 Aug 1905	30 Aug 1905	29 Sept 1905	28 Oct 1905	27 Nov 1905	26 Dec 1905	
21 July 1906	20 Aug 1906	18 Sept 1906	18 Oct 1906	16 Nov 1906	16 Dec 1906	14 Jan 1907	23 May 1906
11 July 1907	9 Aug 1907	8 Sept 1907	7 Oct 1907	6 Nov 1907	5 Dec 1907	4 Jan 1908	
29 June 1908	28 July 1908	27 Aug 1908	25 Sept 1908	25 Oct 1908	24 Nov 1908	23 Dec 1908	
17 July 1909	16 Aug 1909	15 Sept 1909	14 Oct 1909	13 Nov 1909	13 Dec 1909	11 Jan 1910	22 Mar 1909
7 July 1910	5 Aug 1910	4 Sept 1910	3 Oct 1910	2 Nov 1910	2 Dec 1910	1 Jan 1911	
26 June 1911	24 Aug 1911	22 Sept 1911	22 Oct 1911	21 Nov 1911	21 Dec 1911	19 Jan 1912	26 July 1911
14 July 1912	13 Aug 1912	11 Sept 1912	10 Oct 1912	9 Nov 1912	9 Dec 1912	7 Jan 1913	



**COMPARATIVE  
CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES**

of

**The Christian Era,  
Japanese Eras and Emperors,  
Chinese Emperors and Eras,  
and Korean Kings,**

with

**Years of the Sexagenary Cycles,  
from 660 B.C. to 1910 A.D.**

By

**ERNEST W. CLEMENT, A.M.**

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.†	Chinese Emperor.
BC.				[Chow 周, or Shū, Dynasty.]
660	1	Jim-mu 神武	1	58 Hwei Wang 惠王 Kei-ō 17
659	2		2	59 18
658	3		3	60 19
657	4		4	1 20
656	5		5	2 21
655	6		6	3 22
654	7		7	4 23
653	8		8	5 24
652	9		9	6 25
651	10		10	7 Siang Wang 襄王 Jō-ō 1
650	11		11	8 2
649	12		12	9 3
648	13		13	10 4
647	14		14	11 5
646	15		15	12 6
645	16		16	13 7
644	17		17	14 8
643	18		18	15 9
642	19		19	16 10
641	20		20	17 11
640	21		21	18 12
639	22		22	19 13
638	23		23	20 14
637	24		24	21 15
636	25		25	22 16
635	26		26	23 17
634	27		27	24 18
633	28		28	25 19
632	29		29	26 20
631	30		30	27 21

\* Concerning the value of these dates, see Introduction and Preface.

† See pp. 5-11.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.						
630	31	Jim-mu 神武	31	28	Siang Wang 襄王 Jō-ō	22
629	32		32	29		23
628	33		33	30		24
627	34		34	31		25
626	35		35	32		26
625	36		36	33		27
624	37		37	34		28
623	38		38	35		29
622	39		39	36		30
621	40		40	37		31
620	41		41	38		32
619	42		42	39		33
618	43		43	40	K'ing Wang 頃王 Kō-ō	1
617	44		44	41		2
616	45		45	42		3
615	46		46	43		4
614	47		47	44		5
613	48		48	45		6
612	49		49	46	K'wang Wang 匡王 Kyō-ō	1
611	50		50	47		2
610	51		51	48		3
609	52		52	49		4
608	53		53	50		5
607	54		54	51		6
606	55		55	52	Ting Wang 定王 Tei-ō	1
605	56		56	53		2
604	57		57	54		3
603	58		58	55		4
602	59		59	56		5
601	60		60	57		6

\* See note on p. 134.



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.						
600	61	Jim-mu 神武	61	58	Ting Wang 定王 Tei-o	7
599	62		62	59		8
598	63		63	60		9
597	64		64	1		10
596	65		65	2		11
595	66		66	3		12
594	67		67	4		13
593	68		68	5		14
592	69		69	6		15
591	70		70	7		16
590	71		71	8		17
589	72		72	9		18
588	73		73	10		19
587	74		74	11		20
586	75		75	12		21
585	76		76	13	Kien Wang 簡王 Kan-o	1
584	77		77	14		2
583	78		78	15		3
582	79		79	16		4
581	80	Sui-sei 綏靖	80	17		5
580	81		81	18		6
579	82		82	19		7
578	83		83	20		8
577	84		84	21		9
576	85		85	22		10
575	86		86	23		11
574	87		87	24		12
573	88		88	25		13
572	89		89	26		14
571	90		90	27	Ling Wang 靈王 Rei-o	1

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.					Ling Wang 靈王	
570	91	Saisei 綏靖	12	28	Rei-ō	2
569	92		13	29		3
568	93		14	30		4
567	94		15	31		5
566	95		16	32		6
565	96		17	33		7
564	97		18	34		8
563	98		19	35		9
562	99		20	36		10
561	100		21	37		11
560	101		22	38		12
559	102		23	39		13
558	103		24	40		14
557	104		25	41		15
556	105		26	42		16
555	106		27	43		17
554	107		28	44		18
553	108		29	45		19
552	109		30	46		20
551	110		31	47		21
550	111		32	48		22
549	112		33	49		23
548	113	An-nei 安寧	1	50		24
547	114		2	51		25
546	115		3	52		26
545	116		4	53		27
544	117		5	54	King Wang 景王 Kei-ō	1
543	118		6	55		2
542	119		7	56		3
541	120		8	57		4

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.					King Wang 景王 Kei-o	
540	121	An-nei 安寧	9	58		5
539	122		10	59 ✓		6
538	123		11	60		7
537	124		12	1		8
536	125		13	2		9
535	126		14	3		10
534	127		15	4		11
533	128		16	5		12
532	129		17	6		13
531	130		18	7		14
530	131		19	8		15
529	132		20	9		16
528	133		21	10		17
527	134		22	11		18
526	135		23	12		19
525	136		24	13		20
524	137		25	14		21
523	138		26	15		22
522	139		27	16		23
521	140		28	17		24
520	141		29	18		25
519	142		30	19	King Wang 敬王 Kei-o	1
518	143		31	20		2
517	144		32	21		3
516	145		33	22		4
515	146		34	23		5
514	147		35	24		6
513	148		36	25		7
512	149		37	26		8
511	150		38	27		9

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle	Chinese Emperor.
B.C.				King Wang 敬王 Kei-ō
510	151	I-toku 懿德	1	28
509	152		2	29
508	153		3	30
507	154		4	31
506	155		5	32
505	156		6	33
504	157		7	34
503	158		8	35
502	159		9	36
501	160		10	37
500	161		11	38
499	162		12	39
498	163		13	40
497	164		14	41
496	165		15	42
495	166		16	43
494	167		17	44
493	168		18	45
492	169		19	46
491	170		20	47
490	171		21	48
489	172		22	49
488	173		23	50
487	174		24	51
486	175		25	52
485	176		26	53
484	177		27	54
483	178		28	55
482	179		29	56
481	180		30	57

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emper.†	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.					
480	181	I-toku 懿德	31	King Wang 敬王 Kei-ō	40
479	182		32		41
478	183		33		42
477	184		34		43
476	185		...		44
475	186	Kō-shō 孝昭	1	Yuan Wang 元王 Gen-ō	1
474	187		2		2
473	188		3		3
472	189		4		4
471	190		5		5
470	191		6		6
469	192		7		7
468	193		8	Chen-ting 貞定 Tei-jō	1
467	194		9		2
466	195		10		3
465	196		11		4
464	197		12		5
463	198		13		6
462	199		14		7
461	200		15		8
460	201		16		9
459	202		17		10
458	203		18		11
457	204		19		12
456	205		20		13
455	206		21		14
454	207		22		15
453	208		23		16
452	209		24		17
451	210		25		18

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era. <sup>a</sup>	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.				Chên Ting 貞定	
450	211	Kō-shō 孝昭	26	Tei-jō	19
449	212		27		20
448	213		28		21
447	214		29		22
446	215		30		23
445	216		31		24
444	217		32		25
443	218		33		26
442	219		34		27
441	220		35	Ngai 哀王 Ai-ō	1
440	221		36	Ssu 思王 Chū-ō	1
439	222		37	K'ao Wang 考王 Kō-ō	2
438	223		38		3
437	224		39		4
436	225		40		5
435	226		41		6
434	227		42		7
433	228		43		8
432	229		44		9
431	230		45		10
430	231		46		11
429	232		47		12
428	233		48		13
427	234		49		14
426	235		50		15
425	236		51	Wei Lieh Wang 威烈王 I-retsū-ō	1
424	237		52		2
423	238		53		3
422	239		54		4
421	240		55		5

<sup>a</sup> See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese *Era.	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.
B.C.				
420	241	Kō-shō 孝昭	56	Wei Lieh Wang 威烈王 I-setsu-ō 6
419	242		57	7
418	243		58	60 8
417	244		59	1 9
416	245		60	2 10
415	246		61	3 11
414	247		62	4 12
413	248		63	5 13
412	249		64	6 14
411	250		65	7 15
410	251		66	8 16
409	252		67	9 17
408	253		68	10 18
407	254		69	11 19
406	255		70	12 20
405	256		71	13 21
404	257		72	14 22
403	258		73	15 23
402	259		74	16 24
401	260		75	Ngan Wang 安王 An-ō 1
400	261		76	18 2
399	262		77	19 3
398	263		78	20 4
397	264		79	21 5
396	265		80	22 6
395	266		81	23 7
394	267		82	24 8
393	268		83	25 9
392	269	Kō-an 孝安	1	26 10
391	270		2	27 11

\* See note on p. 151.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.
B.C.				
390	271	Kō-an 孝安	3 28	Ngan Wang 安王 An-ō 12
389	272		4 29	13
388	273		5 30	14
387	274		6 31	15
386	275		7 32	16
385	276		8 33	17
384	277		9 34	18
383	278		10 35	19
382	279		11 36	20
381	280		12 37	21
380	281		13 38	22
379	282		14 39	23
378	283		15 40	24
377	284		16 41	25
376	285		17 42	26
375	286		18 43	Lieh Wang 烈王 Retsu-ō 1
374	287		19 44	2
373	288		20 45	3
372	289		21 46	4
371	290		22 47	5
370	291		23 48	6
369	292		24 49	7
368	293		25 50	Hien Wang 顯王 Ken-ō 1
367	294		26 51	2
366	295		27 52	3
365	296		28 53	4
364	297		29 54	5
363	298		30 55	6
362	299		31 56	7
361	300		32 57	8

\* See note on p. 134.



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era. <sup>‡</sup>	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.
B.C.				Hien Wang 顯王
360	301	Kō-an 孝安	33	Ken-ō 9
359	302		34	10
358	303		35	11
357	304		36	12
356	305		37	13
355	306		38	14
354	307		39	15
353	308		40	16
352	309		41	17
351	310		42	18
350	311		43	19
349	312		44	20
348	313		45	21
347	314		46	22
346	315		47	23
345	316		48	24
344	317		49	25
343	318		50	26
342	319		51	27
341	320		52	28
340	321		53	29
339	322		54	30
338	323		55	31
337	324		56	32
336	325		57	33
335	326		58	34
334	327		59	35
333	328		60	36
332	329		61	37
331	330		62	38

<sup>‡</sup> See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.
B.C.				
330	331	Kō-an 孝安	63 28	Hien Wang 顯王 Ken-ō 39
329	332		64 29	40
328	333		65 30	41
327	334		66 31	42
326	335		67 32	43
325	336		68 33	44
324	337		69 34	45
323	338		70 35	46
322	339		71 36	47
321	340		72 37	48
320	341		73 38	Shên Tsing Wang 慎親王 Shin-sei-ō 1
319	342		74 39	2
318	343		75 40	3
317	344		76 41	4
316	345		77 42	5
315	346		78 43	6
314	347		79 44	Nan Wang 赧王 Tan-ō 1
313	348		80 45	2
312	349		81 46	3
311	350		82 47	4
310	351		83 48	5
309	352		84 49	6
308	353		85 50	7
307	354		86 51	8
306	355		87 52	9
305	356		88 53	10
304	357		89 54	11
303	358		90 55	12
302	359		91 56	13
301	360		92 57	14

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.				Nan Wang 赧王 Tan-ō	
300	361	Kō-an 孝安	93	58	15
299	362		94	59	16
298	363		95	60	17
297	364		96	1	18
296	365		97	2	19
295	366		98	3	20
294	367		99	4	21
293	368		100	5	22
292	369		101	6	23
291	370		102	7	24
290	371	Kō-rei 孝靈	1	8	25
289	372		2	9	26
288	373		3	10	27
287	374		4	11	28
286	375		5	12	29
285	376		6	13	30
284	377		7	14	31
283	378		8	15	32
282	379		9	16	33
281	380		10	17	34
280	381		11	18	35
279	382		12	19	36
278	383		13	20	37
277	384		14	21	38
276	385		15	22	39
275	386		16	23	40
274	387		17	24	41
273	388		18	25	42
272	389		19	26	43
271	390		20	27	44

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.
B.C.				
270	391	Kō-rei 孝靈 21	28	Nan Wang 赧王 Tan-ō 45
269	392	22	29	46
268	393	23	30	47
267	394	24	31	48
266	395	25	32	49
265	396	26	33	50
264	397	27	34	51
263	398	28	35	52
262	399	29	36	53
261	400	30	37	54
260	401	31	38	55
259	402	32	39	56
258	403	33	40	57
257	404	34	41	58
256	405	35	42	59
255	406	36	43	†Hwei Kung 惠公 Kei-kō 1
254	407	37	44	2
253	408	38	45	3
252	409	39	46	4
251	410	40	47	5
250	411	41	48	[Ts'in 秦, or Shin, 6 Dynasty.]
249	412	42	49	Chwang Siang Wang 1
248	413	43	50	莊襄王 Sō-jō-ō 2
247	414	44	51	[Posterior Ts'in 後秦, 3 or Shin, Dynasty.]
246	415	45	52	Shih Hwang Ti 1
245	416	46	53	始皇帝 Shi-kō-tei 2
244	417	47	54	3
243	418	48	55	4
242	419	49	56	5
241	420	50	57	6

\* See note on p. 134. † Tang Chow Chün 東周君 Tō-shū-kun.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.					Shih Hwang Ti 始皇帝 Shi-kō-tei	7
240	421	Kō-rei 孝靈	51	58		8
239	422		52	59		9
238	423		53	60		10
237	424		54	1		11
236	425		55	2		12
235	426		56	3		13
234	427		57	4		14
233	428		58	5		15
232	429		59	6		16
231	430		60	7		17
230	431		61	8		18
229	432		62	9		19
228	433		63	10		20
227	434		64	11		21
226	435		65	12		22
225	436		66	13		23
224	437		67	14		24
223	438		68	15		25
222	439		69	16		26
221	440		70	17		27
220	441		71	18		28
219	442		72	19		29
218	443		73	20		30
217	444		74	21		31
216	445		75	22		32
215	446		76	23		33
214	447	Kō-gen 孝元	1	24		34
213	448		2	25		35
212	449		3	26		36
211	450		4	27		

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	
B.C.					
210	451	Kō-gen 孝元	5	Shih Hwang Ti 始皇帝 Shi-kō-tei 37	
209	452		6	Urh Shi Hwang Ti 二世皇帝 Ni-sei-kō-tei 1	
208	453		7		2
207	454		8	Sam Shi Hwang Ti 三世皇帝 San-sei-kō-tei 1	
206	455		9	[Han 漢, or Kan, Dynasty.] Kao Tsu 高祖 1	
205	456		10	Kō-so 2	
204	457		11		3
203	458		12		4
202	459		13		5
201	460		14		6
200	461		15		7
199	462		16		8
198	463		17		9
197	464		18		10
196	465		19		11
195	466		20		12
194	467		21	Hwei Ti 惠帝 Kei-tei 1	
193	468		22		2
192	469		23		3
191	470		24		4
190	471		25		5
189	472		26		6
188	473		27		7
187	474		28	Lü Shih 呂后 Ro-kō 1	
186	475		29		2
185	476		30		3
184	477		31		4
183	478		32		5
182	479		33		6
181	480		34		7

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.
B.C.					
189	481	Kō-gen 孝元	35	Lü Shih 呂后 Ro kō	8
179	482		36	Wên Ti 文帝 Bun-tei	1
178	483		37		Yüan Nien 元年 Gan-nen
177	484		38		1
176	485		39		2
175	486		40		3
174	487		41		4
173	488		42		5
172	489		43		6
171	490		44		7
170	491		45		8
169	492		46		9
168	493		47		10
167	494		48		11
166	495		49		12
165	496		50		13
164	497		51		14
163	498		52		15
162	499		53		16
161	500		54		17
160	501		55		18
159	502		56		19
158	503		57		20
157	504	Kai-kwa 開化	1		21
156	505		2		22
155	506		3	King Ti 景帝 Kei-tei	1
154	507		4		Yuan Nien 元年 Gan-nen
153	508		5		2
152	509		6		3
151	510		7		4
			27		5
					6
					7

\* See note on p. 151.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.
B.C.					
150	511	Kai-kwa 開化	8	King Ti 景帝 Kei-tei	7
149	512		9		Chung Yüan 中元 Chū-gen 1
148	513		10		2
147	514		11		3
146	515		12		4
145	516		13		5
144	517		14		6
143	518		15		How Yüan 後元 Kō-gen 1
142	519		16		2
141	520		17		3
140	521		18	Wu Ti 武帝 Bu-tei	1
139	522		19		Ken-gen 2
138	523		20		3
137	524		21		4
136	525		22		5
135	526		23		6
134	527		24		Yüan Kwang 元光 Gen-kō 1
133	528		25		2
132	529		26		3
131	530		27		4
130	531		28		5
129	532		29		6
128	533		30		Yüan So 元朔 Gen-saku 1
127	534		31		2
126	535		32		3
125	536		33		4
124	537		34		5
123	538		35		6
122	539		36		Yüan Show 元狩 Gen-shu 1
121	540		37		2

\* See note on p. 134.



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.		Chinese Emperor.		Chinese Nengō.	
B.C.								
120	541	Kai-kwa 開化	38	58	Wu Ti 武帝 Bu-tei	21	Yuan Show 元狩 Gen-shu	3
119	542		39	59		22		4
118	543		40	60		23		5
117	544		41	1		24		6
116	545		42	2		25	Yüan T'ing 元鼎 Gen-tei	1
115	546		43	3		26		2
114	547		44	4		27		3
113	548		45	5		28		4
112	549		46	6		29		5
111	550		47	7		30		6
110	551		48	8		31	Yüan Fêng 元封 Gen-ho	1
109	552		49	9		32		2
108	553		50	10		33		3
107	554		51	11		34		4
106	555		52	12		35		5
105	556		53	13		36		6
104	557		54	14		37	T'ai Ch'ü 太初 Tai-sho	1
103	558		55	15		38		2
102	559		56	16		39		3
101	560		57	17		40		4
100	561		58	18		41	T'ien Han 天漢 Ten-kan	1
99	562		59	19		42		2
98	563		60	20		43		3
97	564	Su-jin 崇神	1	21		44		4
96	565		2	22		45	T'ai Shih 太始 Tai-shi	1
95	566		3	23		46		2
94	567		4	24		47		3
93	568		5	25		48		4
92	569		6	26		49	Chêng Ho 征和 Sei-wa	1
91	570		7	27		50		2

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.†	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.
B.C.					
90	571	Su-jin 崇神	8 28	Wu Ti 武帝 Bu-tei 51	Cheug Ho 征和 Sei-wa 3
89	572		9 29		4
88	573		10 30		How Yüan 後元 Kō-gen 1
87	574		11 31		2
86	575		12 32	Chao Ti 昭帝 Shō-tei 1	Shih Yüan 始元 Shi-gen 1
85	576		13 33		2
84	577		14 34		3
83	578		15 35		4
82	579		16 36		5
81	580		17 37		6
80	581		18 38		Yüan Fên 元鳳 Gen-hō 1
79	582		19 39		2
78	583		20 40		3
77	584		21 41		4
76	585		22 42		5
75	586		23 43		6
74	587		24 44		Yüan P'ing 元平 Gen-hei 1
73	588		25 45	Suan Ti 宣帝 Sei-tei 1	Pên Shih 本始 Hon-shi 1
72	589		26 46		2
71	590		27 47		3
70	591		28 48		4
69	592		29 49		Ti Tsieh 地節 Chū-setsu 1
68	593		30 50		2
67	594		31 51		3
66	595		32 52		4
65	596		33 53		Yüan K'ang 元康 Gen-kō 1
64	597		34 54		2
63	598		35 55		3
62	599		36 56		Shên Tsio 神爵 Shin-haku 4
61	600		37 57		1

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris-Japan- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la† Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Korean Kihō. Ko-ko-ryō, ‡ Ko-ko-ri (Ko-ma) 高句麗	Pak-chyōi, † Ku-dara 百濟
B.C.							
60	601 Su-jin 崇神	38	Suan Ti 宣帝 Sen-tei	Shen Tsio 神武 Shin-shaku	2		
59	602	39			3		
58	603	40			4		
57	604	41		Wu Feng 五風 Go-hō	1	Pak-hyōk-ko-syōi 朴居世 朴- kakun-kyo-sei	
56	605	42			2		
55	606	43			3		
54	607	44			4		
53	608	45		Kan In 甘露 Kan-ro	1		
52	609	46			2		
51	610	47			3		
50	611	48			4		
49	612	49		Hwang Lang 黃龍 Kō-ryō	1		
48	613	50	Yuan Ti 元帝 Gen-tei	Chu Yuan 初元 Sho-gen	1		
47	614	51			2		
		52			3		
46	615	53			4		
45	616	54			5		
44	617	55		Yung Kwang 永光 Ei-kō	1		
43	618	56			2		
42	619	57			3		
41	620						

† Name of country. ‡ Or Ko-gr-ryu. ° Or Pak-che.

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Pak-hyok-ko-syōi 朴赫居世 Bok- kaku-kyo-sei 18	Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Sil-la.	Korean King, Ko-ku-ryō, Ko-ku-ri (Ko-nu) 高句麗	Pak-chyōi. Kudara 百濟
D.C.				Yüan Ti 元帝 Gen-tei	Yung Kwang 永光 Bi-ko	4				
40	621	Sui-jin 崇神	58	18		5				
39	622		59	19		10				
38	623		60	20	Kien Chiao 建昭 Ken-sho	1				
37	624		61	21		2				
36	625		62	22		3				
35	626		63	23		4				
34	627		64	24		5				
33	628		65	25	King Ning 寧寧 Kyo-nei	1				
32	629		66	26	Kien Shih 建始 Ken-shi	1				
31	630		67	27		2				
30	631		68	28		3				
29	632	Sui-nin 垂仁	1	29		4				
28	633		2	30	Ho Ping 河平 Ka-hei	1				
27	634		3	31		2				
26	635		4	32		3				
25	636		5	33		4				
24	637		6	34	Yang So 陽朔 Yo-saku	1				
23	638		7	35		2				
22	639		8	36		3				
21	640		9	37		4				

\* See note on p. 134.



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la. Shi-ra-gi. 新羅	Ko-ku-ryō. Ko-ku-ri (Ko-ma) 高句麗	Pak-cho-yōi. Ku-dara 百濟
A.D.				Ping Ti 平帝 Het-tei	Yuan Shih 元始 (Ger-shi)	Pak-cho-yōi 新羅 kaku-kyō-aei 58	Yuri-oang 耶留王 Ru-ri-o 20	On-cho-oang 溫祚王 (扶餘) On-so-o (Yu-yo) 19
1	661	Sui-min 聖仁	58		1			20
2	662		59		2		59	21
3	663		60		3	Pak-nam-hū	60	22
4	664		61		4	扶南解 Boku-nam-kai	1	23
5	665		62		5		2	24
6	666		63	Pu Te' Ying 盤子璽 Ju-shi-ci	Kū Shé 居瑟 Kyō-sei		3	25
7	667		64		6		4	26
8	668		65		7		5	27
9	669		66	Wang Mang 王莽 O-mō	Shih Kien Kwo 始建國		6	28
10	670		67		8		7	29
11	671		68		9		8	30
12	672		69		10		9	31
13	673		70		11		10	32
14	674		71		12	T'ien Feng 天鳳 Ten-hō	11	33
15	675		72		13		12	34
16	676		73		14		13	35
17	677		74		15		14	36
18	678		75		16		15	37
19	679		76		17		16	38
20	680		77		18		17	39

† Name of tribe.

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era. <sup>*</sup>	Japan- ese Era. <sup>*</sup>	Japanese Emperor. <sup>*</sup>	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la, Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Korean King. Ko-kuryō, Ko-kuri (Ko-ma) 高句麗	Pak-chwŏi, Ku-dara 百濟
A.D.						Pak-nam-hui 扶南解	Mu-shin-oang 武神王	On-cho-oang 淵祚王 (扶餘)
21	681	Su-nin 垂仁	50	Wang Mang 王莽 O-mō	Ti Hwang 地皇 Chi-ko	18	4	On-so-o (U-ryō) 139
22	682		51			19	5	40
23	683		52	Hwai Yang 王暉 Yang Jun-yo-o	Keng Shih 更始 Ko-shi	20	6	41
24	684		53	[The Eastern Han, To Kan 東漢, or Han, Dynasty.]		Pak-yu-ri 朴儒理 Boku-jun	7	42
25	685		54	Kwang Wu Ti 光武帝 Kō-hu-tei	Kien Wu 建武 Kem-hu	2	8	43
26	686		55			3	9	44
27	687		56			4	10	45
28	688		57			5	11	Tu-ern-oang 多婁王 Tu-rō-o
29	689		58			6	12	2
30	690		59			7	13	3
31	691		60			8	14	4
32	692		61			9	15	5
33	693		62			10	16	6
34	694		63			11	17	7
35	695		64			12	18	8
36	696		65			13	19	9
37	697		66			14	20	10
38	698		67			15	21	11
39	699		68			16	22	12
40	700		69			17	23	13

† Name of tribe.

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.		
						Sil-la. Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Ko-ku-ryo. Ko-ku-ri (Ko-na) 高句麗	Paiik-chiyōi. Ku-dara 百濟
A.D.				Kwang Wu Ti 光武帝	Kien Wu 建武 Kem-hu	Pak-yu-ri 朴祖理 Hoku-ju-ri	Mu-sin-ang 武祗王 Mu-shin-ō	Ta-ru-oang 多婁王 Ta-ro-ō
41	701	Sui-nin 垂仁	70	17	17	18	19	14
42	702		71	18	18	19	20	15
43	703		72	19	19	20	21	16
44	704		73	20	20	21	22	17
45	705		74	21	21	22	23	18
46	706		75	22	22	23	24	19
47	707		76	23	23	24	25	20
48	708		77	24	24	25	26	21
49	709		78	25	25	26	27	22
50	710		79	26	26	27	28	23
51	711		80	27	27	28	29	24
52	712		81	28	28	29	30	25
53	713		82	29	29	30	31	26
54	714		83	30	30	31	32	27
55	715		84	31	31	32	33	28
56	716		85	32	32	33	34	29
57	717		86	33	33	34	35	30
58	718	Ming Ti 明帝 Mei-tei	87	1	1	2	3	31
59	719		88	2	2	3	4	32
60	720		89	3	3	4	5	33

\* See note on p. 134.



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Shi-ra-gi 新羅 Sui-la. Syo-ke-shan-hui 官服解 Seki-dak-kai	Korean King. Ko-tu-ryo. Ko-ku-ri (Ko-nu) 高句麗 Thau-cho-ang 太祖王 Tai-so-w	Puk-chyol. Ku-dara 百濟 Ta-ru-ang 多婁王 Ta-ro-o
A.D.				Ming Ti 明帝 Mei-tei	Yung Ping 永平 Yi-hoi			
61	721	Sui-min 垂仁	58		4			9
62	722		59		5			10
63	723		60		6			11
64	724		61		7			12
65	725		62		8			13
66	726		63		9			14
67	727		64		10			15
68	728		65		11			16
69	729		66		12			17
70	730		67		13			18
71	731	Kei-ko 景行	68		14			19
72	732		69		15			20
73	733		70		16			21
74	734		71		17			22
75	735		72		18			23
76	736		73	Chang Ti 章帝 Sho-tei	Kien Chi 建初 Ken-sho			24
77	737		74		1			25
78	738		75		2			26
79	739		76		3			27
80	740		77		4			28
			78		5			
			79		6			
			80		7			
			81		8			
			82		9			
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			134		61			
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			293		220			
			294		221			
			295		222			
			296		223			

Chris- tian Era.*	Japan- ese Era.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.		
					Shi-lu. Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Ko-ku-ryō. Ko-ku-ri (Ko-ma) 高句麗	Palk-chyōi. Ku-dara 百濟
A.D.					Pak-pha-sa 朴婆 婆 Bokn-ha-sa	Thai-cho-oang 太祖王 Tat-so-o	Keni-ru-oang 己婁王 Ki-rō-o
81	741	11	Chang Ti 章帝 Shō-tei	Kien Ch'u 建初 Ken-cho	2	29	5
82	742	12			3	30	6
83	743	13			4	31	7
84	744	14		Yüan Ho 元和 Gen-na	5	32	8
85	745	15			6	33	9
86	746	16			7	34	10
87	747	17		Chang Ho 章和 Shō-wa	8	35	11
88	748	18			9	36	12
89	749	19	Ho Ti 和帝 Wa-tei	Yung Yüan 永元 Ei-gen	10	37	13
90	750	20			11	38	14
91	751	21			12	39	15
92	752	22			13	40	16
93	753	23			14	41	17
94	754	24			15	42	18
95	755	25			16	43	19
96	756	26			17	44	20
97	757	27			18	45	21
98	758	28			19	46	22
99	759	29			20	47	23
100	760	30			21	48	24

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Silla. Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Korean King. Ko-ku-ryō, Ko-ku-ri (Ko-ma) 高句麗	Palk-chyōi, Ku-dara 百濟
A.D.								
101	761	Kei-kō 景行	31	Ho Ti 和帝 Wa-tei	Yung Yün 永元 Er-gen 13	Pak-pa-sa 朴婆 Boku-ba-sa 22	太祖王 Tal-so-o 43	Keui-ra-oang 已婁王 Ki-rō-o 25
102	762		32		14	23	50	26
103	763		33		15	24	51	27
104	764		34		16	25	52	28
105	765		35		17	26	53	29
106	766		36	Shang Ti 殇帝 Sho-tei	Yün Hing 元興 1 Gen-ko	27	54	30
107	767		37	Ngan Ti 安帝 An-tei	Yen Ping 延平 1 En-pai	28	55	31
108	768		38		Yung Chū 永初 1 Er-sho 2	29	56	32
109	769		39		3	30	57	33
110	770		40		4	31	58	34
111	771		41		5	32	59	35
112	772		42		6	Pak-chi-ma 朴祗摩 1	60	36
113	773		43		7	Boku-shi-ma	61	37
114	774		44		8	Yüan Chūn 元初 Gen-sho 1	62	38
115	775		45		9	2	63	39
116	776		46		10	3	64	40
117	777		47		11	4	65	41
118	778		48		12	5	66	42
119	779		49		13	6	67	43
120	780		50		14	Yung Ning 永寧 Ei-nei 1	68	44

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era. <sup>x</sup>	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la. Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Korean King. Ko-kus-yo. Ko-ku-ri (Ko-ma) 高句麗	Pak-chyōi. Ku-dara 百濟
A.D.						Pak-chi-ma 朴祖麻	Thai-cho-ang 太祖王	Keni-ru-ang 己婁王 Ki-ro-gō
121	781	Kōi kō 景行	51	Ngan Ti 安帝 An-tai	15	10	69	45
122	782		52	16	Kien Kwang 建光 Ken-kō	11	70	46
123	783		53	17	Yen Kwang 延光 En-ko	12	71	47
124	784		54	18	3	13	72	48
125	785	Pe Hsiang 北鄉侯 Hoku-kyō-kō	55	1	4	14	73	49
126	786	Shun Yi 順帝 Jun-tai	56	1	Yung Kien 永建 Yi-ken	15	74	50
127	787		57	2	2	16	75	51
128	788		58	3	3	17	76	1
129	789		59	4	4	18	77	2
130	790		60	5	5	19	78	3
131	791	Kōi-nin 成務	1	6	6	20	79	4
132	792		2	7	Yang Kia 陽嘉 Yō-ka	21	80	5
133	793		3	8	2	22	81	6
134	794		4	9	3	23	82	7
135	795		5	10	4	24	83	8
136	796		6	11	Yung Ho 永和 Yi-wa	25	84	9
137	797		7	12	2	26	85	10
138	798		8	13	3	27	86	11
139	799		9	14	4	28	87	12
140	800		10	15	5	29	88	13

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.*	Japa- nese Era.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.				
					Sit-ta. Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Ko-ku-ryō. Ko-ku-ri (Ko-ma) 高句麗	Pailk-ehyōi. Ku-dara 百濟		
A.D.			Shang Ti 順帝 Jun-tei	Yung Ho 永和 Ei-wa	Pak-ir-ayōng 朴逸聖	Thai-cho-ang 太祖王	Kai-ru-ang 蓋婁王	14	
141	801 Sōtatsu 成務	11	16	6	8	Tai-so-ō	Kai-rō-ō	15	
142	802	12	17	1	9			16	
143	803	13	18	2	10			17	
144	804	14	19	1	11			18	
145	805	15	1	1	12			19	
146	806	16	1	1	13	Chai-tai-ang 次太王		20	
147	807	17	1	1	11			21	
148	808	18	2	2	15			22	
149	809	19	3	3	16			23	
150	810	20	4	1	17			24	
151	811	21	5	1	18			25	
152	812	22	6	2	19			26	
153	813	23	7	1	20			27	
154	814	24	8	2	1	Pak-a-tai-ta 朴阿豆提		28	
155	815	25	9	1	2	Boku-a-tatsa-ra 朴豆答羅		29	
156	816	26	10	2	3			30	
157	817	27	11	3	4			31	
158	818	28	12	1	5			32	
159	819	29	13	2	6			33	
160	820	30	14	3	7			15	

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la. Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Korean King. Ko-ku-ryo. Ko-ku-ri (Ko-na) 高句麗	Pak-cho-yoi. Ku-dara 百濟
A.D.						Pak-a-tal-la 朴阿達羅	Cha-tai-oang 次大王	
161	821	Sei-mu 成務	31	Hwan Ti 桓帝 Kan-tei	Yen Hi 延嘉 En-ki	4	16	34
162	822		32	33	5	9	17	35
163	823		33	34	6	10	18	36
164	824		34	35	7	11	19	37
165	825		35	36	8	12	Sin-tai-oang 新大王	38
166	826		36	37	9	13	Shin-dai-o	1
167	827		37	38	10	14	2	Chho-ko-oang 肖古王 Shō-ko-o
168	828		38	Ling Ti 靈帝 Lei-tei	Yung K'ang 永康 K'ai-kō Kien Ning 建寧 Ken-nei	15	3	3
169	829		39	40	2	16	4	4
170	830		40	41	3	17	5	5
171	831		41	42	4	18	6	6
172	832		42	43	5	19	7	7
173	833		43	44	6	20	8	8
174	834		44	45	7	21	9	9
175	835		45	46	8	22	10	10
176	836		46	47	9	23	11	11
177	837		47	48	10	24	12	12
178	838		48	49	11	25	13	13
179	839		49	50	12	26	Ko-kuk-ehlyōn- oang 故國川王	14
180	840		50	51	13	27	Ko-koku-sen-o	15

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.			
						Sil-la. Shi-ra-gi 新羅	Ko-ku-rō. Ko-ku-ri (Ko-ma) 高句麗	Pak-chyōi. Ka-dara 百濟	
A.D.				Ling Ti 靈帝 Rei-tei	Kwang Ho 光和 Ko-wa	Pak-a-tal-la 朴阿達羅	Ko-kuk-chhyōn- oang 故國川王	Chho-ko-oang 肖古天	16
181	841	Sei-mu 成務	58	14	4	Poku-a-talsu-ra 28	3	Shō-ko-o	17
182	842		59	15	5	29	4		18
183	843		60	16	6	30	5		19
184	844		1	17	Chang Ping 中平 Chū-hei	Syōk-por-hyu 曹代休	1		20
185	845		2	18		Seki-tak-kyū	2		21
186	846		3	19			3		22
187	847		4	20			4		23
188	848		5	21			5		24
189	849		6	Hung Nung 弘農 Kō-no			6		25
190	850		7	Ilien Ti 獻帝 Ken-tei	Ch'u Ping 初平 Sho-hei		7		26
191	851		8				8		27
192	852	Chū-ai 仲哀	9	2			9		28
193	853		10	3			10		29
194	854		11	4	Hing Ping 興平 Kō-hei		11		30
195	855		12	5			12		31
196	856		13	6	Kien Ngan 建安 Ken-an	Syōk-na-hai 曹奈解	1		32
197	857		14	7		Seki-na-kai	2		33
198	858		15	8			3	San-svang-oang 山上王 San-jō-o	34
199	859		16	9			4		35
200	860		17	10			5		

\* See note on p. 134.

[illegible]

\* See note on p. 134. † Empress Regent.



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor and Nengō.			
				Emperor.	Nengō.	Emperor.	Nengō.
A.D.				[Posterior Kan 後漢, or Han, Dynasty.]		[Wei 魏, or Gi, Dynasty.]	
221	881	Jin-gō 神功	21	38			
222	882		22	39			
223	883		23	40			
224	884		24	41			
225	885		25	42			
226	886		26	43			
227	887		27	44			
228	888		28	45			
229	889		29	46			
230	890		30	47			
231	891		31	48			
232	892		32	49			
233	893		33	50			
234	894		34	51			
235	895		35	52			
236	896		36	53			
237	897		37	54			
238	898		38	55			
239	899		39	56			
240	900		40	57			
241	901		41	58			
242	902		42	59			
243	903		43	60			
244	904		44	1			
245	905		45	2			
246	906		46	3			
247	907		47	4			
248	908		48	5			
249	909		49	6			
250	910		50	7			

\* See note on p. 134.

		Korean King.			
Emperor.	Nengō.	Sil-la.	Ko-ku-ryō.	Päik-chyōi.	
[Wu 吳, or Go, Dynasty.]					
		Syök-na-häi 昔奈解 Seki-na-kai	San-syang-oang 山上王 San-jō-ō	Ku-syu-oang 仇首王 Kyū-shu-ō	8
		26	24		
		27	25		9
		28	26		10
		29	27		11
		30	28		12
		31	29		13
		32	Tong-chhyōn-oang 東川王 Tō-sen-ō	1	14
		33		2	15
		34		3	16
Ta Ti 大帝 Tai-tei	Hwang Lung 黃龍 Kō-ryō	Syök-cho-pun 昔助賁 Seki-jo-fun		4	17
1	1	1		5	18
2	2	2		6	19
3	3	3		7	20
4	Kia Ho 嘉禾 Ka-kwa	1		8	1
5	2	4		9	2
6	3	5		10	3
7	4	6		11	4
8	5	7		12	5
9	6	8		13	6
10	Ch'ih Wu 赤烏 Seki-u	9		14	7
11	2	10		15	8
12	3	11		16	9
13	4	12		17	10
14	5	13		18	11
15	6	14		19	12
16	7	15		20	13
17	8	16		21	14
18	9	17			15
19	10	Syök-chhyōm-häi 昔沽解 Seki-ten-kai	1	1	16
20	11	2	Chung-chhyōm-oang 中川王 Chū-sen-ō	1	17
21	12	3		2	
22	13	4		3	

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor and Nengō.			
				Emperor.	Nengō.	Emperor.	Nengō.
A.D.				[Posterior Kan 後漢, or Han, Dynasty.]		[Wei 魏, or Gi, Dynasty.]	
251	911	Jin-gō 神功	51 8	How Ti 29 後帝 Kō-tei	Yen Hi 14 延熙 En-ki	Fei Ti 廢帝 Hai-tei 12	Kia Ping 嘉平 Ka-hei 3
252	912		52 9				
253	913		53 10				
254	914		54 11			Shao Ti 少帝 Shō-tei 1	Chêng Yüan 正元 Sei-gen 1
255	915		55 12				
256	916		56 13				Kan Lu 甘露 Kan-ro 1
257	917		57 14				
258	918		58 15		King Yao 景耀 Kei-yō 1		
259	919		59 16				
260	920		60 17			Sung Ti 宋帝 Sō-tei 1	King Yüan 景元 Kei-gen 1
261	921		61 18				
262	922		62 19		Yen Hi 炎熙 En-ki 1		
263	923		63 20				Hien Hi 咸熙 Kan-ki 1
264	924		64 21	[Tsin 晉, or Shin, Dynasty.]			
265	925		65 22	Wu Ti 武帝 Bu-tei 1	Tai Shih 泰始 Tai-shi 1		
266	926		66 23				
267	927		67 24				
268	928		68 25				
269	929		69 26				
270	930	Ō-jin 應仁	1 27				
271	931		2 28				
272	932		3 29				
273	933		4 30				
274	934		5 31				
275	935		6 32		Hien Ning 咸寧 Kan-nei 1		
276	936		7 33				
277	937		8 34				
278	938		9 35				
279	939		10 36		Tai K'ang 泰康 Tai-kō 1		
280	940		11 37				

\* See note on p. 134.

Korean King.				
Emperor.	Nen-gō.	Sil-la.	Ko-ku-ryō.	Päik-ehyōi.
[Wu 吳, or Go, Dynasty.]				
Ta Ti 大帝	T'ai Yüen	Syok-chhyom-häi	Chung-chhyön-oang	Ko-i-oang 古爾王
Tai-tei 23	太元 Tai-gen 1	昔德解 Seki-ten-kai 5	中川王 Chü-sen-ō 4	Ko-ji-ō 18
Fei Ti 廢帝	Kien Hing			
Hai-tei 1	建興 Ken-kō 1	6	5	19
	2	7	6	20
	3	8	7	21
	4	9	8	22
	5	10	9	23
	6	11	10	24
King Ti 景帝	Yung Ngan			
Kei-tei 1	永安 Ei-an 1	12	11	25
	2	13	12	26
	3	14	13	27
	4	15	14	28
	5	Keum-mi-chhu	15	29
	6	金味鄒 Kim-mi-shū 1	16	30
		2	17	31
Wei Ti 未帝	Yüan Hing			
Yō-tei 1	元興 Gen-kō 1	3	18	32
	Kan Lu	4	19	33
	甘露 Kan-ro 1	5	20	34
	2	6	21	35
	3	7	22	36
	4	8		
	5	9	Syō-chhyön-oang	
	6	10	西川王 Sei-sen-ō	
	7	11	1	37
	8	12	2	38
	9	13	3	39
	10	14	4	40
	11	15	5	41
	12	16	6	42
	13	17	7	43
	14	18	8	44
	15	19	9	45
	16		10	46
	17		11	47

Chris- tian Era.*	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Dynasty.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Päk-chyöi.
A.D.				[Tsun, or Shin, Dynasty.]				
281	941	Ö-jin 應仁	12	Wu Ti 武帝 Ba-tei	Tai-kö	Keum-mi-chhu 金球鄒 Kim-mi-shū	Syö-chhyön-oang 西川王 Set-sen-ö	Ko-i-oang 古爾王 Ko-jü-ö
282	942		13	17		20	12	48
283	943		14	18		21	13	49
284	944		15	19		22	14	50
285	945		16	20		1	15	51
286	946		17	21	Syök-yu-ryöi 昔儒禮 Seki-ju-rei	2	16	52
287	947		18	22		3	17	1
288	948		19	23		4	18	2
289	949		20	24		5	19	3
290	950		21	25	Yung Hsi 永熙 Ei-ki	6	20	4
291	951		22	1 Hwei Ti 惠帝 Kei-tei	Yüan K'ang 元康 Gen-kö	7	21	5
292	952		23	2		8	22	6
293	953		24	3		9	Pong-sväng-oang 絳王王 Ho-jö-ö	7
294	954		25	4		10	2	8
295	955		26	5		11	3	9
296	956		27	6		12	4	10
297	957		28	7		13	5	11
298	958		29	8		14	6	12
299	959		30	9	Syök-keni-rim 昔基臨 Seki-ki-rim	1	7	Pun-syö-oang 汾西王 Fun-sei-ö
300	960		31	10		2	8	2
				11	Yung K'ang 永康 Ei-ko	3	Mi-chhyön-oang 美川王 Bi-sen-ö	3

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Neng.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Päk-chyöi.
A.D.					Syök-keui-rim 昔來臨 Sek-ki-rin	Mi-chhyön-oang 美川王 Bi-sen-o	Pun-syü-oang 汾西王 Pun-sel-o
961	Ö-jin 應仁	32	Hwei Ti 惠帝 Kei-tei	Yung Ning 永寧 Ei-nei	4	3	4
962		33		T'ai Ngan 大安 Tai-an	5	4	5
963		34			6	5	6
964		35		Yung Hing 永興 Ei-ko	7	6	7
965		36			8	7	8
966		37		K'wang Hsi 光熙 Ko-ki	9	8	9
967		38	Hwai Ti 懷帝 Kwai-tei	Yung Kia 永嘉 Ei-ka	10	9	10
968		39			11	10	11
969		40			12	11	12
970		41			1	12	13
971		...			Syök-heui-lai 昔訖解 Sek-ki-kai	1	14
972		...			2	13	15
973	Nin-toku 仁德	...	Min Ti 愍帝 Bin-tei	Kien Hing 建興 Ken-ko	3	14	16
974		1			4	15	17
975		2			5	16	18
976		3			6	17	19
977		4			7	18	20
978		5	[Eastern Tsin 東晉] Yüan Ti 元帝 Gen-tei	or Shin Dynasty. Kien Wu 建武 Ken-bu	8	19	21
979		6		Ta Hing 大興 Dai-ko	9	20	22
980		7			10	21	23
981		8			11	22	24
982		9			12	23	25
983		10			1	24	26
984		11			2	25	27
985		12			3	26	28
986		13			4	27	29
987		14			5	28	30
988		15			6	29	31
989		16			7	30	32
990		17			8	31	33
991		18			9	32	34
992		19			10	33	35
993		20			11	34	36
994		21			12	35	37
995		22			1	36	38
996		23			2	37	39
997		24			3	38	40
998		25			4	39	41
999		26			5	40	42
1000		27			6	41	43

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Päk-ehyōi.
A.D.					Syōk-heur-hai 曹詒解	Mi-chhyōn-oang 美川王 Mi-sen-o	Pi-ryu-oang 比流王 Pi-ryū-o
321	981	9	Yüan Ti 元帝 Gen-tei	5	Ta Hing 火興 Dai-ko	4	18
322	982	10		6	Yung Ch'ang 永昌	1	19
323	983	11	Ming Ti 明帝 Mei-tei	1	Yü Ning 大寧 Dai-nei	1	20
324	984	12		2		2	21
325	985	13		3		3	22
326	986	14	Ch'ung Ti 成帝 Set-tei	1	Hien Ho 咸和 Kan-wa	1	23
327	987	15		2		2	24
328	988	16		3		3	25
329	989	17		4		4	26
330	990	18		5		5	27
331	991	19		6		6	28
332	992	20		7		7	29
333	993	21		8		8	30
334	994	22		9		9	31
335	995	23		10	Hien K'ang 咸康	1	32
336	996	24		11	Kan-ko	2	33
337	997	25		12		3	34
338	998	26		13		4	35
339	999	27		14		5	36
340	1000	28		15		6	37

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.*	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Silla.	Korean King.	Päk-chyü.
						Syök-heun-hai 昔克解 Sek-kik-kai	Ko-kü-ryō. 故國原王 Ko-koku-gen-ō	Pi-ryu-oang 比流王 Pi-ryu-ō
A.D.		Nin-toku 仁德	29	Ch'ang Ti 成帝 Sei-tei	Hien K'ang 咸康 Kan-ko	32	11	38
341	1001		30			33	12	39
342	1002		31	K'ang Ti 康帝 Kō-tei	Kien Yüan 建元 Ken-gen	34	13	40
343	1003		32			35	14	41
344	1004		33	Mu Ti 穆帝 Boku-tei	Yung Ho 永和 Yü-wa	36	15	42
345	1005		34			37	16	43
346	1006		35			38	17	44
347	1007		36			39	18	45
348	1008		37			40	19	46
349	1009		38			41	20	47
350	1010		39			42	21	48
351	1011		40			43	22	49
352	1012		41			44	23	50
353	1013		42			45	24	51
354	1014		43			46	25	52
355	1015		44			1	26	53
356	1016		45			Keum-nai-mur 金奈勿 Kin-na-motsu	27	54
357	1017		46			2	28	55
358	1018		47		Shéng P'ing 升平 Shō-hei	3	29	56
359	1019		48			4	30	57
360	1020					5		

\* See note on p. 134.



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Paik-chyōi.
A.D.					Keum-nai-mur 金奈勿	Ko-kuk-nōn-oang 故國原王	Keun-chho-ko- oang 近肖古王
361 1021	Nin-toku 仁德	49	Mu Ti 穆帝 Boku-tei	Shōng P'ing 升平 Shō-hai	6	6	16
362 1022		50	Ngai Ti 哀帝 Ai-tei	Lung Ho 隆和 Ryū-wa	7	7	17
363 1023		51		Hing Ning 興寧 Kō-nei	8	8	18
364 1024		52			9	9	19
365 1025		53			10	10	20
366 1026		54	Ti Yi 帝夷 Tei-eki	T'ai Ho 大和 Tai-wa	11	11	21
367 1027		55			12	12	22
368 1028		56			13	13	23
369 1029		57			14	14	24
370 1030		58			15	15	25
371 1031		59	Kien Wen Ti 顯文帝	Hien Ngan 咸安 Kan-an	16	Syo-syu-rim- oang 小獸林王 Shō-jū-rin-ō	26
372 1032		60	Kam-bun-tei		17	17	27
373 1033		61	Hiao Wu Ti 孝 武帝 Kō-bu-tei	Ning K'ang 寧康 Nei-kō	18	18	28
374 1034		62			19	19	29
375 1035		63			20	20	Keun-lu-syu- oang 近仇王 Kin-kyū-shu-ō
376 1036		64		T'ai Yüan 太元 Tai-gen	21	21	1
377 1037		65			22	22	2
378 1038		66			23	23	3
379 1039		67			24	24	4
380 1040		68			25	25	5

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Paik-chyōi.
A.D.			Hiao Wu 孝武 帝 Kō-bu-tei	T'ai Yuan 太元 Tai-gen	Keum-nai-mur 金奈勿	Syo-syu-rim-oang 小鮮林王 Sho-jū-rin-ō	Keum-ku-syn- oang 近仇首王 Kin-kyu-shu-ō
381 1041	Nin-toku 仁德	18	9	6	26	11	7
382 1042		19	10	7	27	12	8
383 1043		20	11	8	28	13	9
384 1044		21	12	9	29	1	1
385 1045		22	13	10	30	2	1
386 1046		23	14	11	31	3	2
387 1047		24	15	12	32	4	3
388 1048		25	16	13	33	5	4
389 1049		26	17	14	34	6	5
390 1050		27	18	15	35	7	6
391 1051		28	19	16	36	8	7
392 1052		29	20	17	37	1	1
393 1053		30	21	18	38	2	2
394 1054		31	22	19	39	3	3
395 1055		32	23	20	40	4	4
396 1056		33	24	21	41	5	5
397 1057		34	Ngan Ti 安帝 An-tei	隆安 Ryū-an	42	6	6
398 1058		35	1	1	43	7	7
399 1059		36	2	2	44	8	8
400 1060	Ri-chū 履仲	37	3	3	45	9	9
			4	4			

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Päk-chyöi.
A.D.								
401	1061	Ri-chū 麗仲	2	Ngan Ti 安帝 An-tei	Lung Ngan 隆安 Ryū-an	Keum-nai-mur 金奈勿	Koang-kai-tho- oang 倭開土王 Kō-kai-dō-ō	A-sin-oang 阿莘王 A-shin-ō
402	1062		3			46	10	10
403	1063		4		Yüan Hing 元興 Gen-kō	Keum-sir-syōng 金師聖	11	11
404	1064		5			1	12	12
405	1065		6			2	13	13
406	1066	Han-shō 反正	1		I Hi 義熙 Gi-ki	3	14	14
407	1067		2			4	15	15
408	1068		3			5	16	16
409	1069		4			6	17	17
410	1070		5			7	18	18
411	1071		...			8	19	19
412	1072	In-gyō 允恭	1			9	20	20
413	1073		2			10	21	21
414	1074		3			11	22	22
415	1075		4			12	23	23
416	1076		5			13	24	24
417	1077		6			14	25	25
418	1078		7			15	26	26
419	1079		8			16	27	27
				Kung Ti 恭帝 Kyo-tei	Yüan Hsi 元熙 Gen-ki	Keum-nur-chi 金訥祗	Chyang-syu- oang 長壽王 Chō-jū-ō	
						1	28	
				Wu Ti 武帝 Bū-tei	[Sung 宋, or Sō, Dynasty.] Yung Ch'ü 永初 Ei-shō	1	29	
420	1080		9			2	30	
						3	31	
						4	32	
						5	33	
						6	34	
						7	35	
						8	36	
						9	37	
						10	38	
						11	39	
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						13	41	
						14	42	
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						16	44	
						17	45	
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						21	49	
						22	50	
						23	51	
						24	52	
						25	53	
						26	54	
						27	55	
						28	56	
						29	57	
						30	58	
						31	59	
						32	60	
						33	61	
						34	62	
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						36	64	
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						38	66	
						39	67	
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						72	100	
						73	101	
						74	102	
						75	103	
						76	104	
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						78	106	
						79	107	
						80	108	
						81	109	
						82	110	
						83	111	
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						96	124	
						97	125	
						98	126	
						99	127	
						100	128	
						101	129	
						102	130	
						103	131	
						104	132	
						105	133	
						106	134	
						107	135	
						108	136	
						109	137	
						110	138	
						111	139	
						112	140	
						113	141	
						114	142	
						115	143	
						116	144	
						117	145	
						118	146	
						119	147	
						120	148	
						121	149	
						122	150	
						123	151	
						124	152	
						125	153	
						126	154	
						127	155	
						128	156	
						129	157	
						130	158	
						131	159	
						132	160	
						133	161	
						134	162	
						135	163	
						136	164	
						137	165	
						138	166	
						139	167	
						140	168	
						141	169	
						142	170	
						143	171	
						144	172	
						145	173	
						146	174	
						147	175	
						148	176	
						149	177	
						150	178	
						151	179	
						152	180	
						153	181	
						154	182	
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						158	186	
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						160	188	
						161	189	
						162	190	
						163	191	
						164	192	
						165	193	
						166	194	
						167	195	
						168	196	
						169	197	
						170	198	
						171	199	
						172	200	
						173	201	
						174	202	
						175	203	
						176	204	
						177	205	
						178	206	
						179	207	
						180	208	
						181	209	
						182	210	
						183	211	
						184	212	
						185	213	
						186	214	
						187	215	
						188	216	
						189	217	
						190	218	
						191	219	
						192	220	
						193	221	
						194	222	
						195	223	
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						199	227	
						200	228	
						201	229	
						202	230	
						203	231	
						204	232	
						205	233	
						206	234	
						207	235	
						208	236	
						209	237	
						210	238	
						211	239	
						212	240	
						213	241	
						214	242	
						215	243	
						216	244	

Chris- tian Era.*	Japan- ese Era.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Shi-la.	Korean King.	Puik-chyōi.
A.D.	In-gyō 元祿	10	[Sung 宋, or Wu Ti 武帝 Bu-tei]	Yung Ch'u 永初 Yi-sho	Keum-nur-chi 金訥祗 Kin-no-shi	Chyang-syu-oang 長壽王 Cho-ju-o	Ku-i-sin-oang 久爾辛王 Kyū-ji-shin-o
421 1081	10	58			5		2
422 1082	11	59			6	10	3
423 1083	12	60	Shao Ti 少帝 Shō-tei	King P'ing 景平 Kei-hei	7	11	4
424 1084	13	1	Wên Ti 文帝 Bun-tei	Yüan Kia 元嘉 Gen-ka	8	12	5
425 1085	14	2			9	13	6
426 1086	15	3			10	14	7
427 1087	16	4			11	15	1
428 1088	17	5			12	16	2
429 1089	18	6			13	17	3
430 1090	19	7			14	18	4
431 1091	20	8			15	19	5
432 1092	21	9			16	20	6
433 1093	22	10			17	21	7
434 1094	23	11			18	22	8
435 1095	24	12			19	23	9
436 1096	25	13			20	24	10
437 1097	26	14			21	25	11
438 1098	27	15			22	26	12
439 1099	28	16			23	27	13
440 1100	29	17			24	28	14

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.*	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Pai-k-chyüi.
A.D.				Wên Ti 文帝 Bun-tei	Yüan Kia 元嘉 Gen-ka	Keum-non-chi 金訥祗 Kin-no-shi	Chyang-syu-oang 長壽王 Cho-jh-o	Pi-yü-oang 比有王 Hi-yü-o
441	1101	In-gyō 允恭	30	18	18	25	29	15
442	1102		31	19	19	26	30	16
443	1103		32	20	20	27	31	17
444	1104		33	21	21	28	32	18
445	1105		34	22	22	29	33	19
446	1106		35	23	23	30	34	20
447	1107		36	24	24	31	35	21
448	1108		37	25	25	32	36	22
449	1109		38	26	26	33	37	23
450	1110		39	27	27	34	38	24
451	1111		40	28	28	35	39	25
452	1112		41	29	29	36	40	26
453	1113		42	30	30	37	41	27
454	1114	An-kō 安康	1	31	Hiao Kien 孝建 Kō-ken	38	42	28
455	1115		2	32	2	39	43	1
456	1116		3	33	3	40	44	2
457	1117	Yü-ryaku 雄略	1	34	Ta Ming 大明 Tai-mei	41	45	3
458	1118		2	35	2	1	46	4
459	1119		3	36	3	2	47	5
460	1120		4	37	4	3	48	6

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.*	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Päk-chyöi.
						Keum-chä-pi 金龜悲 Kin-jä-hi	Chyang-syu-oang 長壽王 Cho-ju-o	Kai-ro-oang 蓋鹵 王 Ko-ro-o
A.D.		Yūryaku 雄略	5	Hiao Wu Ti 孝武 帝 Ko-bu-tei	Ta Ming 大明 Tai-mei	5	4	7
461	1121		6	39		6	5	8
462	1122		7	40		7	6	9
463	1123		8	41		8	7	10
464	1124		9	42		1	8	11
465	1125		10	43		2	9	12
466	1126		11	44		3	10	13
467	1127		12	45		4	11	14
468	1128		13	46		5	12	15
469	1129		14	47		6	13	16
470	1130		15	48		7	14	17
471	1131		16	49		1	15	18
472	1132		17	50		1	16	19
473	1133		18	51		2	17	20
474	1134		19	52		3	18	1
475	1135		20	53		4	19	2
476	1136		21	54		1	20	3
477	1137		22	55		2	21	4
478	1138		23	56		1	22	5
479	1139		24	57		2	23	6
480	1140	Sei-nei 清寧	1	57		2	24	7

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era. A.D.	Japan- ese Era. Jia.#	Japanese Emperor.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.		
						Sil-la.	Ko-ku-ryō.	Päk-ehyōi.
				Kao Ti 高帝 Kū-tei	Kien Yüan 建元 Ken-gen	Keum-syo-chi 金昭智 Kin-shō-ehi	Chyang-syu-oang 長壽王 Chō-jū-ō	Tong-syōng-oang 東城王 Tō-jō-ō
481	1141	Sei-nei 清寧	2	58	3	3	69	3
482	1142		3	59	4	4	70	4
483	1143		4	60	1	5	71	5
484	1144		5	1	2	6	72	6
485	1145	Ken-sō 顯宗	1	2	3	7	73	7
486	1146		2	3	4	8	74	8
487	1147		3	4	5	9	75	9
488	1148	Nin-ken 仁賢	1	5	6	10	76	10
489	1149		2	6	7	11	77	11
490	1150		3	7	8	12	78	12
491	1151		4	8	9	13	Mun-chū-min- oang 文咨明王 Bun-shū-mei-ō	1
492	1152		5	9	10	14	2	14
493	1153		6	10	11	15	3	15
494	1154		7	11	Kien Wu 建武 Kem-bu	16	4	16
495	1155		8	12	2	17	5	17
496	1156		9	13	3	18	6	18
497	1157		10	14	4	19	7	19
498	1158		11	15	Yung Tai 永泰 Ei-tai	20	8	20
499	1159	Bu-setsu 武烈	1	16	Yung Yüan 永元 Bi-gen	21	9	21
500	1160		2	17	2	22	10	22

\* See note on p. 134.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Päk-chyüi.
A.D.								
501	1161	Bu-rietsu 武烈	3 18	Ho Ti 和帝	1 Chung Hing 中興	Keum-chi-cheung-oang 金智證王	Mun-chä-min-oang 文咨明王	Ma-nyong-oang 武寧王
502	1162		4 19	[Liang 梁, or Ryō, Dynasty.]	Chü-kō 1	Kin-chi-shō-o 2	Bun-shi-mei-o 11	Bu-nei-o 1
503	1163		5 20	Wu Ti 武帝	1 T'ien Kien 天監	3	12	2
504	1164		6 21	Bu-tei 2	Ten-kan 2	4	13	3
505	1165		7 22		3	5	14	4
506	1166		8 23		4	6	15	5
507	1167	Kei-tai 繼體	1 24		5	7	16	6
508	1168		2 25		6	8	17	7
509	1169		3 26		7	9	18	8
510	1170		4 27		8	10	19	9
511	1171		5 28		9	11	20	10
512	1172		6 29		10	12	21	11
513	1173		7 30		11	13	22	12
514	1174		8 31		12	Pöp-haung-oang 1 法興王 Ilō-kō-o	23	13
515	1175		9 32		13	2	24	14
516	1176		10 33		14	3	25	15
517	1177		11 34		15	4	26	16
518	1178		12 35		16	5	27	17
519	1179		13 36		17	6	28	18
520	1180		14 37		18 P'u Tung 普通	7 安藏王 An-zō-o	1	19
					19 Fu-tsü 1	8	2	20



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Silla.	Korean King.	Päk-chyöi.
A.D.				[Liang 梁, or Ryo, Dynasty.] Wu Ti 武帝 Bu-tei	P'u T'ung 普通 Fu-tsü	Pöp-heung-oang 法興王 Hö-kö-o	An-chang-oang 安藏王 An-zö-o	Mu-pyöng-oang 武甕王 Bu-nei-o
521	1181	Kei-tai 繼體	15	20	2	9	3	21
522	1182		16	21	3	10	4	22
523	1183		17	22	4	11	5	1
524	1184		18	23	5	12	6	2
525	1185		19	24	6	13	7	3
526	1186		20	25	7	14	8	4
527	1187		21	26	Ta T'ung 大通 Dai-tsü	15	9	5
528	1188		22	27	2	16	10	6
529	1189		23	28	Chung Ta T'ung 中大通 Chü-dai-tsü	17	11	7
530	1190		24	29	2	18	12	8
531	1191		25	30	3	19	An-ün-oang 安原王 An-gen-o	9
532	1192		26	31	4	20	2	10
533	1193		27	32	5	21	3	11
534	1194	An-kan 安閑	1	33	6	22	4	12
535	1195		2	34	Ta T'ung 大同 Dai-dö	23	5	13
536	1196	Sen-kwa 宣化	1	35	2	24	6	14
537	1197		2	36	3	25	7	15
538	1198		3	37	4	26	8	16
539	1199		4	38	5	Chin-heung- oang 眞興王 Shin-kö-o	9	17
540	1200	Kim-mei 欽明	1	39	6	27	10	18

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Paik-chiyōi.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Päk-chyöi.
A.D.				[Ch'en 陳, or Chin, Dynasty.]	T'ien Chia 天嘉	Chin-heng-oang 眞興王 Shin-kö-ö	Phyong-nön-oang 平原王 Het-gen-ö	Ui-tök-oang 威德王 I-toku-ö
561	1221	Kim-mei 欽明	22	Wen Ti 文帝 Bun-tei	2	22	3	8
562	1222		23	3	3	23	4	9
563	1223		24	4	4	24	5	10
564	1224		25	5	5	25	6	11
565	1225		26	6	6	26	7	12
566	1226		27	1	T'ien K'ang 天康 Ten-kö	27	8	13
567	1227	Lin Hai Wang 臨海王 Kin-kai-ö	28	2	Kwang Ta 光大 Ko-dai	28	9	14
568	1228		29	3	2	29	10	15
569	1229	Süan Ti 宣帝 Sen-tei	30	1	Ta Kien 大建 Pai-ken	30	11	16
570	1230		31	2	2	31	12	17
571	1231		32	3	3	32	13	18
572	1232	Bi-latsu 敏達	1	4	4	33	14	19
573	1233		2	5	5	34	15	20
574	1234		3	6	6	35	16	21
575	1235		4	7	7	36	17	22
576	1236		5	8	8	Chin-chi-oang 眞智王 Shin-chi-ö	18	23
577	1237		6	9	9	2	19	24
578	1238		7	10	10	Chin-pyöng- oang 眞平王 Shin-hei-ö	20	25
579	1239		8	11	11	1	21	26
580	1240		9	12	12	2	22	27

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Päk-chyü.
A.D.								
581	1211	Bi-datsu 敏達	10	Süan Ti 宣帝 Sen-tei	Ta Kien 大建 Dai-ken	13	Phyöng-uon-oang 平原王 Hei-gen-o	Ui-tok-oang 威德王 I-toku-o
582	1212		11			14		
583	1213		12	Ilow Chu 後主 Kō-shu	Chih Tè 至德 Shi-toku	1		
584	1214		13			2		
585	1215		14			3		
586	1216	Yō-mei 用明	1			4		
587	1217		2		Chang Ming 祚明 Tei-mei	1		
588	1218	Su-shun 崇峻	1			2		
589	1219		2	[Sui 隋, or 隋 Wen Ti 文帝 Bun-tei		1	Yong-yang- oang 襄陽王 Yei-yo-o	
590	1250		3		開皇 Kai-kō	2		
591	1251		4			3		
592	1252		5			4		
593	1253	Sui-ko 推古 (Empress)	1			5		
594	1254		2			6		
595	1255		3			7		
596	1256		4			8		
597	1257		5			9		
598	1258		6			10		Hyōi-oang 惠王 Kei-o
599	1259		7			11		Pōp-oang 法王 Hō-o
600	1260		8			12		Mu-oang 武王 Bu-o

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Silla.	Korean King.	Päk-chyü.
A.D.								
601	1261	Sui-ko 推古	9	[Sui 隋, or Zui, Dynasty.] Wen Ti 文帝 Bun-tei	Jin-jü 仁壽	Chün-pyöng- oang 眞平王 Shin-het-o	Yöng-rang-cang 嬰陽王 Yei-yö-o	Ma-oang 武王 Bu-o
602	1262		10					
603	1263		11					
604	1264		12					
605	1265		13	Yang Ti 陽帝 Yö-tei	Ta Yeh 大業 Tai-gyö			
606	1266		14					
607	1267		15					
608	1268		16					
609	1269		17					
610	1270		18					
611	1271		19					
612	1272		20					
613	1273		21					
614	1274		22					
615	1275		23					
616	1276		24					
617	1277		25	Kung Ti 恭帝 Kwö-tei	I Ning 義寧 Gi-nei			
618	1278		26	[T'ang 唐, or T'ü, Dynasty] Kao Tsu 高祖	Wu t'ü 武德		Yöng-rvu-cang 榮留王 Ei-rvu-o	
619	1279		27					
620	1280		28					

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Sil-la.	Korean King.	Paiik-chyoi.
A.D.				[T'ang 唐, or T'ō, Dynasty.] Kao Tsu 高祖 Kō-so	Wu Tō 武德 Ba-toku	Chin-p'hyōng- oang 眞平王 Shun-hei-o	Yōng-ryu-oang 榮留王 Ei-ryu-o	Mu-oang 武王 Ba-o
621	1281	Sui-ko 推古	29	18	4	43	4	22
622	1282		30	19	5	44	5	23
623	1283		31	20	6	45	6	24
624	1284		32	21	7	46	7	25
625	1285		33	22	8	47	8	26
626	1286		34	23	9	48	9	27
627	1287		35	24	Chêng Kwan 貞觀 Jō-gwan	49	10	28
628	1288		36	25	2	50	11	29
629	1289	Jo-mei 舒明	1	26	3	51	12	30
630	1290		2	27	4	52	13	31
631	1291		3	28	5	53	14	32
632	1292		4	29	6	Syōn-tōk-nyō- oang 善德女王 Zen-toku-nyō-o	15	33
633	1293		5	30	7	1	16	34
634	1294		6	31	8	((Queen))	17	35
635	1295		7	32	9	3	18	36
636	1296		8	33	10	4	19	37
637	1297		9	34	11	5	20	38
638	1298		10	35	12	6	21	39
639	1299		11	36	13	7	22	40
640	1300		12	37	14	8	23	41

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.*	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.
A.D.					T'ai Tsung 太宗 Tai-so
641	1301	Jo-mei 舒明 13		38	15
642	1302	Kō-gyoku 皇極 1		39	16
643	1303	(Empress) 2		40	17
644	1304	3		41	18
645	1305	Kō-toku 孝德 1	Tai-kwa 大化 1	42	19
646	1306	2		2 43	20
647	1307	3		3 44	21
648	1308	4		4 45	22
649	1309	5		5 46	23
650	1310	6	Haku-chi 白雉 1	47	Kao Tsung 高宗 Kō-so 1
651	1311	7		2 48	2
652	1312	8		3 49	3
653	1313	9		4 50	4
654	1314	10		5 51	5
655	1315	Sai-mei 齊明 (Empress) 1		52	6
656	1316	2		53	7
657	1317	3		54	8
658	1318	4		55	9
659	1319	5		56	10
660	1320	6		57	11
661	1321	7		58	12
662	1322	Ten-chi 天智 1		59	13
663	1323	2		60	14
664	1324	3		1	15
665	1325	4		2	16
666	1326	5		3	17
667	1327	6		4	18
668	1328	[Coronation] 7		5	19
669	1329	8		6	20
670	1330	9		7	21

\* See pages 2-5.

Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.			
	Sil-la.	Ko-ku-ryō.	Päik-chyōi.	
Chêng Kwan 貞觀	Syön-tök nyō-oang 善德女王	Yōng-ryu-oang 榮留王	Eui-chā-oang 哀愁王 Gi-ji-ō	1
Jō-gwan 15	Zen-toku-nyo-ō 10 (Queen)	Ei-ryū-ō 24		
16	11	Po-chang-oang 寶藏王 Hō-zō-ō		2
17	12			3
18	13			4
19	14			5
20	15			6
21	Chin-tök-nyō- oang 眞德女王			7
22	Shin-toku-nyo-ō (Queen)			8
23				9
Yung Hwei 永徽				10
Ei-ki 1				11
2				12
3				13
4				14
5	Thai-chong-oang 太宗王 Tai-sō-ō			15
6				16
Hien K'ing 顯慶				17
Ken-kei 1				18
2				19
3				20
4				21
5				22
Lung So 龍朔	Mun-mu-oang 文武王			23
Ryō-saku 1	Bum-bu-ō			
2				
3				
Lin Tē 麟德				
Rin-toku 1				
2				
K'ien Fêng 乾封				
Kan-hō 1				
2				
Tsung Chang 總章				
Sō-shō 1				
2				
Hien Hiang 咸亨				
Kan-kyō 1				



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King- Si-l'a.
A.D.							
671	1331	Ten-chi 天智	10	8	Kao Tsung 高宗 Kō-sō	Hiên Hsiang 咸亨 Kan-kyō 2	Mun-mu-oang 文武王 Bum-bu-ō 11
672	1332	{Kō-bun 弘文 Tem-mu 天武	11	9			12
673	1333	Tem-mu 天武	12	10			13
674	1334		3	11		Shang Yüan 上元 Jō-gen 1	14
675	1335		4	12			15
676	1336		5	13		I Feng 儀風 Gi-hō 1	16
677	1337		6	14			17
678	1338		7	15			18
679	1339		8	16		Tiao Lu 調露 Chō-ro 1	19
680	1340		9	17		Yung Lang 永隆 Ei-ryū 1	20
681	1341		10	18		K'ai Yao 開耀 Kai-ki 1	Sin-mun-oang 神文王 Shim-bun-ō 1
682	1342		11	19		Yung Shan 永淳 Ei-jun 1	2
683	1343		12	20	Chung Tsung 中宗 Chū-so 武后 Wu Hōw 武后 Bu-kō	Hung Tao 弘道 Kō-dō 1	3
684	1344		13	21		Sz' Sheng 嗣聖 Shi-sei 1	4
685	1345		14	22		Kwang Tsō 光宅 Kō-taku 1	5
686	1346		15	23		Chui Kung 垂拱 Sui-kyō 1	6
687	1347	Ji-tō 持統 (Empress)	1	24			7
688	1348		2	25			8
689	1349		3	26		Yung Ch'ang 永昌 Ei-shō 1	9
690	1350	[Coronation]	4	27		Ts'ai Ch'u 載初 Sai-sho 1	10
						T'ien Show 天授 Ten-jū 1	

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Chung Tsung 中宗 Chu-sō Wu How 武后 Bu-kō	T'ien Show 天授 Ten-ju Ju I 如意 Nyo-i Ch'ang Show 長壽 (Chō-ju)	Sin-mun-oang 神文王 Shin-bun-ō Hyo-ayo-oang 孝昭王 Kō-shō-ō
691	1351	Ji-tō 持統 (Empress)		28	8	2	11
692	1352			29	9	1	1
693	1353			30	10	2	2
694	1354			31	11	1	3
695	1355			32	12	1	4
696	1356			33	13	1	5
697	1357	Mom-mu 文武		34	14	1	6
698	1358			35	15	1	7
699	1359			36	16	2	8
700	1360			37	17	1	9
701	1361		Tai-hō 大寶	1 38	18	Ch'ang Ngan 長安 Chō-an	10
702	1362			2 39	19	2	1
703	1363			3 40	20	3	2
704	1364		Kei-un 慶雲	1 41	21	4	3
705	1365			2 42	22	Lung Shén 龍神 Ryō-shin	4
706	1366			3 43	23	2	5
707	1367			4 44	24	King Lung 景龍 Kei-ryō	6
708	1368	Gem-myō 元明 (Empress)	Wa-dō 和銅	1 45	25	2	7
709	1369			2 46	26	3	8
710	1370			3 47	Jui Tsung 睿宗 Ei-sō	King Yün 景雲 Kei-un	9

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
711	1371	Gem-myō 元明 (Empress)	4 Wa-dō 和銅	48	Jui Tsung 睿宗 Ji-sō 2	King Yün 景雲 Kei-un	Syōng-tōk-oang 10 聖德王 Shō-toku-s
712	1372		5	49	3	T'ai Ki 太極 Tai-kyoku	11
713	1373		6	50	1	Yen Ho 延和 En-wa K'ai Yuan 開元	12
714	1374		7	51	2	Kai-gen	13
715	1375	Gen-shō 元正 (Empress)	1 Rei-ki 靈龜	52	3		14
716	1376		2	53	4		15
717	1377		3 Yō-rō 養老	54	5		16
718	1378		4	55	6		17
719	1379		5	56	7		18
720	1380		6	57	8		19
721	1381		7	58	9		20
722	1382		8	59	10		21
723	1383		9	60	11		22
724	1384	Shō-mu 聖武	1 J'in-ki 神龜	1	12		23
725	1385		2	2	13		24
726	1386		3	3	14		25
727	1387		4	4	15		26
728	1388		5	5	16		27
729	1389		6 Tem-byō 天平	6	17		28
730	1390		7	7	18		29

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

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Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Hüan Tsung 玄宗 Gen-sō	K'ai Yüan 開元 Kai-gen	Syōng-tōk-oang 聖德王 Shō-toku-o
731	1391	Shō-mu 聖武	8 Tem-byō 天平	3 8	19	19	30
732	1392		9	4 9	20	20	31
733	1393		10	5 10	21	21	32
734	1394		11	6 11	22	22	33
735	1395		12	7 12	23	23	34
736	1396		13	8 13	24	24	35
737	1397		14	9 14	25	25	1
738	1398		15	10 15	26	26	2
739	1399		16	11 16	27	27	3
740	1400		17	12 17	28	28	4
741	1401		18	13 18	29	29	5
742	1402		19	14 19	30	T'ien Pao 天寶 Tem-pō	1
743	1403		20	15 20	31	2	2
744	1404		21	16 21	32	3	3
745	1405		22	17 22	33	4	4
746	1406		23	18 23	34	5	5
747	1407		24	19 24	35	6	6
748	1408		25	20 25	36	7	7
749	1409	Kō-ken 孝謙 (Empress)	1 Tem-byō-shō-hō 天平勝寶	1 26	37	8	8
750	1910		2	2 27	38	9	9

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.	
A.D.			Tem-byō-shō-hō 天不勝寶	3	Hiian Tsung 玄宗 Gen-so	T'ien Pao 天寶 Tem-po	Kyong-tok-oang 景德王 Kei-toku-o	
751	1411	Kō-ken 孝謙	4	28	39	10	10	
752	1412		5	29	40	11	11	
753	1413		6	30	41	12	12	
754	1414		7	31	42	13	13	
755	1415		8	32	43	14	14	
756	1416		9	33	Su Tsung 肅宗 Shuk-so	Chih Tē 至德 Shi-toku	1	15
757	1417		1	34	2	Kien Yüan 乾元 Kan-gen	2	16
758	1418	Jun-nin 淳仁	2	35	3	1	1	17
759	1419		3	36	4	2	2	18
760	1420		4	37	5	Shang Yüan 上元 Jō-gen	1	19
761	1421		5	38	6	2	2	20
762	1422		6	39	7	Pao Ying 寶應 Hō-o	1	21
763	1423		7	40	1	Kwan Tē 廣德 Kō-toku	1	22
764	1424		8	41	2	2	2	23
765	1425	Shō-toku 稱德 (Empress)	1	42	3	Yung Tai 永泰 Ei-tai	1	24
766	1426		2	43	4	Ta Li 大曆 Tai-reki	1	1
767	1427		3	44	5	2	2	2
768	1428		4	45	6	3	3	3
769	1429		5	46	7	4	4	4
770	1430	Kō-nin 光仁	1	47	8	5	5	5
							Hyōi-kong-oang 惠恭王 Kei-kyō-o	

Chris- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.				Tai Tsung 太宗 [Dai-sō]	Ta Li 大曆 Tai-reki	Hyōi-kong-oang 惠恭王 Kei-kyō-o
771	1431 Kō-nin 光仁	2	48	9	6	6
772	1432	3	49	10	7	7
773	1433	4	50	11	8	8
774	1434	5	51	12	9	9
775	1435	6	52	13	10	10
776	1436	7	53	14	11	11
777	1437	8	54	15	12	12
778	1438	9	55	16	13	13
779	1439	10	56	17	14	14
780	1440	11	57	Tē Tsung 德宗 Toku-sō	Kien Chung 建中 Ken-chū	Syūn-tōk-oang 宣德王 Sen-toku-o
781	1441	12	58	1	1	15
782	1442 Kwam-mu 桓武	1	59	2	2	1
783	1443	2	60	3	3	2
784	1444	3	1	4	4	3
785	1445	4	2	5	1	4
786	1446	5	3	6	1	5
787	1447	6	4	7	2	1
788	1448	7	5	8	3	2
789	1449	8	6	9	4	3
790	1450	9	7	11	5	4
					6	5
						Uōn-syōng-oang 元聖王 Gen-shō-o

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
791	1451	Kwan-mu 桓武	En-ryaku 延暦	10	Ta Tsung 德宗 Toku-so	Cheng Yüan 貞元 T'ai-gen	Uön-syöng-oang 元聖王 Gen-shō-o
792	1452			11	12	7	6
793	1453			12	13	8	7
794	1454			13	14	9	8
795	1455			14	15	10	9
796	1456			15	16	11	10
797	1457			16	17	12	11
798	1458			17	18	13	12
799	1459			18	19	14	13
800	1460			19	20	15	14
801	1461			20	21	16	15
802	1462			21	22	17	16
803	1463			22	23	18	17
804	1464			23	24	19	18
805	1465			24	25	20	19
806	1466	Mei-jō 平城	Dai-dō 大同	1	Shun Tsung 順宗 Jun-so	Yung Cheng 永貞 Ei-tei	Syo-syöng-oang 昭聖王 Shō-sei-o
807	1467			2	Hien Tsung 憲宗 Ken-so	Yüan Ito 元和 Gen-wa	哀莊王 Ai-so-o
808	1468			3	2	2	2
809	1469	Hei-jō 平城 Sa-ga 嵯峨		4	3	3	3
810	1470		Kō-nin 弘仁	1	4	4	4
				2	5	5	5
							Hön-tök-oang 憲德王 Ken-toku-o

Chris- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.						
811	1471	Sa-ga 嵯峨	3	Hien Tsung 憲宗 Ken-so	Yüan Ho 元和 Gen-wa	Hön-tök-oang 建德王 Ken-toku-o
812	1472		2			
813	1473		3			
814	1474		4			
815	1475		5			
816	1476		6			
817	1477		7			
818	1478		8			
819	1479	Jun-wa 淳和	9	Mu Tsung 穆宗 Boku-so	Ch'ang K'ing 長慶 Chō-kei	
820	1480		10			
821	1481		11			
822	1482		12			
823	1483		13			
824	1484		14			
825	1485		1			
826	1486		2			
827	1487	Ten-chō 天長	3	King Tsung 敬宗 Kei-so	Pao Li 寶曆 Kō-reki	
828	1488		4			
829	1489		5			
830	1490		6			
			7			
			8			
				Wen Tsung 文宗 Bun-so	Tai Ho 太和 Tai-wa	Heung-tök-oang 興德王 Kō-toku-o
			1			
			2			
			3			
			4			
			5			
			6			
			7			



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
831	1491	Jun-wa 淳和	Ten-chō 天長	8	Wên Tsung 文宗 Bun-sō	T'ai Ito 太和 Tai-wa	Heung-tōk-oang 興德王 Kō-toku-ō
832	1492	10	9	48	6	6	5
833	1493	Nin-myō 仁明	10	49	7	7	6
834	1494	1	10	50	8	8	7
835	1495	2	Shō-wa 承和	1	9	9	8
836	1496	3	2	51	10	10	9
837	1497	4	3	52	11	11	10
838	1498	5	4	53	12	12	1
839	1499	6	5	54	13	13	2
840	1500	7	6	55	14	14	3
841	1501	8	7	56	1	1	4
842	1502	9	8	57	2	2	5
843	1503	10	9	58	3	3	6
844	1504	11	10	59	4	4	7
845	1505	12	11	60	5	5	8
846	1506	13	12	1	6	6	9
847	1507	14	13	2	7	7	10
848	1508	15	14	3	8	8	11
849	1509	16	Ka-shō 嘉祥	4	9	9	
850	1510	17	1	5	10	10	
		1	2	6	11	11	
		Mon-toku 文德	3	7	12	12	

† Only 7 months.

Chris- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King
A.D.						
851	1511 Mon-toku 文德	2	1	Süan 'Tsong 宣宗 Seu-sō	5	Mun-ayong-oang 文聖王 Mun-sei-o
852	1512	3	2		6	12
853	1513	4	3		7	13
854	1514	5	4		8	14
855	1515	6	5		9	15
856	1516	7	6		10	16
857	1517	8	7		11	17
858	1518 Sei-wa 清和	1	8		12	18
859	1519	2	9		13	Hōn-an-oang 顯安王 Ken-an-o
860	1520	3	10		1	1
861	1521	4	11	I 'Tsong 懿宗 I-sō	2	2
862	1522	5	12		3	3
863	1523	6	13		4	4
864	1524	7	14		5	Kyōng-mun-oang 景文王 Kei-bun-o
865	1525	8	15		6	1
866	1526	9	16		7	2
867	1527	10	17		8	3
868	1528	11	18		9	4
869	1529	12	19		10	5
870	1530	13	20		11	6
			21		12	7
			22		13	8
			23		1	9
			24		2	
			25		3	
			26		4	
			27		5	

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
871	1531	Sei-wa 清和	14 Jō-gwan 貞觀	13 28	I Tsung 太宗 I-sō	12 Hien Tsung 咸通 Kan-tu	Kyōng-mun-oang 敬文王 Kei-bun-o
872	1532		15	29	13	13	11
873	1533		16	30	14	14	12
874	1534		17	31	15	15	13
875	1535		18	32	16	16	14
876	1536		19	33	17	17	15
877	1537	Yō-zei 陽成	1 Gen-kei 元慶	1 34	18	18	16
878	1538		2	35	19	19	17
879	1539		3	36	20	20	18
880	1540		4	37	21	21	19
881	1541		5	38	22	22	20
882	1542		6	39	23	23	21
883	1543		7	40	24	24	22
884	1544	Kō-kō 光孝	1	41	25	25	23
885	1545		2	42	26	26	24
886	1546		3	43	27	27	25
887	1547	U-da 宇多	1	44	28	28	26
888	1548		2	45	29	29	27
889	1549		3	46	30	30	28
890	1550		4	47	31	31	29

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Chao Tsung 昭宗 Shū-sō		Chin-sung-nyo-ang 貞聖女王 Shim-sel-nyo-ō (Queen)
891	1551	U-da 宇多	5 Kwam-pei 寬平	3 48	3	Ta Shun 大順 Dai-jin 2	4
892	1552		6	4 49	4	King Fu 景福	5
893	1553		7	5 50	5	5 Kei-fuku	6
894	1554		8	6 51	6	6 K'ien Ning 乾寧	7
895	1555		9	7 52	7	7 Kan-wei	8
896	1556		10	8 53	8	8	9
897	1557	Dai-go 醍醐	1	9 54	9	9 Kwang Hwa 光化	10
898	1558		2 Shō-tai 昌泰	1 55	10	10 Kō-kwa	1
899	1559		3	2 56	11	11	2
900	1560		4	3 57	12	12	3
901	1561		5 En-ji 延喜	1 58	13	13 T'ien Fu 天復	4
902	1562		6	2 59	11	11 Tem-juku	5
903	1563		7	3 60	15	15	6
904	1564		8	4 1	16	16 T'ien Yew 天祐	7
905	1565		9	5 2	Chao Shun Ti 昭宣帝 Shō-sen-tei	1	8
906	1566		10	6 3	2	2	9
					[Posterior Liang 後梁, or Hsiao, Dynasty.]		
907	1567		11	7 4	T'ai Tsu 太祖 Tai-so	1	10
908	1568		12	8 5	2	2 Kai-hei	11
909	1569		13	9 6	3	3	12
910	1570		14	10 7	4	4	13

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.	
A.D.							Sil-la 新羅 Shi-ra-gl.	Ko-ryo 高麗 Ko-riai.
911	1571	Dai-go 醍醐	15	En-ki 延喜	11	8		
912	1572		16		12	9		
913	1573		17		13	10		
914	1574		18		14	11		
915	1575		19		15	12		
916	1576		20		16	13		
917	1577		21		17	14		
918	1578		22		18	15		
919	1579		23		19	16		
920	1580		24		20	17		
921	1581		25		21	18		
922	1582		26		22	19		
923	1583		27	En-chō, 延長	1	20		
924	1584		28		2	21		
925	1585		29		3	22		
926	1586		30		4	23		
927	1587		31		5	24		
928	1588		32		6	25		
929	1589		33		7	26		
930	1590	Su-jaku 朱雀	1		8	27		
					[Posterior Liang 後梁, or Ryō, Dynasty.]		[Posterior Tang 後唐, or T'ang, Dynasty.]	
					T'ai-tsu 太祖	Kan-kwa	T'ung Kwang 同光	
					5	1	1	
					6	2	2	
					7	3	3	
					8	4	4	
					9	5	5	
					10	6	6	
					11	7	7	
					12	8	8	
					13	9	9	
					14	10	10	
					15	11	11	
					16	12	12	
					17	13	13	
					18	14	14	
					19	15	15	
					20	16	16	
					21	17	17	
					22	18	18	
					23	19	19	
					24	20	20	
					25	21	21	
					26	22	22	
					27	23	23	
					28	24	24	
					29	25	25	
					30	26	26	
					31	27	27	
					32	28	28	
					33	29	29	
					34	30	30	
					35	31	31	
					36	32	32	
					37	33	33	
					38	34	34	
					39	35	35	
					40	36	36	
					41	37	37	
					42	38	38	
					43	39	39	
					44	40	40	
					45	41	41	
					46	42	42	
					47	43	43	
					48	44	44	
					49	45	45	
					50	46	46	
					51	47	47	
					52	48	48	
					53	49	49	
					54	50	50	
					55	51	51	
					56	52	52	
					57	53	53	
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					62	58	58	
					63	59	59	
					64	60	60	
					65	61	61	
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					68	64	64	
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					74	70	70	
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					89	85	85	
					90	86	86	
					91	87	87	
					92	88	88	
					93	89	89	
					94	90	90	
					95	91	91	
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					99	95	95	
					100	96	96	

† Name of country.



Chri- stian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
					[Posterior Chow 後周, or Shui, Dynasty.]		Ko-ryō 高麗 Kō-rai.
A.D.					T'ai Tsu 太祖 Tai-so	Kwang Shun 光順 Kō-jun	Koang-chong 光宗 Kō-so
951	1611	Mura-kami 村 上	Ten-ryaku 天曆	5	48	1	2
952	1612			6	49	2	3
953	1613			7	50	3	4
954	1614			8	Shih Tsung 世宗 Sei-so	Hien Tè 顯德 Ken-toku	5
955	1615			9	51	1	6
956	1616			10	52	2	7
957	1617			11	53	3	8
958	1618		Ten-toku 天德	1	54	4	9
959	1619			2	55	5	10
				3	56	6	11
960	1620			4	Kung Ti 恭帝 Kyo-tei 1 [Sung 宋, or Sui, Dynasty.] Kien Lang 建隆 Ken-ryū	1	12
961	1621		Ō-wa 應和	1	57	2	13
962	1622			2	T'ai Tsu 太祖 Tai-so	3	14
963	1623			3	58	4	15
964	1624		Kō-hō 康保	1	59	5	16
965	1625			2	60	6	17
966	1626			3	1	7	18
967	1627	Rei-zei 冷泉		4	2	8	19
968	1628		An-na 安和	1	3	9	20
969	1629	En-yū 圓融		2	4	10	21
970	1630		Ten-roku 天祿	1	5	11	

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					[Sung 宋, or Sū, Dynasty.]		
971	1631	En-yū 圓融	3 Ten-roku 天祿	2	T'ai Tsu 太祖	12 Kai-hō 4	Koang-chong 光宗 Kō-so
972	1632		4	3	13	5	22
973	1633		5 Ten-yeu 天延	1	14	6	23
974	1634		6	2	15	7	24
975	1635		7	3	16	8	25
976	1636		8 Jō-gen 貞元	1	T'ai Tsung 太宗	Tai P'ing Hing Kwo 太平興國	Kyūng-chong 景宗 Ket-so
977	1637		9	2	1	Tai-hen-kō-koku	1
978	1638		10 Ten-gen 天元	1	2	2	2
979	1639		11	2	3	3	3
980	1640		12	3	4	4	4
981	1641		13	4	5	5	5
982	1642		14	5	6	6	6
983	1643		15 Ei-kwan 永觀	1	7	7	Syūng-chong 成宗 Sei-so
984	1644	Kwa-zan 花山	1	2	8	8	1
985	1645		2 Kwan-na 寛和	1	9	Yung Hui 雍熙 Yō-ki	2
986	1646	Ichi-jō 一條	1	2	10	2	3
987	1647		2 Ei-en 永延	2	11	3	4
988	1648		3	3	12	4	5
989	1649		4 Ei-shō 永祚	1	13	Twan Kung 端拱 Tan-kyō	6
990	1650		5 Shō-reki 正暦	1	14	1	7
				2	15	2	8
				3		3	9
				4		4	
				5		5	
				6		6	
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				100		100	



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					T'ai Tsung 太宗 Tai-so	Shun Hwa 淳化 Jun-kwa	Syōng-chong 成宗 Sei-so
991	1651	Ichi-jō 一條	6 Shō-reki 正暦	2 28	16	2	10
992	1652		7	3 29	17	3	11
993	1653		8	4 30	18	4	12
994	1654		9	5 31	19	5	13
995	1655		10 Chō-toku 長徳	1 32	20	1	14
996	1656		11	2 33	21	2	15
997	1657		12	3 34	22	3	16
998	1658		13	4 35	1	1	1
999	1659		14 Chō-hō 長保	1 36	2	2	2
1000	1660		15	2 37	3	3	3
1001	1661		16	3 38	4	4	4
1002	1662		17	4 39	5	5	5
1003	1663		18	5 40	6	6	6
1004	1664		19 Kwan-kō 寛弘	1 41	7	1	7
1005	1665		20	2 42	8	2	8
1006	1666		21	3 43	9	3	9
1007	1667		22	4 44	10	4	10
1008	1668		23	5 45	11	1	11
1009	1669		24	6 46	12	2	12
1010	1670		25	7 47	13	3	1
					Chên Tsung 眞宗 Shin-so	Hiên Ping 咸平 Kan hei	Mok-chong 穆宗 Boku-so
						King Tè 景德 Kei-toku	
						Ta Chung Siang Fu 大中祥符 Tai-chu-shō-fu	Hyōn-chong 顯宗 Ken-so

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Chên Tsung 眞宗	Ta Chung Siang Fu 大中祥符	Hyün-ehong 顯宗
1011	1671	1	Kwan-kō 寛弘	8 48	14	4	2
1012	1672	2	Chō-wa 長和	1 49	15	5	3
1013	1673	3		2 50	16	6	4
1014	1674	4		3 51	17	7	5
1015	1675	5		4 52	18	8	6
1016	1676	Go-Techi-jō 後一條 (Ichijō II)		5 53	19	9	7
1017	1677	2	Kwan-nin 寛仁	1 54	20	T'ien Hsi 天禧	8
1018	1678	3		2 55	21	2	9
1019	1679	4		3 56	22	3	10
1020	1680	5		4 57	23	4	11
1021	1681	6	Ji-an 治安	1 58	24	5	12
1022	1682	7		2 59	25	K'ien Hsing 乾興 Kan-kō	13
1023	1683	8		3 60	1	T'ien Shêng 天聖 Ten-sei	14
1024	1684	9	Man-ju 萬壽	1 1	2	2	15
1025	1685	10		2 2	3	3	16
1026	1686	11		3 3	4	4	17
1027	1687	12		4 4	5	5	18
1028	1688	13	Chō-gen 長元	1 5	6	6	19
1029	1689	14		2 6	7	7	20
1030	1690	15		3 7	8	8	21

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.		Go-Ichi-jō 後一條	16 Chō-gei 長元	4	Jōn Tsung 仁宗 Jin-sō	T'ien Shêng 天聖 Ten-sei	Hyōn-chong 顯宗 Ken-sō
1031	1631		17	5	9	1	22
1032	1632		18	6	10	2	1
1033	1633		19	7	11	3	2
1034	1634		20	8	12	4	3
1035	1635			9	13	5	1
1036	1636	Go-Su-jaku 後崇光 (Sujaku II)	1	10	14	6	2
1037	1637		2 Chō-reki 長暦	11	15	7	3
1038	1638		3	12	16	8	4
1039	1639		4	13	17	9	5
1040	1700		5 Chō-kyū 長久	14	18	10	6
1041	1701		6	15	19	11	7
1042	1702		7	16	20	12	8
1043	1703		8	17	21	13	9
1044	1704		9 Kwan-toku 寛徳	18	22	14	10
1045	1705	Go-Rei-zei 後冷泉 (Reizei II)	1	19	23	15	11
1046	1706		2 Ei-shō 永承	20	24	16	12
1047	1707		3	21	25	17	1
1048	1708		4	22	26	18	2
1049	1709		5	23	27	19	3
1050	1710		6	24	28	20	4

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Jên Tsung 仁宗 Jin-so	Hwang Yew 皇祐 K'ü-yü	Mun-chong 文宗 Bun-so
1051	1711	Go-Rêi-zai 後冷泉	7 Ei-shō 永承	6 28	29	3	5
1052	1712	8		7 29	30	4	6
1053	1713	9	Ten-ki 天喜	1 30	31	5	7
1054	1714	10		2 31	32	1	8
1055	1715	11		3 32	33	2	9
1056	1716	12		4 33	34	Kia Yew 嘉祐 Ka-yü	10
1057	1717	13		5 34	35	2	11
1058	1718	14	Kō-hei 康平	1 35	36	3	12
1059	1719	15		2 36	37	4	13
1060	1720	16		3 37	38	5	14
1061	1721	17		4 38	39	6	15
1062	1722	18		5 39	40	7	16
1063	1723	19		6 40	41	8	17
1064	1724	20		7 41	1	Chih Ping 治平 Ji-hei	18
1065	1725	21	Ji-ryaku 治暦	1 42	2	2	19
1066	1726	22		2 43	3	3	20
1067	1727	23		3 44	4	4	21
1068	1728	Go-San-jō 後三條 (Sanjō II)	1	4 45	1	Ili Ning 寧寧 Ki-uei	22
1069	1729	2	En-kyū 延久	1 46	2	2	23
1070	1730	3		2 47	3	3	24

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Shén Tsung 神宗 Shin-so	Hí Ning 熙寧 Ki-nei	Mun-chong 文宗 Bun-so
1071	1731	Go-San-jō 後三條	4 En-kyū 延久	3 48	4	4	25
1072	1732		5	4 49	5	5	26
1073	1733	Shira-kawa 白河	1	5 50	6	6	27
1074	1734		2 Shō-hō 承保	1 51	7	7	28
1075	1735		3	2 52	8	8	29
1076	1736		4	3 53	9	9	30
1077	1737		5 Shō-reki 承暦	1 54	10	10	31
1078	1738		6	2 55	11	Yüan Feng 元豐 Gen-hō	32
1079	1739		7	3 56	12	12	33
1080	1740		8	4 57	13	13	34
1081	1741		9 Ei-hō 永保	1 58	14	14	35
1082	1742		10	2 59	15	15	36
1083	1743		11	3 60	16	16	1 1
1084	1744		12 Ō-toku 應徳	1 1	17	17	1 1
1085	1745		13	2 2	18	18	2 2
1086	1746		14	3 3	Ch'é Tsung 哲宗 Tetsu-so	1	3 3
1087	1747	Hori-kawa 堀河	1 Kwan-ji 寛治	1 4	2	Yüan Yew 元祐 Gen-yū	4 4
1088	1748		2	2 5	3	3	5 5
1089	1749		3	3 6	4	4	6 6
1090	1750		4	4 7	5	5	7 7

Chris-Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.						
1461	1751	Hōri-kawa 堀河	5	8	Yüan Yew 元祐 Gen-yü	Syön Chong 宣宗 Sen-so
1462	1752	6	6	9	7	9
1463	1753	7	7	10	8	10
1464	1754	8	8	11	9	11
1465	1755	9	9	12	10	1
1466	1756	10	10	13	11	2
1467	1757	11	11	14	12	3
1468	1758	12	12	15	13	4
1469	1759	13	13	16	14	5
1470	1760	14	14	17	15	6
1471	1761	15	15	18	1	7
1472	1762	16	16	19	2	8
1473	1763	17	17	20	3	9
1474	1764	18	18	21	4	10
1475	1765	19	19	22	5	1
1476	1766	20	20	23	6	2
1477	1767	21	21	24	7	3
1478	1768	22	22	25	8	4
1479	1769	23	23	26	9	5
1480	1770	24	24	27	10	

Chris-Japan- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.				Hwei Tsung Ki-so	Cheng Ho 政和 Sei-wa	Yōi-chong 睿宗 Bi-so
1111	1771	5 Ten-ei 天永	2	11	1	6
1112	1772	6	3	12	2	7
1113	1773	7 Ei-kyū 永久	1	13	3	8
1114	1774	8	2	14	4	9
1115	1775	9	3	15	5	10
1116	1776	10	4	16	6	11
1117	1777	11	5	17	7	12
1118	1778	12 (ten-ei 元永	1	18	Chung Ho 重和 Jū-wa	13
1119	1779	13	2	19	Sian Ho 宣和 Sen-wa	14
1120	1780	14 Ho-an 保安	1	20	2	15
1121	1781	15	2	21	3	16
1122	1782	16	3	22	4	17
1123	1783	1	4	23	5	1
1124	1784	2 Ten-ji 天治	1	24	6	2
1125	1785	3	2	25	7	3
1126	1786	4 Dai-ji 大治	1	K'in Tsung 欽宗 Kin-so	Tsing K'ang 靖康 Sei-ko.	4
			43	1	1	
				[Southern Sung 南宋 or So, Dynasty] Kao Tsung 高宗 Ko-so	Kien Yen 建炎 Ken-en	5
1127	1787	5	2	44	1	6
1128	1788	6	3	45	2	7
1129	1789	7	4	46	3	8
1130	1790	8	5	47	4	

Chris- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.	Shu-toku 崇德	9 Ten-shō 天承	1 48	[Southern Sung 南宋 Kao Tsung 高宗 KG-sō	Shao Hing 紹興 Shō-kō	In-chong 仁宗 Jin-sō
1131 1791		10 Chō-shō 長承	1 49	5	1	9
1132 1792		11	2 50	6	2	10
1133 1793		12	3 51	7	3	11
1134 1794		13 Hō-en 保延	1 52	8	4	12
1135 1795		14	2 53	9	5	13
1136 1796		15	3 54	10	6	14
1137 1797		16	4 55	11	7	15
1138 1798		17	5 56	12	8	16
1139 1799		18	6 57	13	9	17
1140 1800		19 Hō-ji 永治	1 58	14	10	18
1141 1801		1 Kō-ji 康治	1 59	15	11	19
1142 1802	Kono-e 近衛	2	2 60	16	12	20
1143 1803		3 Ten-yō 天養	1 1	17	13	21
1144 1804		4 Kyū-an 元安	2 3	18	14	22
1145 1805		5	3 4	19	15	23
1146 1806		6	4 5	20	16	24
1147 1807		7	5 6	21	17	Fai-chong 毅宗 Ki-sō
1148 1808		8	6 7	22	18	1
1149 1809		9	7	23	19	2
1150 1810				24	20	3



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Kao Tsung 高宗 Ko-so	Shao Hing 紹興 Sho-ki	Eui-chong 毅宗 Ki-so
1151	1811	Kono-e 近衛	10 Nin-pei 仁平	1	25	21	5
1152	1812		11	2	26	22	6
1153	1813		12	3	27	23	7
1154	1814		13 Kyū-ju 久壽	1	28	24	8
1155	1815	Go-Shira-kawa 後白河	1	2	29	25	9
1156	1816	(Shirakawa II)	2 Ho-gen 保元	1	30	26	10
1157	1817		3	2	31	27	11
1158	1818		4	3	32	28	12
1159	1819	Ni-jō 二條	1 Hei-ji 平治	1	33	29	13
1160	1820		2 Ei-neki 永祿	1	34	30	14
1161	1821		3 Gō-hō 應保	1	35	31	15
1162	1822		4	2	36	32	16
1163	1823		5 Chō-kwan 長寛	1	37	1	17
1164	1824		6	2	38	2	18
1165	1825	Roku-jō 六條	1 Ei-nan 永萬	1	39	3	19
1166	1826		2 Nin-an 仁安	1	40	4	20
1167	1827		3	2	41	5	21
1168	1828	Taka-kura 高倉	1	3	42	6	22
1169	1829		2 Ka-ō 嘉應	1	43	7	23
1170	1830		3	2	44	8	24

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year. of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Hiao Tsung 孝宗 Kō-sō	K'ien Tao 乾道 Kan-dō	Myōng-ehong 明宗 Mei-sō
1171	1831	Taka-kura 高倉	4 Shō-an 承安	1 28	9		1
1172	1832		5	2 29	10		2
1173	1833		6	3 30	11		3
1174	1834		7	4 31	12	Shun Hsi 淳熙 Jun-ki	4
1175	1835		8 An-gen 安元	1 32	13		5
1176	1836		9	2 33	14		6
1177	1837		10 Ji-shō 治承	1 34	15		7
1178	1838		11	2 35	16		8
1179	1839		12	3 36	17		9
1180	1840	An-toku 徳安	1	4 37	18		10
1181	1841		2 Yō-wa 養和	1 38	19		11
1182	1842		3 Ju-ei 壽永	1 39	20		12
1183	1843	Go-To-ba 後鳥羽 (Toba II)	1	2 40	21		13
1184	1844		2 Gen-ryaku 元暦	1 41	22		14
1185	1845		3 Bun-ji 文治	1 42	23		15
1186	1846		4	2 43	24		16
1187	1847		5	3 44	25		17
1188	1848		6	4 45	26		18
1189	1849		7	5 46	27	Shao Hi 紹熙 Shō-ki	19
1190	1850		8 Ken-kyū 建久	1 47	Kwang Tsung 光宗 Kō-sō		20

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1191	1851	Go-To-ba 後鳥羽	Ken-kyū 建久	2 48	Kwang Tsung 光宗 Ko-so	Shao H 紹熙 Shō-ki	Myōng-chong 明宗 Mei-so
1192	1852			3 49			
1193	1853			4 50			
1194	1854			5 51			
1195	1855			6 52	Ning Tsung 寧宗 Nei-so	K'ing Yüan 慶元 Kei-gen	
1196	1856			7 53			
1197	1857			8 54			
1198	1858	Tsuchi-mi-kado 土御門		9 55			Sin-chong 神宗 Shin-so
1199	1859		Shō-ji 正治	1 56			
1200	1860			2 57			
1201	1861		Ken-nin 建仁	1 58		Kia Tai 嘉泰 Ka-tai	
1202	1862			2 59			
1203	1863			3 60			
1204	1864		Gen-kyū 元久	1 1			
1205	1865			2 2			
1206	1866		Ken-ei 建永	1 3		K'ai H 開禧 Kai-ki	Heui-chong 熙宗 Ki-so
1207	1867		Shō-gen 承元	1 4			
1208	1868			2 5			
1209	1869			3 6		Kia Ting 嘉定 Ka-tei	
1210	1870	Jun-toku 順德		4 7			

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1211	1871	Jun-toku 順德	2 Ken-ryaku 建暦	1	8		
1212	1872		3	2	9	Kia Ting 嘉定 Ka-tei	4 Heui-chong 熙宗 Ki-so
1213	1873		4	1	10	5	1 Kang-chong 康宗 Kō-so
1214	1874		5	2	11	6	2
1215	1875		6	3	12	7	1 Ko-chong 高宗 Kō-sō
1216	1876		7	4	13	8	2
1217	1877		8	5	14	9	3
1218	1878		9	6	15	10	4
1219	1879		10	7	16	11	5
1220	1880		11	8	17	12	6
1221	1881	Chū-kyō 仲基*	Shō-kyū 承久	1	18	13	7
1222	1882	Go-Hōri-kawa 後堀河		2	19	14	8
1223	1883	(Hōrikawa II)	2 Jō-ō 貞應	1	20	15	9
1224	1884		3	2	21	16	10
1225	1885		4 Gen-min 元仁	1	22	17	11
1226	1886		5 Ka-roku 嘉祿	1	23	1	12
1227	1887		6	2	24	Pao King 寶慶 Hō-kei	13
1228	1888		7 An-tei 安貞	1	25	2	14
1229	1889		8	2	26	3	15
1230	1890		9 Kwan-ki 寬喜	1	27	4	16
			10	2	28	5	17
				3	29	6	
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\* Only a few months.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengo.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengo.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1231	1891	Go-Hōri-kawa 後堀河	11 Kwan-ki 寬喜	3	Li Tsung 理宗	Shao Ting 紹定	4 Ko-chong 高宗
1232	1892	Shi-jō 四條	1 Jō-ei 貞永	1	28	5	19
1233	1893		2 Tem-puku 天福	1	29	6	20
1234	1894		3 Bun-ryaku 文暦	1	30	7	21
1235	1895		4 Ka-tei 嘉禎	1	31	8	22
1236	1896		5	2	32	9	23
1237	1897		6	3	33	10	24
1238	1898		7 Reki-nin 曆仁	1	34	11	25
1239	1899		8 En-ō 延應	1	35	12	26
1240	1900		9 Nin-ji 仁治	1	36	13	27
1241	1901		10	2	37	14	28
1242	1902	Go-Sa-ga 後嵯峨 (Saga II)	1	3	38	15	29
1243	1903		2 Kwan-gen 寬元	1	39	16	30
1244	1904		3	2	40	17	31
1245	1905		4	3	41	18	32
1246	1906	Go-Fuka-kusa 後深草	1	4	42	19	33
1247	1907	(Fukakusa II)	2 Ho-ji 寶治	1	43	20	34
1248	1908		3	2	44	21	35
1249	1909		4 Ken-chō 建長	1	45	22	36
1250	1910		5	2	46	23	37
				47	24	24	
					25	25	
					26	26	

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1251	1011	Go-bukka-kasa 後深草	6 Ken-chō 建長	3 48	Li Tsung 理宗 Ri-sō	Shun Yew 淳祐 Jun-yū	11 Ko-chong 高宗 Ko-sō
1252	1012		7	4 49	28		39
1253	1013		8	5 50	29	Pao Yew 寶祐 Hō-yū	40
1254	1014		9	6 51	30		41
1255	1015		10	7 52	31		42
1256	1016		11 Kō-gen 康元	1 53	32		43
1257	1017		12 Shō-ka 正嘉	1 54	33		44
1258	1018		13	2 55	34		45
1259	1019		14 Shō-gen 正元	1 56	35	K'ai K'ing 開慶 Kai-kei	46
1260	1020	Kame-yama 龜山	1 Bun-ō 文應	1 57	36	K'ing Tung 景定 Kei-tei	1 U-chong 元宗 Gen-so
1261	1021		2 K'ō-chō 弘長	1 58	37		2
1262	1022		3	2 59	38		3
1263	1023		4	3 60	39		4
1264	1024		5 Bun-ō 文永	1 1	40		5
1265	1025		6	2 2	Yu Tsang 度宗 Taku-sō	Hien Shun 咸淳 Hsien-shun	6
1266	1026		7	3 3	1	Kan-jun	7
1267	1027		8	4 4	2		8
1268	1028		9	5 5	3		9
1269	1029		10	6 6	4		10
1270	1030		11	7 7	5 6		11

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Tu Tsung 度宗 Taku-so	Hien Shun 咸淳 Kan-jun	Uôn-chong 元宗 Gen-so
1271	1281	Kame-yama 龜山	Bun-ei 文永	8	7	7	12
1272	1282			9	8	8	13
1273	1283			10	9	9	14
1274	1284	Go-Uda 後宇多 (Uda II)		11	10	10	15
1275	1285		Ken-ji 建治	1	1	Tô Yew 德祐 Toku-yu	1
1276	1286			2	1	King Yen 景炎 Kei-en	Chhyung-ryû-oang 忠烈王 Chû-retsu-o
1277	1287			3	2	2	2
1278	1288		Kō-an 弘安	1	1	Shang Sing 祥興 Shō-kō	3
1279	1289			2	2		4
					[Yüan 元, or Gen, Dynasty.]		5
1280	1290			3	1	Chih Yüan 至元 Shi-gen	6
1281	1291			4	2	2	7
1282	1292			5	3	3	8
1283	1293			6	4	4	9
1284	1294			7	5	5	10
1285	1295			8	6	6	11
1286	1296			9	7	7	12
1287	1297	Fushi-mi 伏見		10	8	8	13
1288	1298		Shō-ō 正應	1	9	9	14
1289	1299			2	10	10	15
1290	1300			3	11	11	16

Chris-Japan- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.	Fushimi 伏見	Shō-ō 正應	4	Shih Tan 世祖 Sei-so	Chih Yuan 至元 Shi-gen	Chhyung-ryō-oang 忠烈王 Chū-setsu-o
1291			28			17
1292			29			18
1293		Yi-nin 永仁	1			19
1294			2			20
1295			3	Ch'eng Tsung 成宗 Sei-sō	Yuan Chong 元貞 (Gen-tei)	21
1296			4			22
1297			5		Ta Te 大德 Dai-toku	23
1298	Go-Fushimi 後伏見 (Fushimi II)		6			24
1299		Shō-an 正安	1			25
1300			2			26
1301	(Go-Ni-jō 後二條 (Nijo II))		3			27
1302		Ken-gen 乾元	1			28
1303		Ka-gen 嘉元	1			29
1304			2			30
1305			3			31
1306		Toku-ji 徳治	1			32
1307			2			33
1308	Hana-zono 花園	En-kei 延慶	1	Wu Tsung 武宗 Bu-sō	Chih Ta 至大 Shi-dai	34
1309			2			Chhyung-syūn-oang 忠宣王 Chū-sen-o
1310			3			1
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Chris-Japan- tian ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.						
1311	1971	Hama-zono 花園	4	4	Chih Ta 至大 Shi-dai	Chhyung-syōng-oang 忠宣王 Chū-sen-o
1312	1972		5	1	Hwang King 皇慶 Ko-kei	
1313	1973		6	2	2	2
1314	1974		7	3	3	3
1315	1975		8	4	4	4
1316	1976		9	5	5	5
1317	1977		10	6	6	6
1318	1978	Gio-Pai-go 後醍醐 (Daigo II)	1	7	7	7
1319	1979		2	8	8	8
1320	1980		3	9	9	9
1321	1981		4	1	1	1
1322	1982		5	2	2	2
1323	1983		6	3	3	3
1324	1984		7	4	4	4
1325	1985		8	5	5	5
1326	1986		9	6	6	6
1327	1987		10	7	7	7
1328	1988		11	8	8	8
1329	1989		12	9	9	9
1330	1990		13	10	10	10

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.		Japanese Nengō.		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
		Southern.	Northern.	Southern.	Northern.				
A.D.		Go-Dai-go 後醍醐	Kō-ron 光嚴	Gen-kō 元弘			Wen Ti 文帝 Bun-tei	Tien Li 天曆 Ten-reki	Chhyung-hyōi- oang 忠惠王 Chū-kei-ō
1331	1901	14	1	1		8	2	3	1
1332	1902	15	2	2	Shō-kei 正慶	9	3	4	1
1333	1903	16	3	3		10	Shun Ti 順帝 Jun-tei	Yüan Tung 元統 Gen-tō	Chhyung-syuk- oang 忠肅王 (復 位) Chū-shuku- ō (restored)
1334	1904	Go-Dai-go 後醍醐	17		Kem-bu 建武	11	2	2	2
1335	1905	18			2	12	3	Chih Yüan 至元 Shi-gen	3
1336	1906	19	Kō-miyō 光明	En-gen 延元	Kem-bu 建武	13	4	2	4
1337	1907	20	2	2		14	5	3	5
1338	1908	21	3	3	Riaku-ō 暦應	15	6	4	6
1339	1909	Go-Mura- kami 後村上 (Murakami II)	1	4	4	16	7	5	7
1340	2000	2	4			17	8	6	8
1341	2001	3	5	Kō-koku 興國	1	18	9	Chih Chéng 至正 Shi-sei	Chhyung-hyōi- oang 忠惠王 (復 位) Chū-kei-ō (restored)
1342	2002	4	6	2		19	10	1	1
1343	2003	5	7	3	Kō-ei 康永	20	11	2	2
1344	2004	6	8	4		21	12	3	3
1345	2005	7	9	5		22	13	4	4
1346	2006	8	10	6	Tei-wa 貞和	23	14	5	Chhyung-mok- oang 忠穆王 Chū-boku-ō
1347	2007	9	11	Shō-hei 正平	1	24	15	6	1
1348	2008	10	12		2	25	16	7	2
1349	2009	11	Su-kō 崇光	3	3	26	17	8	3
1350	2010	12	2		4	27	18	9	Chhyung-tyōng- oang 忠定王 Chū-tei-ō
			3	5	Kwan-ō 觀應			10	2

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.		Japanese Nengō.		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
		Southern.	Northern.	Southern.	Northern.				
A.D.		Go-Mura- kami 後村上		Shō-hei 正本	Kwan-ō 觀應		Shun Ti 順帝 Jun-tōi	Chih Chêng 至正 Shi-sei	Chhyung-tyong- oang 忠定王 Chu-tai-ō
1351	2011	13	Su-kō 崇光 4 Go-Kō-gon 1	6		2 28	19	11	3
1352	2012	14	後光嚴 1 (Kōgon II)	7	Bun-wa 文和	1 29	20	12	1
1353	2013	15		8		2 30	21	13	2
1354	2014	16		9		3 31	22	14	3
1355	2015	17		10		4 32	23	15	4
1356	2016	18		11	Bun-bun 延文	1 33	24	16	5
1357	2017	19		12		2 34	25	17	6
1358	2018	20		13		3 35	26	18	7
1359	2019	21		14		4 36	27	19	8
1360	2020	22		15		5 37	28	20	9
1361	2021	23		16	Kō-an 康安 1	1 38	29	21	10
1362	2022	24		17	Tei-ji 貞治 1	2 39	30	22	11
1363	2023	25		18		2 40	31	23	12
1364	2024	26		19		3 41	32	24	13
1365	2025	27		20		4 42	33	25	14
1366	2026	28		21		5 43	34	26	15
1367	2027	29		22		6 44	35	27	16
1368	2028	1	Chō-kei 長慶	23	Ō-an 應安 1	1 45	[Ming 明, or Min, Dynasty.] Tai Tsu 太祖 1	1	17
1369	2029	2		24		2 46	Tai-so 太宗 2	2	18
1370	2030	3		Ken-toku 建徳 1		3 47	3	3	19

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.		Japanese Nengō.		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
		Southern.	Northern.	Southern.	Northern.				
A.D.		Chū-kei 長段	Go-En-yū 後圓融 (Enyu II)	Ken-toku 建德	Ō-an 應安	4 48	[Ming 明, or Min, Dynasty.] T'ai Tsu 太祖 Tai-so	Kōng-min-oang 恭愍王 Kyo-hin-o	20
1371	2031		4	1		4		4	
1372	2032		5	2		5		5	21
1373	2033	Go-Kame- yama	1	3		6		6	22
1374	2034	後龜山 (Kame- yama II)	2	4		7		7	23
1375	2035		3	5	Ten-ju 天授	1 52		8	1
1376	2036		4	6		2 53		9	2
1377	2037		5	7		3 54		10	3
1378	2038		6	8		4 55		11	4
1379	2039		7	9	Kō-reki 康曆	1 56		12	5
1380	2040		8	10		2 57		13	6
1381	2041		9	11	Kō-wa 弘和 永德	1 58		14	7
1382	2042		10	12		2 59		15	8
1383	2043		11	1		3 60		16	9
1384	2044		12	2	Shi-toku 至德	1 1		17	10†
1385	2045		13	3		2 2		18	11†
1386	2046		14	4		3 3		19	12†
1387	2047		15	5	Ka-kei 嘉慶	1 4		20	13†
1388	2048		16	6		2 5		21	14†
1389	2049		17	7	Kō-o 康應 Met-toku 明德	1 6		22	1†
1390	2050		18	8		7		23	2†

† Inserted by some.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.		Japanese Nengō.		Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King. Chyo-syon 朝鮮 Chō-sen*
		Southern.	Northern.	Southern.	Northern.				
A.D. 1391	2051	Go-Kame- yama 後龜山	Go-Ko-matsu 後小松	Gen-chū 元中	Mei-toku 明徳	8	T'ai Tsu 太祖 Tai-so	Hung Wu 洪武 Kō-bu	
1392	2052		10		3	9		25	1
1393	2053		11		4	10		26	2
1394	2054		12		1	11		27	3
1395	2055		13		2	12		28	4
1396	2056		14		3	13		29	5
1397	2057		15		4	14		30	6
1398	2058		16		5	15		31	7
1399	2059		17		6	16	Hwei Ti 惠帝 Kei-tei	Kien Wen 建文 Kem-bun	Tyōng-chong 定宗 Tai-so
1400	2060		18		7	17		2	2
1401	2061		19		8	18		3	1
					9	19		4	2
1402	2062		20		10	20		1	3
1403	2063		21		11	21	Ch'eng Tsu 成祖 Sei-so	Yung Ho 永樂 Tai-raku	4
1404	2064		22		12	22		2	5
1405	2065		23		13	23		3	6
1406	2066		24		14	24		4	7
1407	2067		25		15	25		5	8
1408	2068		26		16	26		6	9
1409	2069		27		17	27		7	10
1410	2070		28		18	28		8	

\* Name of country.

Chris- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.				Ch'êng Tsu 成祖 Sei-so	Yung Lo 永樂 Ei-raku	Thai-chong 太宗 Tai-sō
1411	Go-Ko-matsu 後小松	29 應永	18 28	9	9	11
1412	Shō-kō 稱光	1	19 29	10	10	12
1413		2	20 30	11	11	13
1414		3	21 31	12	12	14
1415		4	22 32	13	13	15
1416		5	23 33	14	14	16
1417		6	24 34	15	15	17
1418		7	25 35	16	16	18
1419		8	26 36	17	17	1 18 Syōi-chong 世宗 Sei-so
1420		9	27 37	18	18	2
1421		10	28 38	19	19	3
1422		11	29 39	20	20	4
1423		12	30 40	21	21	5
1424		13	31 41	22	22	6
1425		14	32 42	Jên Tsung 仁宗 Jin-so	Hung Ii 洪熙 Kō-ki	7
1426		15	33 43	Shian Tsung 宣宗 Sen-so	Shian Tē 宣德 Sen-toku	8
1427		16	34 44	2	2	9
1428	Go-I-Iana-zono 後花園	1 Shō-chō 正長	1 45	3	3	10
1429	(I-Iana-zono II)	2 Ei-kyō 永享	1 46	4	4	11
1430		3	2 47	5	5	12

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.		Go-Hana-zono 後花園			Sūan Tsung 宣宗 Sen-sō	Sūan Tē 宣德 Sen-toku	Syōi-chong 世宗 Sei-sō
1431	2091	4	Ei-kyō 永享	3	6	6	13
1432	2092	5		4	7	7	14
1433	2093	6		5	8	8	15
1434	2094	7		6	9	9	16
1435	2095	8		7	10	10	17
1436	2096	9		8	Ying Tsung 英宗 Ei-sō	Cheng Tung 正統 Sei-tō	18
1437	2097	10		9	1	1	19
1438	2098	11		10	2	2	20
1439	2099	12		11	3	3	21
1440	2100	13		12	4	4	22
1441	2101	14	Ka-kitsu 嘉吉	1	5	5	23
1442	2102	15		2	6	6	24
1443	2103	16		3	7	7	25
1444	2104	17	Bun-an 文安	1	8	8	26
1445	2105	18		2	9	9	27
1446	2106	19		3	10	10	28
1447	2107	20		4	11	11	29
1448	2108	21		5	12	12	30
1449	2109	22	Hō-toku 寶徳	1	13	13	31
1450	2110	23		2	14 {Tai Tsung 代宗 Dai-sō} {King Ti 景帝 Kei-tei}	King Tai 景泰 Kei-tai	32

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.		Go-Hana-zono 後花園			{ Tai Tsung 太宗 Dai-sō } { King Ti 景帝 Kei-tei }	King Tai 景泰 Kei-tai	Mun-chong 文宗 Bun-sō
1451	2111	24	Hō-toku 寶徳	3	2	2	1
1452	2112	25	Kyō-toku 亨徳	1	3	3	2
1453	2113	26		2	4	4	1
1454	2114	27		3	5	5	2
1455	2115	28	Kō-shō 康正	1	6	6	3
1456	2116	29		2	7	7	1
1457	2117	30	Chō-roku 長祿	1	1	T'ien Shun 天順 Ten-jun	Syōi-cho 世祖 Sei-sō
1458	2118	31		2	2	2	2
1459	2119	32		3	3	3	3
1460	2120	33	Kwan-shō 寬正	1	4	4	4
1461	2121	34		2	5	5	5
1462	2122	35		3	6	6	6
1463	2123	36		4	7	7	7
1464	2124	1		5	8	8	8
1465	2125	2		6	1	Ch'eng Ii wa 成化 Sei-kwa	9
1466	2126	3	Bun-shō 文正	1	2	2	10
1467	2127	4	Ō-nin 應仁	1	3	3	11
1468	2128	5		2	4	4	12
1469	2129	6	Bun-mei 文明	1	5	5	13
1470	2130	7		2	6	6	1
							Yōi-chong 顯宗 Ei-sō Syōng-chong 成宗 Sei-sō



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.	
1471	2131	Go-Tsuchi-mi-kado 後土御門	8	3	28	Ilien Tsung 懿宗 Ken-sō	Syōng-chong 成宗 Sei-sō	2
1472	2132		9	4	29		7	3
1473	2133		10	5	30		8	4
1474	2134		11	6	31		9	5
1475	2135		12	7	32		10	6
1476	2136		13	8	33		11	7
1477	2137		14	9	34		12	8
1478	2138		15	10	35		13	9
1479	2139		16	11	36		14	10
1480	2140		17	12	37		15	11
1481	2141		18	13	38		16	12
1482	2142		19	14	39		17	13
1483	2143		20	15	40		18	14
1484	2144		21	16	41		19	15
1485	2145		22	17	42		20	16
1486	2146		23	18	43		21	17
1487	2147		24	1	44		22	18
1488	2148		25	2	45	23	19	
1489	2149		26	1	46	Hiao Tsung 孝宗 Kō-sō	Hung Chih 弘治 Kō-ji	20
1490	2150		27	2	47	1	2	21
						2	3	

Chris- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.	Go-Tsuchi-mi-kado 後土御門			Hiao Tsung 孝宗 Kō-so	Hung Chi 弘治 Kō-ji	Syong-chong 成宗 Sōi-so
1491	2151	28	3	48	4	1
1492	2152	29	1	49	5	5
1493	2153	30	2	50	6	6
1494	2154	31	3	51	7	24
1495	2155	32		52	8	25
1496	2156	33	5	53	9	Yon-san-kun* 燕山君 Yō-san-kun
1497	2157	34	6	54	10	1
1498	2158	35	7	55	11	2
1499	2159	36	8	56	12	3
1500	2160	1	9	57	13	4
1501	2161 (Go-Kashi-wara 後柏原 (Kashiwara II)	2	1	58	14	5
1502	2162	3	2	59	15	6
1503	2163	4	3	60	16	7
1504	2164	5	1	1	17	8
1505	2165	6	2	2	18	9
1506	2166	7	3	3	1	10
1507	2167	8	4	4	Cheng Tè 正徳 Sei-toku	11
1508	2168	9	5	5	2	Chung-chong 中宗 Shū-so
1509	2169	10	6	6	3	1
1510	2170	11	7	7	4	2
					5	3
						4
						5

\* "Kun" means "Prince."

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.		Go-Kashi-wara 後柏原	Ei-shō 永正	8	Wu Tsung 武宗 Bū-sō	Chêng Tâ 正徳 Sei-toku	Chung-chong 中宗 Chū-sō
1511	2171	12		8		6	6
1512	2172	13		9		7	7
1513	2173	14		10		8	8
1514	2174	15		11		9	9
1515	2175	16		12		10	10
1516	2176	17		13		11	11
1517	2177	18		14		12	12
1518	2178	19		15		13	13
1519	2179	20		16		14	14
1520	2180	21		17		15	15
1521	2181	22	Tai-ei 大永	1		16	16
1522	2182	23		2	Shih Tsung 世宗 Sei-sō	Kia Tsing 嘉靖 Ka-sei	17
1523	2183	24		3		1	18
1524	2184	25		4		2	19
1525	2185	26		5		3	20
1526	2186	1		6		4	21
1527	2187	2		7		5	22
1528	2188	3	Kyō-roku 享祿	1		6	23
1529	2189	4		2		7	24
1530	2190	5		3		8	25

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Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Shih Tsung 世宗 Sei-so	Kia Tsing 嘉靖 Ka-sei	Chung-chong 中宗 Chū-so
1531	2191	Go-Nara 後奈良	6 Kyo-roku 享祿	28	10	10	26
1532	2192		7 Tem-bun 天文	29	11	11	27
1533	2193		8	30	12	12	28
1534	2194		9	31	13	13	29
1535	2195		10	32	14	14	30
1536	2196		11	33	15	15	31
1537	2197		12	34	16	16	32
1538	2198		13	35	17	17	33
1539	2199		14	36	18	18	34
1540	2200		15	37	19	19	35
1541	2201		16	38	20	20	36
1542	2202		17	39	21	21	37
1543	2203		18	40	22	22	38
1544	2204		19	41	23	23	39
1545	2205		20	42	24	24	In-chong 仁宗 Jin-sū 1
1546	2206		21	43	25	25	Myōng-chong 明宗 Mei-sū 1
1547	2207		22	44	26	26	2
1548	2208		23	45	27	27	3
1549	2209		24	46	28	28	4
1550	2210		25	47	29	29	5

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengo.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengo.	Korean King.
A.D.					Shih Tsung 世宗 Sci-so	Kia Tsing 嘉靖 Ka-sei	Myōng-chong 明宗 Mei-so
1561	2211	Go-Nara 後奈良	26 Tem-bun 天文	20 48	30	30	6
1562	2212		27	21 49	31	31	7
1563	2213		28	22 50	32	32	8
1564	2214		29	23 51	33	33	9
1565	2215		30 Kō-ji 弘治	1 52	34	34	10
1566	2216		31	2 53	35	35	11
1567	2217	Ō-ge-machi 正親町	1	3 54	36	36	12
1568	2218		2 Ei-roku 永祿	1 55	37	37	13
1569	2219		3	2 56	38	38	14
1560	2220		4	3 57	39	39	15
1561	2221		5	4 58	40	40	16
1562	2222		6	5 59	41	41	17
1563	2223		7	6 60	42	42	18
1564	2224		8	7 1	43	43	19
1565	2225		9	8 2	44	44	20
1566	2226		10	9 3	45	45	21
1567	2227		11	10 1	Mu Tsung 穆宗 Boku-so	Lang King 隆慶 Lang-kei	22
1568	2228		12	11 5			23
1569	2229		13	12 6			24
1570	2230		14 Gen-ki 元祿	1 7			25

Chinese-Japanese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.	Ō-ai-nachi 正安	Gen-ki 元龜	2 8	Mu 'Tsung 穆宗 Boku-so	Lang K'ang 隆慶 Hyun-kei	Sy-an-cho 宣祖 Sen-so
1511 2231	15	3	9	5	5	4
1512 2232	16	1	10	6	6	5
1513 2233	17	Ten-shō 天正	2 11	Shen 'Tsung 神宗 Shin-so	Wan Li 萬曆 Man-wei	6
1514 2234	18	3	12	1	1	7
1515 2235	19	4	13	2	2	8
1516 2236	20	5	14	3	3	9
1517 2237	21	6	15	4	4	10
1518 2238	22	7	16	5	5	11
1519 2239	23	8	17	6	6	12
1520 2240	24	9	18	7	7	13
1521 2241	25	10	19	8	8	14
1522 2242	26	11	20	9	9	15
1523 2243	27	12	21	10	10	16
1524 2244	28	13	22	11	11	17
1525 2245	29	14	23	12	12	18
1526 2246	30	15	24	13	13	19
1527 2247	Go-Yō-zei 後陽成 (Yōzei II)	16	25	14	14	20
1528 2248	2	17	26	15	15	21
1529 2249	3	18	27	16	16	22
1530 2250	4			17	17	23

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1591	2251	Go-Yōzei 後陽成	Ten-shō 天正	19	Shōn Tsung 神宗	Wan Yi 萬曆	Syōng-cho 宣祖
1592	2252	6	Dan-roku 文祿	1	20	Man-reki	24
1593	2253	7		2	21		25
1594	2254	8		3	22		26
1595	2255	9		4	23		27
1596	2256	10	Kei-chō 慶長	1	24		28
1597	2257	11		2	25		29
1598	2258	12		3	26		30
1599	2259	13		4	27		31
1600	2260	14		5	28		32
1601	2261	15		6	29		33
1602	2262	16		7	30		34
1603	2263	17		8	31		35
1604	2264	18		9	32		36
1605	2265	19		10	33		37
1606	2266	20		11	34		38
1607	2267	21		12	35		39
1608	2268	22		13	36		40
1609	2269	23		14	37		41
1610	2270	24		15	38		Koang-hai-kun* 光海君 Kō-kai-kun*
				46			1
				47			2

\* "Prince."

Chris- tian Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengo.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengo.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengo.	Korean King.
A.D.	Go-Mizunoo 後水尾 Mizunoo II)	Kei-chō 慶長	16	Shen Tsung 神宗 Shin-so	Wan Li 萬曆 Man-reki			Koang-hui-kun 光海君 Kō-kai-kun
1611	2271		48	39	39			3
1612	2272		49	40	40			4
1613	2273		50	41	41			5
1614	2274		51	42	42			6
1615	2275	Gen-na 元和	1	43	43			7
1616	2276		53	44	44	[Ts'ing 清, or Shin, Dynasty.] T'ai T'ung 1 天命 Ming 1		8
1617	2277		54	45	45	T'ai T'ung 2 天命 Tem-mei 2		9
1618	2278		55	46	46	3		10
1619	2279		56	47	47	4		11
1620	2280		57	Kwang Tsung 光宗 Kō-sō 1	T'ai Ch'ang 泰昌 Tai-shō 1	5		12
1621	2281		58	1	T'ien K'ü 天啓 Ten-kei 1	6		13
1622	2282		59	2	2	7		14
1623	2283		60	3	3	8		1
1624	2284	Kwan-er 寬永	1	4	4	9		2
1625	2285		2	5	5	10		3
1626	2286		3	6	6	11		4
1627	2287		4	7	7	T'ai Tsung 太宗 Tai-sō		5
1628	2288		5	Chwang Lieh 莊烈帝 Ti 1 Sō-ret-tei 1	Tsung Cheng 崇禎 Su-tei 1	2	T'ien Tsung 天聰 Ten-sō	6
1629	2289		6	2	2	3		7
1630	2290	Myō-shō 明正 (Empress)	7	3	3	4		8





Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.		Go-Kō-myō 後光明	Keian 慶安	28	Ti Yu Lang 帝由榔 Tei-yu-rō	Yung Li 永曆 Bi-reki	Shih Tzu 世祖 Sei-so	Shun Chih 順治 Jun-ji	Hyo-chong 孝宗 Kō-so
1651	2311	9	4	28	5	5	8	8	2
1652	2312	10	1	29	6	6	9	9	3
1653	2313	11	2	30	7	7	10	10	4
1654	2314	1	3	31	8	8	11	11	5
1655	2315	Go-Sai-in 後西院 (Saiin II)	Mei-reki 明曆	32	9	9	12	12	6
1656	2316	3	2	33	10	10	13	13	7
1657	2317	4	3	34	11	11	14	14	8
1658	2318	5	1	35	12	12	15	15	9
1659	2319	6	2	36	13	13	16	16	10
1660	2320	7	3	37	14	14	17	17	1
1661	2321	8	Kwam-lan 寬文	38	15	15	18	18	2
1662	2322	9	2	39	Emperor. Shêng Tsu 聖祖 Sei-so	[Ts'ing 清, or Shün, Dynasty.] K'ang Hsi 康熙 Kō-ki	Nengō.	Hyon-chong 顯宗 Ken-sō	3
1663	2323	Rei-geon 靈元	3	40	2	2	2	2	4
1664	2324	2	4	41	3	3	3	3	5
1665	2325	3	5	42	4	4	4	4	6
1666	2326	4	6	43	5	5	5	5	7
1667	2327	5	7	44	6	6	6	6	8
1668	2328	6	8	45	7	7	7	7	9
1669	2329	8	9	46	8	8	8	8	10
1670	2330		10	47	9	9	9	9	11

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1671	2331	Rei-gen 靈元	9 Kwam-bun 寬文 11	48	[Ts'ing 清, or Shin, Dynasty.] Shêng Tsu 聖祖 Sei-so	K'ang Hsi 康熙 K'ô-ki	Hyôn-chong 顯宗 Ken-sô
1672	2332		10	49			
1673	2333		11 Em-pô 延寶	50			
1674	2334		12	51			Syuk-chong 肅宗 Shuku-sô
1675	2335		13	52			
1676	2336		14	53			
1677	2337		15	54			
1678	2338		16	55			
1679	2339		17	56			
1680	2340		18	57			
1681	2341		19 Ten-wa 天和	58			
1682	2342		20	59			
1683	2343		21	60			
1684	2344		22 Jô-kyô 貞享	1			
1685	2345		23	2			
1686	2346		24	3			
1687	2347	Higashi-yama 東山	1	4			
1688	2348		2 Gen-roku 元禄	5			
1689	2349		3	6			
1690	2350		4	7			

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.		Higashi-yama 東山	5	4	Shêng Tsu 聖祖 Sei-so	K'ang Hsi 康熙 K'ô-ki	Syuk-chong 肅宗 Shukn-so
1691	2351		5	8	30	30	17
1692	2352		6	9	31	31	18
1693	2353		7	10	32	32	19
1694	2354		8	11	33	33	20
1695	2355		9	12	34	34	21
1696	2356		10	13	35	35	22
1697	2357		11	14	36	36	23
1698	2358		12	15	37	37	24
1699	2359		13	16	38	38	25
1700	2360		14	17	39	39	26
1701	2361		15	18	40	40	27
1702	2362		16	19	41	41	28
1703	2363		17	20	42	42	29
1704	2364		18	21	43	43	30
1705	2365		19	22	44	44	31
1706	2366		20	23	45	45	32
1707	2367		21	24	46	46	33
1708	2368		22	25	47	47	34
1709	2369	Naka-mi-kado 中御門	1	26	48	48	35
1710	2370		2	27	49	49	36

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.		Naka-mi-kado 中御門	3 Shō-toku 正徳	1 28	Shōng Tsu 聖祖 Sei-so	K'ang Hsi 康熙 K'ü-ki	Syuk-chong 肅宗 Shuku-so
1711	2371			2 29	50	50	37
1712	2372	4		3 30	51	51	38
1713	2373	5		4 31	52	52	39
1714	2374	6		5 32	53	53	40
1715	2375	7		1 33	54	54	41
1716	2376	8	Kyō-hō 享保	2 34	55	55	42
1717	2377	9		3 35	56	56	43
1718	2378	10		4 36	57	57	44
1719	2379	11		5 37	58	58	45
1720	2380	12		6 38	59	59	46
1721	2381	13		7 39	60	60	Kyōng-Chong 景宗 Ket-so
1722	2382	14		8 40	61	61	1
1723	2383	15		9 41	Shih Tsung 世宗 Sei-so	Yung Cheng 雍正 Yō-sei	2
1724	2384	16		10 42	1	1	3
1725	2385	17		11 43	2	2	4
1726	2386	18		12 44	3	3	Yōng-chong 英宗 Yi-so
1727	2387	19		13 45	4	4	1
1728	2388	20		14 46	5	5	2
1729	2389	21		15 47	6	6	3
1730	2390	22			7	7	4
					8	8	5
							6

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.		Naka-mi-kado 中御門	23 Kyō-hō 享保	16 48	Shih Tsung 世宗 Sei-sō	Yung Ch'eng 雍正 Yü-sei	Yōng-ehong 英宗 Ei-sō
1731 2331			24	17 49	10	9	7
1732 2332			25	18 50	11	10	8
1733 2333			26	19 51	12	11	9
1734 2334			1	20 52	13	12	10
1735 2335	Sakura-machi 櫻町		2	53	Kao Tsung 高宗 Kō-sō	1 K'ien Lung 乾隆 Ken-ryū	11
1736 2336			3	54	2	2	12
1737 2337			4	55	3	3	13
1738 2338			5	56	4	4	14
1739 2339			6	57	5	5	15
1740 2400			7 Kwam-pō 寛保	1 58	6	6	16
1741 2401			8	59	7	7	17
1742 2402			9	60	8	8	18
1743 2403			10 En-kyō 延享	1 1	9	9	19
1744 2404			11	2	10	10	20
1745 2405			12	3	11	11	21
1746 2406			1	4	12	12	22
1747 2407	Momo-zono 桃園		2 Kwan-en 寛延	1 5	13	13	23
1748 2408			3	6	14	14	24
1749 2409			4	7	15	15	25
1750 2410							26

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Kao Tsung 高宗 Kō-sō	K'ien Lung 乾隆 Ken-ryū	Yōng-chong 英宗 Yi-sō
1751	2411	Momo-zono 桃園 5	Hi-reki 寶曆 1	8	16	16	27
1752	2412	6	2	9	17	17	28
1753	2413	7	3	10	18	18	29
1754	2414	8	4	11	19	19	30
1755	2415	9	5	12	20	20	31
1756	2416	10	6	13	21	21	32
1757	2417	11	7	14	22	22	33
1758	2418	12	8	15	23	23	34
1759	2419	13	9	16	24	24	35
1760	2420	14	10	17	25	25	36
1761	2421	15	11	18	26	26	37
1762	2422	Go-Sakura-machi 1 後櫻町	12	19	27	27	38
1763	2423	(Sakuramachi II) 2 (Empress)	13	20	28	28	39
1764	2424	3	Mei-wa 明和 1	21	29	29	40
1765	2425	4	2	22	30	30	41
1766	2426	5	3	23	31	31	42
1767	2427	6	4	24	32	32	43
1768	2428	7	5	25	33	33	44
1769	2429	8	6	26	34	34	45
1770	2430	9	7	27	35	35	46

Chris-Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.	Go-Momo-zono 後桃園 (Momozono II)	1 Mei-wa 明和	8	Kao Tsung 高宗 Kō-sō	K'ien Lung 乾隆 Ken-ryū	Yōng-chong 英宗 Ei-sō
1771 2431			28	36	36	47
1772 2432		2 An-ei 安永	29	37	37	48
1773 2433			30	38	38	49
1774 2434			31	39	39	50
1775 2435			32	40	40	51
1776 2436			33	41	41	52
1777 2437			34	42	42	1 Chyōng-chong 正宗 ei-sō
1778 2438			35	43	43	2
1779 2439	Kō-kaku 光格		36	44	44	3
1780 2440			37	45	45	4
1781 2441		3 Tem-mei 天明	38	46	46	5
1782 2442			39	47	47	6
1783 2443			40	48	48	7
1784 2444			41	49	49	8
1785 2445			42	50	50	9
1786 2446			43	51	51	10
1787 2447			44	52	52	11
1788 2448			45	53	53	12
1789 2449		11 Kwan-sei 寛政	46	54	54	13
1790 2450			47	55	55	14



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1701	2451	Kō-kaku 光格	13	48	Kao Tsung 高宗 Kō-sō	K'ien Lung 乾隆 Ken-ryu	Chyōng-chong 正宗 Sei-sō
1702	2452		14	49			
1703	2453		15	50			
1704	2454		16	51			
1705	2455		17	52			
1706	2456		18	53	Jen Tsung 仁宗 Jin-sō	Kia K'ing 嘉慶 Ka-kei	
1707	2457		19	54			
1708	2458		20	55			
1709	2459		21	56			
1800	2460		22	57			
1801	2461		23	58			
1802	2462		24	59			Syun-cho 純祖 Jun-so
1803	2463		25	60			
1804	2464		26	1			
1805	2465		27	2			
1806	2466		28	3			
1807	2467		29	4			
1808	2468		30	5			
1809	2469		31	6			
1810	2470		32	7			

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.					Jên Tsung 仁宗 Jin-sō	Kia King 嘉慶 Ka-kei	Syun-cho 純祖 Jun-sō
1811	2471	33 Kō-kaku 光格	8 Bun-kwa 文化	8	16	16	11
1812	2472	34	9	9	17	17	12
1813	2473	35	10	10	18	18	13
1814	2474	36	11	11	19	19	14
1815	2475	37	12	12	20	20	15
1816	2476	38	13	13	21	21	16
1817	2477	1 Nin-kō 仁孝	14	14	22	22	17
1818	2478	2	1 Bun-sei 文政	15	23	23	18
1819	2479	3	2	16	24	24	19
1820	2480	4	3	17	25	25	20
1821	2481	5	4	18	1 Sūan Tsung 宣宗 Sen-sō	1 Tao Kwang 道光 Dō-kō	21
1822	2482	6	5	19	2	2	22
1823	2483	7	6	20	3	3	23
1824	2484	8	7	21	4	4	24
1825	2485	9	8	22	5	5	25
1826	2486	10	9	23	6	6	26
1827	2487	11	10	24	7	7	27
1828	2488	12	11	25	8	8	28
1829	2489	13	12	26	9	9	29
1830	2490	14	1 Tem-pō 天保	27	10	10	30



Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1851	2511	Kō-meï 孝明	6 Ka-ei 嘉永	4	Wên Tsung 文宗 Bun-sō	11 Hien Feng 咸豐 Kam-pō	Chhyer-chong 哲宗 Tetsu-sō
1852	2512		7	5		2	2
1853	2513		8	6		3	3
1854	2514		9 An-sei 安政	1		4	4
1855	2515		10	2		5	5
1856	2516		11	3		6	6
1857	2517		12	4		7	7
1858	2518		13	5		8	8
1859	2519		14	6		9	9
1860	2520		15 Man-en 萬延	1		10	10
1861	2521		16 Bun-kyū 文久	1		11	11
1862	2522		17	2	Mu Tsung 穆宗 Boku-sō	1 Tung Chah 同治 Dō-ji	12
1863	2523		18	3		2	13
1864	2524		19 Gen-ji 元治	1		3	14
1865	2525		20 Kei-ō 慶應	1		4	1
1866	2526		21	2		5	2
1867	2527	Mutsu-hito 睦仁	1	3		6	3
1868	2528		2 Mei-ji 明治	1		7	4
1869	2529		3	5		8	5
1870	2530		4	6		9	6
				7			7

Chris- tian Era.	Japan- ese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.
A.D.							
1871	2531	Mutsu-hito 睦仁	Mei-ji 明治	4	Mu Tsung 穆宗 Boku-so	T'ung Chih 同治 Dō-ji	I-hyōng 李熙, H-ki
1872	2532			5			
1873	2533			6			
1874	2534			7			
1875	2535			8	Ts'ai Shé 載滯 Sai-kwatsu	Kwang Ché 光緒 Kō-cho	
1876	2536			9			
1877	2537			10			
1878	2538			11			
1879	2539			12			
1880	2540			13			
1881	2541			14			
1882	2542			15			
1883	2543			16			
1884	2544			17			
1885	2545			18			
1886	2546			19			
1887	2547			20			
1888	2548			21			
1889	2549			22			
1890	2550			23			
				24			
				25			
				26			
				27			

Chinese-Japanese Era.	Japanese Emperor.	Japanese Nengō.	Year of Cycle.	Chinese Emperor.	Chinese Nengō.	Korean King.	Korean Nengō.
1871	Mutsuhito 睦仁	Meiji 明治	24	T'ai Shé 載熙	Kwang Ché 光緒 17	I-hyang 孝靈	28
1872			25	18	18		29
1873			26	19	19		30
1874			27	20	20		31
1875			28	21	21		32
1876			29	22	22		33
1877			30	23	23	Keang-mu 光武	1
1878			31	24	24	Keang-mu 光武	2
1879			32	25	25	Keang-mu 光武	3
1880			33	26	26	Keang-mu 光武	4
1881			34	27	27	Keang-mu 光武	5
1882			35	28	28	Keang-mu 光武	6
1883			36	29	29	Keang-mu 光武	7
1884			37	30	30	Keang-mu 光武	8
1885			38	31	31	Keang-mu 光武	9
1886			39	32	32	Keang-mu 光武	10
1887			40	33	33	Keang-mu 光武	1
1888			41	34	34	Keang-mu 光武	2
1889			42	35	35	Keang-mu 光武	3
1890			43	36	36	Keang-mu 光武	4
1891			44	37	37	Keang-mu 光武	5
1892			45	38	38	Keang-mu 光武	6
1893			46	39	39	Keang-mu 光武	7
1894			47	40	40	Keang-mu 光武	8
1895			48	41	41	Keang-mu 光武	9
1896			49	42	42	Keang-mu 光武	10
1897			50	43	43	Keang-mu 光武	1
1898			51	44	44	Keang-mu 光武	2
1899			52	45	45	Keang-mu 光武	3
1900			53	46	46	Keang-mu 光武	4
1901			54	47	47	Keang-mu 光武	5
1902			55	48	48	Keang-mu 光武	6
1903			56	49	49	Keang-mu 光武	7
1904			57	50	50	Keang-mu 光武	8
1905			58	51	51	Keang-mu 光武	9
1906			59	52	52	Keang-mu 光武	10
1907			60	53	53	Keang-mu 光武	1
1908			61	54	54	Keang-mu 光武	2
1909			62	55	55	Keang-mu 光武	3
1910			63	56	56	Keang-mu 光武	4

\* From 1897.



## LIST OF SHOGUN. (將 軍)

Name.	Term.	Death.
Minamoto Yoritomo 源頼朝 ... ..	1192—1199	1199
Minamoto Yori-i(y)e 源頼家 ... ..	1199—1203*	1204
Minamoto Sane-tomo 源實朝 ... ..	1203—1219	1219
Fuji-wara Yori-tsune 藤原頼經 ... ..	1226—1244*	1256
Fuji-wara Yori-tsugu 藤原頼嗣 ... ..	1244—1252*	1256
Mune-taka (Imperial Prince) 宗尊親王 ... ..	1252—1266*	1274
Kore-yasu (Imperial Prince) 惟康親王 ... ..	1266—1289*	1326
Hisa-aki(ra) (Imperial Prince) 久明親王 ... ..	1289—1308*	1328
Mori-kuni (Imperial Prince) 守邦親王 ... ..	1308—1333	1333
Mori-naga (Imperial Prince) 護良親王 ... ..	1333—1334*	1335
Nari-yoshi† (Imperial Prince) 成良親王 ... ..	1334—1336	1338
Ashi-kaga Taka-uji 足利尊氏 ... ..	1338—1356*(?)	1358
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-aki 足利義詮 ... ..	1358—1367	1367
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-mitsu 足利義満 ... ..	1368—1394*	1408
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-micchi 足利義持 ... ..	1394—1423*	1428
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-kazu 足利義量 ... ..	1423—1425	1425
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-nori 足利義敦 ... ..	1429—1441	1441
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-katsu 足利義勝 ... ..	1442—1443	1443
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-masa 足利義政 ... ..	1443—1474*	1490
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-hisa 足利義尚 ... ..	1474—1489	1489
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-tane 足利義隆 ... ..	1490—1501*	} ‡ 1511
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-zumi 足利義隆 ... ..	1494—1511	
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-tane 足利義隆 ... ..	1508—1522*	1523
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-haru 足利義晴 ... ..	1522—1546*	1550
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-teru 足利義輝 ... ..	1546—1565	1565
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-hide 足利義榮 ... ..	1568	1568
Ashi-kaga Yoshi-aki 足利義昭... ..	1568—1573	1597
Toku-gawa I(y)e-yasu 徳川家康 ... ..	1603—1605*	1616
Toku-gawa Hide-tada 徳川秀忠 ... ..	1605—1623*	1632
Toku-gawa I(y)e-mitsu 徳川家光 ... ..	1623—1651	1651
Toku-gawa I(y)e-tsuna 徳川家綱 ... ..	1651—1680	1680
Toku-gawa Tsuna-yoshi 徳川綱吉 ... ..	1680—1709	1709

\* Abdication. † Or Shige-naga. ‡ {1494—1501} {1508—1511} Two Shōgun.



Name.	Term.	Death.
Toku-gawa I(y)e-nebu 徳川家宣 ... ..	1709—1712	1712
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Toku-gawa Yoshi-mane 徳川吉宗 ... ..	1716—1745*	1751
Toku-gawa I(y)e-shige 徳川家重 . . . .	1745—1760*	1761
Toku-gawa I(y)e-haru 徳川家治 . . . .	1760—1786	1786
Toku-gawa I(y)e-nari 徳川家斉 ... ..	1778—1837*	1841
Toku-gawa I(y)e-yoshi 徳川宗睦 . . . .	1837—1853	1853
Toku-gawa I(y)e-sada 徳川家定 .. ..	1853—1858	1858
Toku-gawa I(y)e-shige 徳川家茂 ... ..	1858—1866	1866
Toku-gawa Yoshi-nobu 徳川慶喜 . . . .	1866—1867	

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[Ō(y)e Hiro-moto 大江廣元 ... ..	1216—1239	1225]
Hō-jō Yoshi-toki 北條義時 .. ..	1219—1224	1224
Hō-jō Yasu-toki 北條泰時 .. ..	1224—1242	1242
Hō-jō T-sune-toki 北條經時 ... ..	1242—1246	1246
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Hō-jō Toki-mune 北條時宗 ... ..	1256—1281	1284
Hō-jō Sada-toki 北條貞時... ..	1284—1301	1311
[Hō-jō Moro-toki 北條時時 ... ..	1301—1311	1311]
Hō-jō Taka-toki 北條高時 .. ..	1311—1326	1333

\* Abdication. † Or Ku-ki.

## NOTE.

## ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE DU JAPON\*.

(par E. Papinot.)

## VIII. ESSAI DE CRITIQUE HISTORIQUE.

## I. CHRONOLOGIE.

Father Papinot, in this portion of his work, says that he relies upon a work by Prof. Kume, who had to resign his chair in the Imperial University, but went to the Waseda University, where he continues his work of elucidating obscure points in Japanese history. Here follows the translation from French:—

From the accession of the Empress *Suiko* (A.D. 593—a date accepted as historically exact) to the death of the Emperor *Kōmei* in 1867, that is, during an interval of 1274 years, 46 generations of sovereigns have succeeded one another on the throne, which gives for each (generation) an average duration of 28 years. If we count from the birth of *Keitai* (492) to the year of the birth of the now reigning Emperor (1852), we find for the 49 generations which fill up these 1360 years the same average of 28 years. The ten generations of the *Tokugawa* (1603-1868), the nine of the *Asikaga* (1336-1573), the twelve of the *Ming* dynasty in China (1368-1653), the eleven of the *Song* (960-1280), etc., give the same result. This number, 28, does not relate to possible longevity, but is the interval which separates the births of two sovereigns, father and son. Now, in the succession to the throne it is not always the eldest son that inherits; sometimes it is the last, often the second or third, and it may even happen that the youngest son is born after the eldest *grandson* is born. The figure 28 then would be too high, if we had to do only with an eldest son; but it is too low in the

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\* *Melanges Japonais*: for April, 1907.

latter case. We may take 22 or 23 years in the former hypothesis, and about 25 for that of the second son, and so on; for we must not forget that especially in ancient times marriage was contracted in very early manhood.

These allowances being made and kept in mind, it is necessary, now, to find a sure basis for our very simple calculations so as to make them useful.

A profound study of Chinese and Corean documents—*Zen-Kan-sho*, [history of the dynasty of the first *Han* (201 B.C.—23 A.D.) by *Hanku* in the 1st century of the Christian era], the *Go-Kan-sho* [history in 120 vols of the 12 Emperors of the later *Han*], the *Shinwa-shi* [a part of the *San-oku-shiki*, or history of the three kingdoms of *Koma*, *Kudara* and *Shiragi*]—permits the fixing of the death of *Chūai* and of the birth of *Ōjin* in the 37th year of the reign of *Kikkai-nishikin* [this title, *Nishikin*, was applied to the kings of *Shiragi* in the first centuries of the Christian era] in *Shiragi*, the first of *Shōko-Ō* in *Kudara*, the second of the period of *Eitō* of the reign of Mu-ti of the dynasty of the Eastern Tsin, which would be 346 A.D., instead of 200 A.D., as given in the official chronology. From this date, and by confirming most of his figures from Chinese and Corean evidence, Mr. Kume reaches a chronology for the first 30 reigns quite different from that which was, in 1872, a little too hastily accepted and imposed as official.

We reproduce in the table on the following page these calculations of Prof. Kume.

Official Chronology.*				EMPERORS	Prof. Kume's Chronology.*			
Birth.	Accession.	Death.	Age.		Birth.	Accession.	Death.	Age.
-711	-660	-575	127	1. Jimmu . . .	- 63	- 24	- 1	63
-632	-581	-549	84	2. Suizei . . .	- 21	1	28	49
-567	-548	-511	57	3. Anhei . . .	1	29	53	52
-553	-510	-477	77	4. Hoku . . . . .	25	51	80	55
-506	-473	-333	114	5. Keitai . . . . .	43	81	168	59
-427	-332	-231	127	6. Kei . . . . .	79	169	192	62
-342	-290	-215	128	7. Kōrei . . . . .	85	182	156	61
-273	-214	-153	116	8. Kōgen . . . . .	137	177	138	51
-208	-157	- 98	111	9. Kaikō . . . . .	141	180	218	54
-148	- 97	- 30	119	10. Sujin . . . . .	141	219	249	38
- 70	- 29	70	141	11. Suinin . . . . .	220	250	282	62
- 12	71	130	143	12. Keikō . . . . .	256	283	316	60
83	131	190	103	13. Seimu . . . . .	287	317	342	55
149	192	260	52	14. Chūai . . . . .	300	343	346	46
170		239	109	Jingō-Kōgō . . . . .			380	
200	260	310	111	15. Ōjia . . . . .	346	347	408	62
290	313	399	119	16. Nintoku . . . . .	347	409	432	65
336	403	465	70	17. Richū . . . . .		433	438	
352	406	411	69	18. Hanshō . . . . .		439	442	
376	412	453	78	19. Ingyō . . . . .		443	459	
401	454	456	56	20. Ankō . . . . .		460	462	
418	457	479	62	21. Yūryaku . . . . .		463	502	
444	480	484	41	22. Seimei . . . . .		503	507	
450	485	487	38	23. Kensō . . . . .		508	510	
448	483	498	51	24. Ninken . . . . .		511	515	
?	499	500	?	25. Buretsu . . . . .		516	517	
450	507	531	82	26. Keitai . . . . .		518	523	
466	533	535	70	27. Ankan . . . . .		526	527	
467	533	539	73	28. Senka . . . . .		528	531	
510	540	571	62	29. Kimmō . . . . .		532	572	
533	572	585	43	30. Bōei . . . . .		573	585	

\* The minus sign indicates B.C.

By a simple comparison of the dates, it appears that the official chronology fixes the epoch of *Jimmu-Tennō* at more than six centuries before our era, while, if the conquests of this warrior chieftain, and the consequent foundation of the Japanese Empire, are fixed according to this revised series of dates, then it would be necessary to make this date fall only 20 or 25 years before the Christian Era. The times of the famous Empress *Jingū-Kōgō* are still 150 years too early by the official chronology. Finally, it is only from the reign of *Bitatsu*, the 30th ruler, that the dates agree, and the official list is accepted by the critic.

Going back still further than *Jimmu-Tennō*, Prof. Kume estimates that his great grandfather *Ninigi no Mikoto* would have lived 80 years before him, or in the time of the Chinese emperor *Bu-tei* (139-86 B.C.) of the *Han* dynasty. *Susano ō* would have been a cotemporary of *Bun-tei* (180-156 B.C.) and *Izanagi* of *Kō-tei* (201-194 B.C.)

The Chinese and Korean documents confirm at least the approximate exactness of these calculations, both by the agreement of the details they furnish on the history of the continent and the peninsula with what is found in the Japanese chronicles and by the course of the relations they mention between the Japanese islands and the neighboring coasts. Thus, the annals of Korea mention the accession of a Japanese prince to the throne of *Shiragi* in the first year of the period *Gohō* (Ou-fung 57-54 B.C.) of the reign of the Emperor *Sen-tei* (*Sien-ti*, 73-49 B.C.) of the *Han* dynasty. Now this prince, according to Prof. Kume, was the brother of *Jimmu-Tennō*, *Inahi no Mikoto*, who, being then 13 years old, would have been born about 69 B.C., while *Jimmu-Tennō*, his younger brother, would have been six or seven years younger.

The following division (of the article) will clear up these assertions, which (Father Papinot says) are taken bodily from the writings of Prof. Kume.

## 2. MYTHS, LEGENDS AND ANCIENT HISTORY.

In antiquity the N.E. of the Asiatic continent was inhabited by the *Shukushin*, then by the *Iryu*, the *Makkatsu*, the *Joshin*, of whom some emigrated to Karafuto, and in the *Chishima* (Kurile Islands); then they descended into *Yezo* and into the main island of Japan. These first emigrants formed several tribes called *Koropok-guru* (cave men) *Koshi-Uto*, *Nigi-Ezo*, *Ara-Ezo*, etc. Probably the *Ainu*, the *Saiki*, the *Tsuchigumo* were of the same race.

Among the *Koshi-Uto* the greater number came directly from the coasts of Corea and Manchuria, then the country of *Yoso* (*Yezo* is supposed to be a corruption of *Yoso*), and settled in the region of the *Hoku-rikudo*.

As for the *Ainu*, who came from Malaya at an unknown epoch and who had been forced back by the invasion from the north, they were scattered, part in *Yezo* and the Kuriles, and part in Formosa and the southern islands. The *Kumaso* of *Satsuma* and of *Osumi* are a branch of the tribe of the *Soro* of Borneo that landed in the southern part of *Kyūshū*, either because they sought a temperate climate or because they had been driven there by contrary winds.

At a less distant time—probably towards the tenth century before Christ—another emigration coming from the west spread through the Malayan islands and the Sunda islands, then, moving towards the north, peopled Formosa, the Loo Choo Islands, the southwest of Japan, and the southeastern coasts of China and the Korean peninsula. This new race placed in the territories they invaded governors, all of whom ascribed supreme jurisdiction to a suzerain family as a religious dogma.

The first name mentioned of this supreme dynasty is that of *Ame no mi-naka-nushi*, who is the same as *Kunitoko-tachi no Mikoto* or *Ame-toko-tachi no Mikoto*, the ancestor of the Imperial family of Japan.

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\* S.=Southern Dynasty. N.=Northern Dynasty.

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\* S.=Southern Dynasty. N.=Northern Dynasty.

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\* S.=Southern Dynasty. N.=Northern Dynasty.

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\* Ō means "King"; Tei means "Emperor."

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\* Ō means "King"; Tei means "Emperor." † Printed "Min-sō."

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\* Ō means "King"; Tei means "Emperor." † Printed "Sei-tei."

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\* Oang means "King." † Queen. ‡ Name of country. ° "Prince."

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\* Oang means "King." † Queen. ‡ Name of country.



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\* O means "King." † Name of country. ° Queen.

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† Name, not of a Nengō, but of an Emperor.

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\* Name, not of a Nengō, but of an Empress.



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† Name of country. ‡ Nengō. ° "Prince."



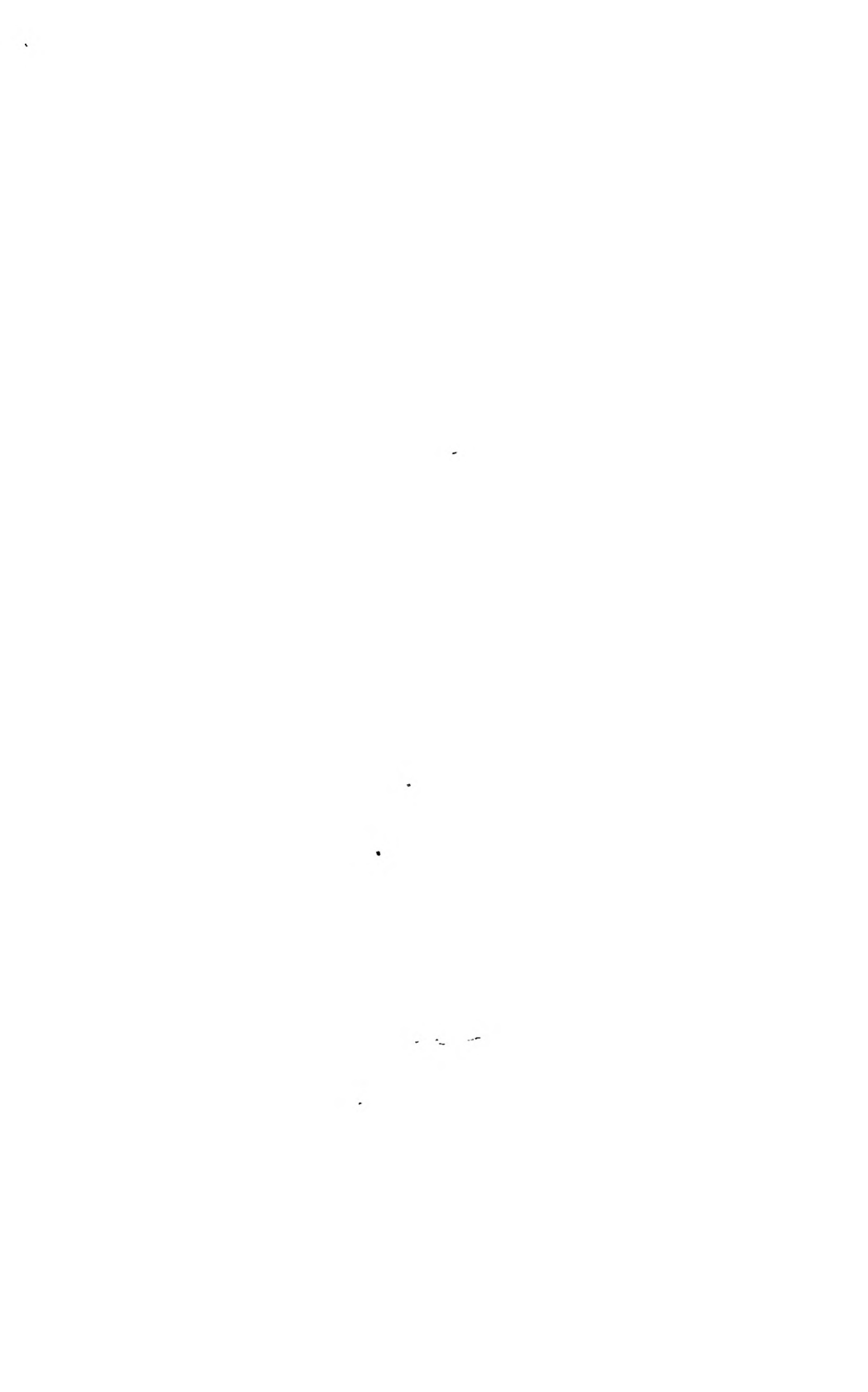


## THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms No. 1 Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m., Wednesday, Feb. 17. In the absence of H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, the President, Prof. E. H. Vickers, the Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: E. J. Libeaud, Esq., c/o Dodwell & Co., Tokyo; Dr. Thomas McCloy, Tokyo; E. M. Hobart-Hampden, Esq., British Embassy, Tokyo; Leland Harrison, Esq., American Embassy, Tokyo; Frank Mott Gunther, Esq., American Embassy, Tokyo; C. E. Bruce Mitford, Esq., care of *Japan Mail*, Yokohama, and Rev. Joseph Dahlmann, Tokyo. The Chairman then introduced Dr. M. W. de Visser, who read extracts from his paper on "The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Superstition."

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# THE DOG AND THE CAT IN JAPANESE SUPERSTITION.

BY

DR. M. W. DE VISSER.

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There is a great difference between the parts played by the dog and the cat in Japanese legend and superstition. The former is a protector of mankind, the latter mostly its deadly enemy. Yet there are also tales in which we find just the reverse: wicked dog-demons and protecting supernatural cats, but their number is small.

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## CHAPTER I.

### **The Dog and the Cat in China.**

As the main part of Japanese folklore and superstition has been introduced from China, we must first of all consider the ideas on dogs and cats, prevalent in that country from olden times. On this subject, as on all topics of this kind, we obtain exhaustive information from Professor DE GROOT's "*Religious System of China*." Section 3 of the Chapter on Zoanthropy<sup>1</sup> contains remarkable old tales about dogs transformed into

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1. Vol. IV, pp. 156 seq., devoted to *Cynanthropy*, pp. 184-187.

human shape. In one of them such a transformed dog is found in a room and beaten till he resumes his original shape and runs away. Thereupon several men, harnessed and armed with spears and bows, attack the house but are all killed or wounded and then change into dogs.<sup>1</sup> Another time transformed dogs played at cards in a pavilion at night and made people who passed the night there incur disease or death.<sup>2</sup> A book of the ninth century<sup>3</sup> speaks about a black dog in human shape who rode his master's horse at night in order to go to a grave, where he was at last discovered with several other beings with dog's hair. He was beaten to death, cooked and eaten. The son of the union of a white dog, who lived with a woman in the mountains, had a human body overgrown with white hair, and was very savage.<sup>4</sup> Also the Man barbarians were said to be descendants of a five-coloured dog who in remote ages married the youngest daughter of the Emperor, an awkward consequence of the latter's promise to give his daughter to him who could bring him the head of the chief of the barbarians.<sup>5</sup> From another passage we learn that a T'ih dog was the ancestor of the people of Tai.<sup>6</sup> *Dog-demons* as spectral bringers of evil and abusers of women are treated in Vol. V of the previously mentioned work.<sup>7</sup> White<sup>8</sup> dogs especially are frequently

1. *Books of the Early Han Dynasty* (前漢書), ch. 27, II l. 32.

2. *Shen shen hou ki*, 搜神後記, written by T'AO T'AIEN, 陶潛, who lived 365-427 (comp. Vol. IV, p. 96, note 1); ch. 9.

3. *Shen-shih chi*, 宣室志, written by CHANG TUH, 張翮, see Vol. IV, p. 135, note 1.

4. Vol. IV, pp. 256 seqq., *Siao siang luh*, 瀟湘錄, written towards the close of the T'ang dynasty, see Vol. IV, p. 200, note.

5. Vol. IV, pp. 263 seq., *Books of the Later Han Dynasty*, 後漢書, ch. 116, II l. seq.

6. Vol. IV, p. 115.

7. Pp. 571 seqq.

8. *Black* was also a common colour of demoniacal dogs. In the *Fung suh tung i* (風俗通義, written by YING SHAO, 應劭, in the second century) we read about a clever diviner who predicted the arrival of a man with an old black dog-demon, which he would use against the inmates of the house if they did not kill it and send the man away. His advice was followed and the evil averted.

mentioned in this respect; if appearing as horrible men or as spectres, singing and putting their master's handkerchief on, they were harbingers of the latter's imminent death.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes they even took the shape of the dead in order to deceive the living.<sup>2</sup> Further, dog-shaped *tree-spirits* are mentioned, tailless black dogs called *p'eng-hu*, 彭侯, or dogs with human faces,<sup>3</sup> or blue dogs, spirits of fir trees of a thousand years.<sup>4</sup> Finally the dogs are famous for their power against transformed foxes, which they cause to resume their original shape and flee away at once.<sup>5</sup>

The Japanese authors quote some other Chinese passages which throw light upon the origin of the Japanese belief in the magic power of the dog against all kinds of bad demons. TADA YOSHITOSHI<sup>6</sup> refers to the *Shi ki*<sup>7</sup> where we read the following: "By means of dogs *ku* sorcery (蠱) is kept off." Particulars about this *ku* sorcery are also to be found in DE GROOT's "*Religious System*."<sup>8</sup> It is "Sorcery by means of small reptiles and insects, which were left in a pot to devour each other, the last surviving creature, after having swallowed all the others and thus appropriated their venomous qualities, then being employed as the instrument of evil. This pot we find denoted by the special character 蠱, now pronounced *ku*, formed of the microglyph 皿, a pot or vessel, and 蟲, reptiles or insects." On p. 846 we read: "YÜ PAO<sup>9</sup> also teaches us, that its (the *ku*'s)

1. *Shen shen hu ki*, ch. 7, and *Chu kwei lun*, 志怪錄, written by LUH HUN, 陸動, under the Tang dynasty.

2. Vol. V, p. 574, *Fung sui tung i*, ch. 9.

3. Vol. IV, p. 282, *Shen shen ki*, 搜神記 (written by YÜ PAO, 于寶, in the first decades of the 4th century), ch. 18.

4. Vol. IV, p. 287, *Pao P'oh tsz*, 抱朴子 (written in the 4th century by KOH HUNG, 葛洪, see Vol. I, p. 56), § 3.

5. Vol. IV, pp. 188 seq., 191, comp., my paper on "the Fox and the Badger in Japanese Folklore," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. XXXVI.

6. 多田義俊, who lived 1697-1750, in his "*Shimmei hyōdan*," 神明憑談, quoted in the *Kōma-mu kō*, 狢犬考, *Omōi shōsho*, 溫知叢書, Vol. VIII.

7. 史記, written by SZĒ-MA TS'ÏEN, 司馬遷, under the Han dynasty Ch. V, (秦本紀).

8. Vol. V, ch. III, pp. 826-869.

9. *Shen shen ki*, ch. 12.

reptiles or insects may do their work in the shape of quite another kind of animal, as e.g. *dogs*," whereupon a story is quoted about a man who kept "canine ku" (犬 蠱) and out of whose house seven big yellow dogs rushed upon some person who called on him. In the above mentioned passage of the *Shi ki*, however, the dogs are not the instruments of this sorcery but on the contrary the *protectors* against it. LING CHI-LUNG,<sup>1</sup> an author who lived under the Ming dynasty,<sup>2</sup> gives the following explanation of this passage. "The *Fung sui tung i*<sup>3</sup> says: 'Dogs were placed at the four gates (of the capital) in order to keep the thieves off, because according to popular opinion they could distinguish strangers (from the inhabitants) and guard the houses.' For the same reason nowadays a white dog is killed and the gates are smeared with its blood in order to ward off calamity."<sup>4</sup> Another commentator, SU KWANG,<sup>5</sup> quotes the *Nien piao*,<sup>6</sup> where we read: "In the second year of the reign of Teh Kung<sup>7</sup> of Ts'in for the first time a temple was erected for dogs, which were killed [on purpose, by running them over with a carriage]. At the four gates of the capital dogs were crucified [in order to keep off evil spirits]." And CHANG SHEU-TSIEN<sup>8</sup> remarks: "*Ku* is the evil spirit of fever and does the people harm. Therefore dogs are crucified in order to keep the *ku* off." Then follows the same quotation from the *Nien piao* and the author adds: "In my opinion 磔 (crucifixion) means 攘 (driving away). A dog is an animal of Yang (陽, the element of Light). Thus, when dogs are crucified at the four gates, they drive away the bad spirits of fever."

1. 凌稚隆.

2. During the Wan-lih era, 1573-1619.

3. See above p. 3 note 2.

4. According to BRUNNEN, *J. J. M.*, Vol. V p. 239, the same custom is prevalent in Japan, but I have not found it mentioned in any Japanese work.

5. 徐廣, who lived during the elder Sung dynasty (420-479).

6. 年表, that is the 十二諸侯年表, ch. XIV of the 史記.

7. 德公. Comp. also the *Chow L. L. L.* Vol. V, ch. II, p. 826.

8. 張守節, in the *Chow L. L. L.*, 正義, written under the Tang dynasty.

In connection with these passages we may refer to the *T'ang li tsih i*,<sup>1</sup> where we read: "The two dogs<sup>2</sup> which are painted inside the Palace are an imitation of the old custom of the Ts'in dynasty" [namely of crucifying dogs at the gates in order to keep off evil spirits]. As we will see below, these facts are of the utmost value to the student of Japanese folklore because they clearly show that the ideas about the dog's protective magic power have come from China. Its barking was also believed to drive away the evil birds which menaced the life of Chinese babies,<sup>3</sup> just as it is considered as protecting Japanese infants. The dog's bad, demoniacal side, on the contrary, has apparently never become popular in Japan, for the legends in which he plays this part, so common in China, are rare in the country of the Rising Sun.

It is quite different with the *cat*, which is as bad in Japan as in China. For, although we do not read about cat-sorcery in the former country, yet the Japanese "*nekomata*" is an exceedingly dangerous demon. I have not found this anthropophagous monster with its forked tail in Chinese books, but the idea of *old age* giving it the power of changing itself into an old woman is quite Chinese. In the opinion of the people of the Middle Kingdom the vital spirit (精, *tsing*) of all beings is steadily strengthened by old age, so that it becomes able to take human shape and haunt mankind<sup>4</sup>. Further, the cat is brought into connection with *old women* in Japan as well as in China, although in a different way; in the former country they are its victims, in the latter its employers. It is again Professor DE GROOT who gives us all the details of the Chinese cat-spectre sorcery. In the chapter on Animal-demons<sup>5</sup> he states that "tales about cat-demons are scarce

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1. 唐禮集義, a book on the ceremonies of the Tang dynasty (author and date?).

2. 狗, a wolf-like dog.

3. See below.

4. Comp. DE GROOT, *Religious Superstitions*, Vol. IV, pp. 162, 287.

5. Vol. V, ch. V, nr 6, pp. 609 seqq.



in Chinese literature, so that it is tolerably evident that this class of beings has never occupied a pre-eminent place in its superstition." Thereupon he refers to a remarkable passage of the *History of the North*<sup>1</sup>, where a story is told about cat-sorcery in 598 A. D., under the Sui dynasty. In that year the Emperor was about to order his brother-in-law, named *T'uh-hu T'o*, and his wife to commit suicide for having employed cat-spectres against the Empress and another lady, who had fallen ill simultaneously. However, by the personal intervention of the Empress herself and her younger brother they were granted their life; but the man was divested of all his dignities and his wife was made a Buddhist nun. During the trial a female slave told the judges that *T'o's* mother used to sacrifice to the cat-spectres at night, on every day of the rat, and whenever a cat-spectre had killed somebody, the possessions of the victim secretly came into the house where the beast was kept. *T'o* had commanded her, the slave, to make the cat-spectre enter the palace, in order to cause the Empress to bestow many valuable presents upon him. When the judges heard this confession, they ordered the woman to call the spectre back, whereupon she set out a bowl of fragrant rice-gruel, and drumming against it with a spoon, exclaimed: "Come pussy, do not remain in the palace now." After some time her face turned blue, and, moving as if she were drawn by some unseen force she exclaimed: "Here is the cat-spectre." In the same year the Emperor ordered all families keeping cat-spectres to be banished to the farthest frontier regions.<sup>2</sup>

Another case of cat-sorcery is mentioned on p. 819 of the same volume<sup>3</sup>. A hag torments a child and makes it cry incessantly

1. 北史, ch. 61, ll 10 seq., and also *Books of the Sui Dynasty*, 隨書, ch. 79, ll 4 seq. The latter word is also quoted by MURASE KÔICHI, 村瀬樗亭, in his "Gen nussai," 延苑日涉, written in 1807, ch. XII, p. 36 b; comp. INOUE, *Yokushûgan kôgi*, Vol. IV, p. 233.

2. Vol. V, p. 825.

3. Quotation from the *Zi mo yu*, 子不語, compiled by SUI YUEN, 隨園, in the second half of the 18th century; (comp. Vol. IV, p. 106, note 1)

at night ; she does this riding on her cat, that is, on its soul as a spectral horse, but is discovered and wounded by an exorcist. The cat is beaten to death and the hag starved, whereupon the child does not cry any more. These are the only cases of cat-sorcery found by DE GROOT, nor do the Japanese authors quote other Chinese passages. As to the belief of becoming a cat after death, this made even the mighty Empress Wu forbid any cats to be kept in her palace, because a court-lady whom she had cruelly killed had said that after death she would become a cat herself and change Wu into a rat in order to throttle her in vengeance.<sup>1</sup>

Finally we have to mention the Chinese belief that a cat when leaping or walking over a deathbed causes the corpse to rise up at once. If any person was seized by the corpse in that state, he (or she) would be killed immediately ; therefore a long pole or broom is necessary in order to make it sink down again. The reason is that a tiger has on its tail a miraculous hair which causes the soul to return into the body, and a cat, a tiger in miniature, might have a similar hair. Especially on tiger days cats are believed to be dangerous near corpses. It is no wonder that the Chinese transfer their cats to the neighbours or tie them up securely as long as a body has not yet been coffined."<sup>2</sup>

So far the Chinese ideas about the dog and the cat ; now we pass to the Japanese legends.

## CHAPTER II.

### The Dog and the Cat in Japanese Legends.

The *Kōjiki* (written in 712) mentions the dog only once.<sup>3</sup> When Yūryaku Tennō (457-479) was on the way to his bride, he saw a house, built in exactly the same style as a palace.

1. Vol. V, pp. 612 seq., *New Books of the Tang Dynasty*, 唐書, ch. 76, ll 6 seq.

2. DE GROOT I.I. Vol. I, p. 43.

3. Ch. XLI, K. T. K. VII, p. 148, (K.T.K.=*Kokushi taikō*, 國史大系)

Furious at such impudence he ordered the house to be burnt down at once, but the owner came out and with a thousand excuses presented a white dog to the Emperor. As it was very rare, His Majesty accepted the dog with delight and gave it to his bride; the order to burn the house was withdrawn.

The *cat* does not appear in the *Kojiki* nor in the other old historical works. Originally there were only wild cats in Japan, but in the time of the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011) some specimens of the small house-cat were imported from China.<sup>1</sup> As they were very rare, their price was high, and only the Emperor and a few rich noblemen could afford to keep them. How much His Majesty liked these so-called *kara-neko* or "Chinese cats" we read in the *O-u-ki*<sup>2</sup> and the *Makura no sōshi*.<sup>3</sup> The former book states that "on the 19th day of the 9th month of the year 999 a cat brought forth young in the Palace. The Left and Right Minister had the task of bringing the kittens up, and prepared boxes (with delicacies) and rice and clothes for them (as for newborn babies). Uma no myōbu, a Court-lady, was appointed wet-nurse of the cats. The people laughed at the matter and were rather astonished." Another funny thing is told in the *Makura no sōshi*, namely that the Emperor Ichijō bestowed the fifth rank (that of the court-ladies) upon a cat in the Palace, and gave her the name of "Myōbu no Omoto," "Omoto the Lady-in-waiting." Once this cat was bitten by a dog, set on her for fun by one of the Ladies-in-waiting, the same whose task it had been to nurse the kittens. When the Emperor heard this he got very angry and threatened the lady with dismissal. The dog which was beaten and driven out of the Palace, returned some days afterwards so thin and miserable that it was hardly to be recognized.

Although the cats were treated so well in the Palace, in later

1. *Senzurigusa*, written by KAIŌ JAKUAN, 加藤雀庵, in 1859; ch. XXI, p. 3.

2. 小右記, the diary of FUJIWARA NO SANESUKE, 藤原實資, who lived 956-1046.

3. 枕草子, written in 1000 by SEI SHŌNAGON, 清少納言.

times, when they had become ordinary domestic animals of the people, they were apparently considered as rather dangerous brutes and tied with cords in order to prevent them from doing any mischief. Perhaps this was done also for fear that they might escape or be stolen, for they were still valuable animals. This we learn from the *Neko no sōshi*,<sup>1</sup> which states that in 1602 the Kyōto authorities posted placards on the crossroads of Ichijō, containing the following orders: "Firstly, the cords on the cats in Kyōto shall be untied and the cats shall be let loose. Secondly, it is no longer allowed to sell or buy cats. Whosoever transgresses this ordinance shall be punished with a heavy fine."

In the *Nihongi* (written in 720) we find the dog spoken of in five passages, the first of which<sup>2</sup> contains the story of the two brothers Hosusori no Mikoto and Hiko-hohodemi no Mikoto, and the former's words: "From now down to the 80th generation my descendants will serve you as dog men (inu-bito, 狗人)." This passage will be treated below in connection with the *haya-lito*. The other passages are the following.—

"Yamato-dake no Mikoto entered Shinano province and crossed the very steep and inaccessible mountains of this country till he reached the top of Mount Ōyama. As he was very hungry he took his meal in the mountains. The mountain god, however, in order to annoy the Prince, changed himself into a white stag and appeared before him. But the Prince jerked a piece of *hiru*<sup>3</sup> at the stag, hit its eye and killed it. Thereafter he went astray and did not know how to get out of the mountains. But a *white dog* appeared by itself and seemed to lead the Prince, who followed it and reached Mino province."<sup>4</sup>

1. 猫の草紙, *Oeko sōshi*, Vol. II, nr 16, p. 1.

2. Ch. II, K. T. K. Vol. I, p. 68.

3. 蒜, garlic; it is a *magic* plant which even nowadays is hung above the entrance of country houses in time of contagious diseases in order to keep the demons of disease out of the houses. Apparently it was even in the remotest ages believed to drive the demons away.

4. Ch. VII, p. 147.

"In the 13th year of the reign of the Emperor Yūryaku (469) there was in Miikuma, Harima province, a man called Ayashi no Omaro, who was strong and daring, and whose conduct was very riotous. He plundered the people on the road and did not allow them to pass; further he stopped the boats of tradesmen and robbed them of all their wares. Moreover, he violated the Law of the Empire and did not pay his taxes. Then the Emperor sent Kasuga no Ono no Omi Ōki, who went with a hundred fearless warriors, surrounded the robber's house and set it on fire. At once there came from out the flames a *white dog* and rushed upon Ōki no Omi. Its size was as that of a horse, but Ōki, without turning pale, drew his sword and slew the brute, which immediately changed into Ayashi no Omaro."<sup>1</sup>

In Ch. XXI (p. 368) we only read about the faithfulness of two dogs, without any connection with superstition. One of them, the dog of a conquered rebel, who had killed himself and whose body was cut into eight pieces and divided over eight provinces by order of the Emperor, took its master's head in its mouth and laid it upon an old grave. Then the dog lay down near the head and died. When the Emperor heard this, he was deeply moved and ordered both man and dog to be buried side by side. The other dog knew the parts of its master's body out of those of hundreds of others, who were all killed in a battle, put them together and kept watch over them till they were coffined.<sup>2</sup>

In 659 a dog came with the arm of a dead man in its mouth and laid it in the Ifuya temple. This was an omen of the approaching death of the Empress Saimai (655-661).<sup>3</sup>

1. Ch. XIV, p. 252. The same story is to be found in the *Nihon kiryaku*, Ch. V, p. 126 and in the *Tsun'yakku*, Ch. II, p. 470.

2. According to the text of the *Kōshiki tōshū* the dog knew all the bodies, but this is certainly wrong and can be corrected by changing the character 至 (thrd alinea) into 主, as another text gives.

3. Ch. XXVI, p. 465.

The *Nihon kōki*<sup>1</sup> mentions a dog which in 809 ascended the Western tower of the Taikyōkuden, one of the buildings of the Palace; this was probably considered as an omen.

In the *Sandai jitsuroku*<sup>2</sup> we read how in 886 the death of a dog within the Palace was considered as making the Palace unclean, so that the ceremony of *kaijō* (解除, driving away bad influences) was put off till a lucky day, fixed by the diviners. The same fact, namely the death of a dog within the Palace, is frequently mentioned in the *Nihon kiryaku*<sup>3</sup> and once in the *Fusō ryakki*.<sup>4</sup> It always made the Palace unclean and caused ceremonies and festivals to be delayed. In 904 an Imperial messenger, who was on the road to Ise in order to bring offerings to the Daijingu, returned before he had reached his destination because he had seen a dead dog, which sight had made him unclean.<sup>5</sup> And not only the *death*, but also the *birth* of dogs in the Palace was considered as a serious fact, to be noted down in the annals as defiling the Palace.<sup>6</sup> In 927 a dog bit a little child in its legs and loins, whereupon a discussion followed at the Court in respect to the question whether this fact had caused uncleanness or not. A precedent of the year 877 was brought forward in order to show that it was no defilement, so that all religious festivals could be celebrated and thenceforth such a matter was not to be considered as causing uncleanness.<sup>7</sup> In 1348, when the Emperor Sukō (1348-1351), a boy of 16 years, ascended the Throne, a strange, spotted dog appeared in the Palace with the head of a boy of about two or three years in its mouth, and put it down on the floor of the Southern palace

1. 日本後紀, written in 841, K.T.K. Vol. III, Ch. XVII, p. 94.

2. 三代實錄, written in 901, K.T.K. Vol. IV, Ch. XLIX, p. 698.

3. 日本紀略, written after 1036, K.T.K. Vol. V, Second Part, Ch. IV, pp. 889, 895, 901, etc.

4. 扶桑略記, written about 1150, K.T.K. Vol. VI, Ch. XXIII, p. 673.

5. *Nihon kiryaku*, Second Part, Ch. I, p. 783.

6. *Ibidem*, Ch. III, pp. 854, 856, 858, 877.

7. *Fusō ryakki*, Ch. XXIV, p. 694.

(Nanden, one of the buildings of the Palace). When early in the morning the samurai, whose task it was to clean the building, would strike the dog with a broom, the brute climbed from the eaves up to the ridge-pole of the roof, turned to the West, howled thrice and disappeared as if it were spirited away. Thereupon the Emperor said to the diviners and other experts: "As such an apparition must make the Palace unclean, we must not celebrate the Coronation ceremony (daijōe, 大嘗會) this year. Further you must compare the precedents, follow the prescriptions of the Law in this respect, and think the matter over." Then they all answered that it had made the Palace unclean for one year. But Akikiyo, a former senior judge, was of a different opinion. He quoted the words of the Law, saying: "Shintō follows the ways used by the Emperor," and concluded therefrom that it all depended on the Emperor's opinion about the matter. These words made Urabe no Kanetoyo, Vice-Minister of the Department for Religious Affairs, so furious, that he declared that if Akikiyo's words were right, Shintō did not exist any longer, and he, Kanetoyo, would burn the Shintō books and become a Buddhist priest. But the others laughed and said that it was not so serious as he thought. Then the Emperor praised Akikiyo and the festival took place the same year, much to the grief of the poor people, who had first lost their possessions by war and now had to pay heavy taxes for the celebration of the Coronation ceremony.<sup>1</sup>

Among the best forebodings the *Engishiki*<sup>2</sup> mentions the *hyō-ken*, 豹犬, a spotted, leopard-like dog, described as having a mouth as hard as iron, a red body, four legs and three eyes, and the *ro-ken*, 露犬, or "dew-dog," described as an animal which can fly and devours tigers and leopards. In the *Nichū-niki*<sup>3</sup> the dog is mentioned as one of the six domestic animals

1. *Taininshi*, 大平記, written about 1382, Ch. XXV, p. 1.

2. 延喜式, written in 927, K.T.K. Vol. XIII, p. 653.

3. 二中曆, a calendar dating from the second half of the 14th century, *Saga no shimo*, Vol. XXIII or XXIV, no. 6, p. 151.

[which make the place where they die or give birth unclean]; and among the 36 animals it is together with the lynx and the wolf combined with the zodiacal sign of *imu*, dog (戌). In the same book we find the dog's discharging of dung on the list of "strange things,"<sup>1</sup> and read the following details.—If a dog discharges dung somewhere on a rat day, a charge will be brought by an official [against the person in whose house it takes place]. On an ox day it means the death of a patient; on a tiger day trouble with robbers, on a hare day an accusation or the death of a cow or horse. On a dragon day it portends illness, but on a snake day it is a sign of great luck, namely of becoming wealthy. On a horse day it is certainly a foreboding of the arrival of a guest, but on a sheep day it means that strict fasting must be observed in the house. If it happens on a monkey day, somebody will leave the house, or a child will die.<sup>2</sup> Finally, if it takes place on a hog day, it portends the death of a little child or of a man or woman." Further if a dog is heard to howl for a long time, this means, if it takes place on the different above-mentioned days: calamity caused by the arrival of some demon, death of a patient, calamity caused by men (?), strict fasting, illness, great calamity, accusation, and, on the three last days, great calamity. We may compare herewith a passage of the *Fusō ryakki*,<sup>3</sup> where we read that in 1092 "a severe earthquake took place and crowds of dogs were frightened and barked," which was probably considered as a bad omen. So we see that the dog was an ominous animal, which if it discharged dung in a house nearly always, and if it broke forth into a long howling always portended calamity, while its death or birth made the place where it happened, especially the Palace, unclean.

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1. 怪異, *kwai-i*, p. 163.

2. In regard to the bird and dog days the text is untranslatable and evidently corrupt.

3. Ch. XXX, p. 844.



As to fights between dogs as bad omens, we may quote another passage of the *Taihuiki*,<sup>1</sup> where they are mentioned as a sign of the approaching fall of Hōjō Takatoki, called the Nyūdō of Sagami, the last Shikken of Kamakura (1303-1333). It is the continuation of the passage, which I have quoted in my treatise on the Tengu,<sup>2</sup> and which described another bad omen, namely the dancing and singing of Tengu in Takatoki's room, explained as foretelling rebellion and the consequent ruin of the state. This Takatoki was a fool, for he not only was fond of dancing the dengaku, which did not at all agree with his high position, but he was extravagant in all respects. The passage runs as follows.—“Takatoki was not at all frightened by this apparition (the Tengu, nny he even became more and more inclined to like strange things. Once, when he saw dogs biting each other in his garden, he thought this sight so interesting that he at once got fond of it and ordered his subjects to furnish dogs instead of taxes. As all the principal families were requested to send dogs to the Shikken, all the governors of the provinces and great daimyō began to bring up 10 or 20 dogs and took them to Kamakura [as a present to the Shikken]. There the brutes were fed with fish and fowls and put into elaborate and costly kennels. The result was very bad, for when these dogs passed in sedan chairs along the road, the passers-by descended from their horses and saluted them on

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1. Ch. V, p. 2.

2. Transactions of the Society, Vol. XI, p. 141.

3. A hundred years before (1222) Kamakura had been the scene of *dog hunting* on horseback; the first time in the Shikken's garden for the first time. Thenceforth it became the custom of the court and the nobles in this way, but after some time it got out of practice. In 1342, however, Ōgawana Sadamune requested the Shōgun Asakura Yoshinori that he should order it, but soon it died out. In 1640 Shimada Mitsunasa, a courtier of the Shōgun, examined the old pictures of the dog hunting, and in 1646 he presented them with a in 1646 to the Shōgun, Iemitsu, in Kira Oriyama. In 1710-1735, the Shōgun Ieshige hundred dogs for the purpose of dog hunting. One of the above mentioned daimyō Shōtoku requested the Shōgun to order it, but it died out in Asaba, a district of Yedo. The origin of the dog hunting is said to be in the *“Taishō Jiyōki”* (Taishō Jiyōki, Vol. I, p. 104). In the *“Taishō Jiyōki”* (Taishō Jiyōki, Vol. I, p. 104). About the legendary origin of the dog hunting, see my treatise on the *“Fox and Badger of Japan”* (Transactions, Vol. XXXVI).

their knees. Peasants were specially hired to carry the sedan-chairs, so important were the dogs in the Shikken's opinion. Kamakura was full of curious dogs, fed with meat and dressed in brocade, and their number reached the enormous amount of four or five thousand. Twelve times a month there was a so-called "great fight day," and the great daimyō, those belonging to the Shikken's family as well as his retainers, were sitting in rows in a hall or in the garden and looked on. Then from both sides one or two hundred dogs were let loose and a violent fight began. The brutes rolled over each other and bit and howled, making such a fearful noise that it resounded to the sky and made the earth shake. Fools who saw it said: 'How interesting! exactly like a battle!' But wise men who heard about it were distressed and thought it very bad, as it resembled a bloody fight [of men]. So different were the opinions, but as a matter of fact the Shikken's conduct was very bad, for it was all *an omen of battle and death*.<sup>1</sup>

After this digression, made in order to throw light upon the ominous character of the dog and its capability of making even the Palace unclean, thus causing the most important ceremonies

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1. As much as this Shikken, the 11th of the 12th Ōtagawa shōguns, *Thomomochi* (綱吉, 1646-1709), liked dogs, but this had a special reason. The Buddhist priest Ryūkō namely had said to the young shōgun that the shōgun was often due to the killing of living beings in foreign countries, so that if the Shōgun, who was childless, liked to have children, he had to be a lover of dog beings and especially to love dogs, because he was born in a dog year. The Shōgun followed the advice and issued in 1695 a decree by which he ordered the people to keep dogs and forbade them to kill living beings. Whoever transgressed this rule was punished, as well as the members of his family, and this happened several times a year. The dogs were treated with the greatest care, and when they were ill, special physicians were called in and several physicians kept with the patients till they recovered. Then they were gradually trained for warlike, in short the dogs were treated still better than children. 綱吉の屋筆記, written by OYAMATA for TAKADA (Tokoku), 小田田 高田 晴然, who lived 1782-1847, Ch. 62, p. 41, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100. We may mention here also that the people of the country detested dogs, namely Go SAGAMI (1608-1722) who called the dog a filthy, contaminated, dirty dog in the Palace, he ordered the Court officers to sweep the dog out of the Palace. The people, who held a high opinion that the Emperor hated dogs, began to kill these animals everywhere in the Kyōto, and then all over the country. Go SAGAMI and his son, however, who had this with astonishment, ordered to stop it, and the things were left to the dog reiki (K'ōfū, K.T.K. Vol. XV, p. 22, Ch. I).

of state as well as religious festivals to be put off, we return to chronological order.

In the *Konjaku monogatari*<sup>1</sup> we find the following dog legends. A woman who earned her living by silk-growing had such ill luck in this work that all her silkworms died but one, and to make matters worse this last one was eaten by the white house dog. But lo! out of the animal's nose two white silk threads came and when the woman pulled at them, they grew longer and longer till an enormous quantity of snow-white silk was produced. Thereupon the dog died, and his mistress buried him under the mulberry tree, convinced that it had been a metamorphosis of a Buddha or a Shintō god, who had helped her in this way.<sup>2</sup>

A young man from the capital went astray in the woods of Kitayama. It was already getting dark when he arrived at a lonely hut. A woman of about 20 years opened the door and after some objections allowed him to enter on condition that he should pass for her brother. She told him that she was the daughter of a man in the capital, and that the being with which she had lived during several years in the mountains had run off with her. After a short while this being came home and appeared to be an enormous white dog. When the woman told him that her brother had come and requested to pass there the night, the dog believed her and consented. The next morning the guest returned to the capital and told there his adventure. It was decided that a large number of people should go in order to release the poor woman, and soon the young man marched at the head of about two hundred men to the hut. But the dog, who saw them approaching, pushed his wife before him out of the door and ran away with her into the mountains, quick as the wind. In vain they shot arrows at him; without being hit he

1. 今昔物語, written by MINAMOTO NO TAKAKUNI, 源隆國, called UJI DAINAGON, 宇治大納言, who lived 1004-1077. K.T.K. Vol. XVI.

2. Ch. XXVI, nr 11, p. 1089.

disappeared with the woman in the dense woods and his pursuers soon lost all traces. It was apparently a god, for the young man fell ill and died within a few days, being struck by a curse of this supernatural being.<sup>1</sup>

A devout Buddhist priest saw in a dream his own corpse being devoured by numberless dogs, and heard a voice saying to him: "These are no real dogs, but temporarily transformed beings. In olden times they heard Buddha preaching in the Jetavana park; now they have been transformed into dogs in order to come into connection with you."<sup>2</sup>

The *cat* is not mentioned in the *Konjaku monogatari*, except in a story of a man who was terribly afraid of cats, probably because he had been a rat in his former existence.<sup>3</sup>

The *Kojidan*<sup>4</sup> contains the two following dog legends. "When Naritsune<sup>5</sup> was seriously ill, he spoke lamenting to Fugen (the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra). In the meantime he saw near his pillow a big white dog, whereupon he got up and tore a handful of the dog's hair out. No sooner had he done this than he became better. The hair is still preserved in the treasury of Hōdō-in [a Buddhist temple in Kyōto]."<sup>6</sup> Probably Kigen himself had appeared to Naritsune in the shape of a white dog, as in the above<sup>7</sup> quoted passage of the *Konjaku monogatari* a white dog was believed to be a transformed Buddha or god.

Another supernatural dog is mentioned in a very interesting and popular tale which we find also in the *Uji shūi monogatari*<sup>8</sup> and the *Jikkishō*.<sup>9</sup> It runs as follows. "At the time that Nyūdō dono (Fujiwara no Michinaga, 966-1027) was building the Hōshō temple, he daily went there to have a look,

1. Ch. XXXI, nr 15, p. 1518.

2. Ch. XIII, nr 9, p. 700.

3. Ch. XXVIII, nr 31, p. 1343.

4. 古事談, written in 1210-1220. K.T.K. Vol. XV.

5. Fujiwara no Naritsune, who died in 1202.

6. Ch. III, p. 92.

7. P. 16.

8. Ch. XIV, p. 29.

9. Ch. VII, nr 21, p. 760.

and took his favourite red dog with him. One day, when he was about to enter the red gate, the dog, which walked ahead, turned about and barked. Michinaga stood still a moment and looked, but as there was nothing particular to be seen, he went on and entered the temple gate. The dog, however, checked his master by pulling him by the hem of his garment, whereupon he ordered a stand (on which the beams of a carriage were placed<sup>1</sup>) to be brought, and sat down. Immediately he sent for Seimei Ason<sup>2</sup> [a celebrated sō-nin, 相人, physiognomist, who told fortunes by examining the face,<sup>3</sup> but was also famous for his skill in other kinds of divination<sup>4</sup>] and asked him to explain the matter. The diviner shut his eyes and after having been absorbed in thought for a while, spoke to the following effect: 'Somebody who intended to kill you by means of sorcery, has buried here a magic object, thinking that you would pass over it. But thanks to your lucky fate your dog warned you not to go further and prevented you from doing so. This dog is possessed of small magic power.'<sup>5</sup> On hearing these words, Michinaga ordered the ground to be dug up, and two pieces of earthenware were found, crosswise bound together and wrapped up with yellow paper, twisted into a string. Thereupon the diviner said: 'This sorcery is very secret, and of this generation certainly nobody knows it but me. Yet it is probably the work of the Buddhist priest Dōma; he must know it.' After these words he took a piece of paper out of his bosom and cut it into the form of a bird, recited a magic formula and threw the paper bird up. It became a snowy heron which flew away to the South. Then Seimei said: 'We shall understand that the place where this bird falls down is the abode of the sorcerer.' So the servants ran away, keeping the white bird

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1. 榻, tō.

2. 晴明朝臣.

3. Comp. *Kōjidan*, Ch. VI, pp. 145-149.

4. Comp. *Kōjidan*, Ch. VI, p. 149.

5. 小神通.

in view, till it fell down inside the old wooden gate of Kawara-in [a haunted house] at Made no koji near the Rokujōbō gate. On entering and seeking, they found a Buddhist priest, who was seized at once and examined about the reason of his action against Michinaga. His answer was that he had practiced his art at the request of the Left Minister Horikawa. Yet he was not punished but simply banished to his own province (Uarima); it is said, however, that he signed a written oath, stating that he never would practice sorcery again."<sup>1</sup>

The *Jikkishō*<sup>2</sup> mentions the dog twice, namely in the preceding legend and another time as an omen of the Crownprince's birth. The latter passage runs as follows.—“In this time [of the Emperor Ichijō, 986-1011] a strange thing happened. Inside the Imperial curtains<sup>3</sup> of Jōtō-mon-in [the Empress, Fujiwara no Akiko, Consort of the Emperor Ichijō] a dog brought forth young, which unexpected and wonderful occurrence caused such great astonishment, that a doctor (hakase), Ōe no Masahira<sup>4</sup> by name, was consulted. He said: ‘This is a very lucky omen, for the character 犬 (dog) consists of the character 大 (large) with a dot at the side; if this dot is placed above, it is 天 (heaven); if beneath, it is 太 (great). If one writes the character 子 (child, in regard to the puppies, 犬ノ子, inu no ko) under these characters 天 and 太, it can be read “*Tenshi*” (天子, Emperor) and *Taishi* (太子, Crownprince); this means that a Crownprince will be born who (afterwards) will become Emperor.’ And really, a Crownprince was born, who soon ascended the throne and became the Emperor Go Ichijō (1016-1036).”<sup>5</sup>

We find the same story, told in a little different way, in the *Kōdanshō*.<sup>6</sup> There we read that when Jōtō-mon-in became the

1. Ch. VI, p. 148.

2. 十訓抄, written in 1252; K.T.K. Vol. XV.

3. 御帳, michō.

4. 大江匡衡.

5. Ch. I, nr 20, p. 640.

6. 江談抄, written by Ōe no Masafusa (1040-1111), 大江匡房; it contains the sayings of Ōe no Masahira, the author's grandfather.

Second Consort of the Emperor Ichijō, a puppy entered the curtained space. The astonished and frightened lady told the matter to her father, Fujiwara no Michinaga, who sent for Masahira, secretly consulted him, and obtained the above-mentioned answer. His daughter became pregnant and gave birth to the Emperor Go Sujaku. Masahira privately wrote the matter down, and his grandson Masafusa made it known to the world.

In the *Kokonchomonshū*<sup>1</sup> we read the story of Hyōe Yasutada, an officer in the Palace, who was killed during a nocturnal revolt in Kyōto in the time of the Emperor Go Shirakawa (1155-1158). Ten years later, in the Nin-an era (1166-1168) a queer-shaped black-spotted dog was seen in the Palace, and somebody dreamt that this was Yasutada who had become a dog on account of his great loyalty in the Emperor's service.<sup>2</sup>

In the house of Tomotoki Ason, Lord of Tōtōmi, was a man who possessed a small blue-haired dog, which refused to eat fish or fowls on the 15th, 18th and 27th of the month. On the former two dates the festivals of Amida and Kwannon took place, while the 27th was the memorial day of the death of the little boy who had brought the dog up.<sup>3</sup>

A Buddhist Archbishop had a beautiful Chinese cat which had appeared in his house and which he had kept although nobody knew from where the brute came. This cat liked to play with a ball and was very skillful in this game. One day the priest for fun gave her a precious manori-sword (a sacred sword with protective magical power) instead of a ball. The cat took it in her mouth, ran away and was never seen again; she was, says the author, probably a transformed demon, who by taking the protecting sword could more easily attack the people.<sup>4</sup>

1. 古今著聞集, written in 1254; K.T. K. Vol. XV.

2. Ch. XX (魚山禽獸), p. 593.

3. Ch. XX, p. 617.

4. Ch. XVII (變化), p. 512.

Finally we read about an extraordinarily strong cat, one shaku in length, which, when more than ten years old, spread light at night. At an age of 17 the mysterious brute disappeared.<sup>1</sup>

The word "*nekomata*" is found for the first time in the *Tsurezuregusa*,<sup>2</sup> where we read the following.—"Although the people say that in the depths of the mountains there is a being called '*nekomata*,' which devours mankind, yet there have been others who asserted that also apart from the mountains, even in this region [Kyōto], old cats become *nekomata* and kill men. A certain Buddhist priest in the neighbourhood of the Gyōgwan temple [at Kyōto], who was a poet of *renga* [poems made in company, everybody present continuing them], heard this and thought: 'Then one must be very cautious when walking alone late at night.' But just at that time he had been making *renga* somewhere till a very late hour and went home alone. On the bank of a brook some creature, certainly a notorious *nekomata*, suddenly approached him and flew up to his throat in order to devour him. The priest, frightened to death, had no strength to defend himself, nor could he even stand. He tumbled into the brook and cried: 'Help, help! a *nekomata*!' Then from the adjacent houses people came running out with torches, to see what was the matter. On recognizing the priest, they helped him out of the brook, but not before he had lost all the prizes he had won in making *renga*, a *kakemono*, a fan, a little box and so on. The others were astonished that he was safe [instead of having been devoured], and hastened to return to their houses in a very confused state. But in reality the '*nekomata*' was the priest's dog, which had recognized his master even in the dark!"

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1. Ch. XX, p. 593.

2. 徒然草, written between 1334 and 1339 by the Buddhist monk KENKŌ HOSHĪ, 兼好法師; comp. FLORENZ, *Geschichte der Japanischen Literatur*, pp. 329 seqq.; KHAMURA KŌJIN's edition with explanatory notes, p. 173.



The *Genkō Shakushō*<sup>1</sup> contains two stories about dogs. The first runs as follows.<sup>2</sup> A Buddhist priest was devoutly studying the Hokkekyō (Saddharma pundarika sūtra), but one part of it, the so-called Kanhatsu<sup>3</sup> section, he could not grasp. However carefully he read it over, its contents remained a mystery to him. Thereupon he prayed during 90 days to Fugen Bosatsu and asked him the reason of his inexplicable difficulty. In answer to this there appeared to him one night in a dream an angel who said: "Fugen the Great Master has explained to me that the reason (of your being unable to read a part of the sutra) is to be found in your previous life. In your former existence you were a puppy; the mother dog, which was living under the floor of the room of a devout reader of the Hokkekyō, came to you and gave you milk, while the priest was reading the King of the sutras. So you, the puppy, could hear him reading from the beginning of the sutra up till the end of the Gon-ō section, but when he arrived at the Kanhatsu section, the mother-dog stood up and went away, followed by the puppy, which therefore did not hear that part of the holy text. Thanks to the power of the Law, you have now got a human body and are again reading the same sutra, but as you did not hear the Kanhatsu section, you cannot understand this. By exercising great patience, however, you will certainly overcome this difficulty and at last be able to read the whole of the sutra." Then the priest awoke, and with redoubled zeal started reading again, till at last he succeeded in mastering also that difficult section.

The second story<sup>4</sup> speaks about a hunter in Harima province, whose wife during his absence had secret intercourse with a servant. When the husband came home, the lover would

1. 元亨釋書, written by the Buddhist priest SHIREN, 師錬, who died in 1346.

2. K.T.K. V 4, XIV, p. 957, Ch. XIX.

3. 難読.

4. Ch. XXVIII, p. 1138. The dog tale is to be found in the *Wakuyō satsubō*, 2, Ch. LXXVII, p. 1420 (Harima; 犬寺).

have succeeded in treacherously killing him but for his two dogs who saved their master and killed the servant. On returning from the woods into which he had been decoyed, the hunter sent his wife away and declared that he henceforth considered the dogs as his children and that all his property was theirs. After their death he felt himself obliged to keep his word, and spent all he had in building a Buddhist temple, which he called "Inu-dera," "Dog-temple." He dedicated the shrine to the thousand-armed Kwannon and devoted himself to prayers and meditation on the future life. For the two dogs he specially built a *Shintō shrine* and made them the principal guardian-gods of the region. The image (of Kwannon) was extraordinarily miraculous and saved the temple thrice from fire when surrounded by it on all sides. Then the Emperor Kwammu (781-806), who heard this, ordered the temple to be raised to the rank of a State shrine and gave it a large area of rice fields as an endowment.

In the *Senshūshū*<sup>1</sup> we read the following explanation of the name of *Kenmeizan*,<sup>2</sup> "Dog-howling monastery," the second name of Shichihōryūji<sup>3</sup> in Izumi province, dedicated to Fudō Myōō. A dog of a hunter, which by continually barking made a stag escape, was killed at once by its furious master. But, wonderful to relate! the head of the animal, cut off by the sword, flew up to the branch of the tree under which the hunter stood, and bit a big snake, which was about to attack the man, in the throat. The hunter was so deeply moved by this incident, that he became a monk of the neighbouring monastery, which was dedicated to Fudō Myōō. Everybody in the province considered the dog as a messenger of this Bodhisattva, who had saved the hunter's life, and for this reason the monastery got the name of "Kenmeizan," "Dog-barking-monastery."

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1. 泉州志, written in 1700 by ISHIBASHI NAOTUKI, 石橋直之, Ch. V, p. 24, under the heading Kenmei-an.

2. 犬鳴山.

3. 七寶龍寺.

Similar stories are very frequent in Japanese literature. The *Wakan sansai zue*<sup>1</sup> for example relates about the *Kenzu no sha* and the *Kembi no sha*, the "Shintō temples of the Dog's head and tail,"<sup>2</sup> in Kamiwada and Shimowada, erected during the Tenshō era (1573-1591) by Utsu Tadashige, the Lord of the place, who had killed his white dog in anger. When hunting in the mountains, he had fallen asleep under a tree; but his dog continually troubled him by barking and pulling him by his garment, till he became so angry that he drew his sword and cut off the dog's head. Then he understood the reason why the dog had tried to make him leave the spot, for its head jumped up and killed a snake on the tree. The Lord buried the animal's head and tail at Kamiwada and Shimowada, erected the above-mentioned Shintō shrines and worshipped the dog in this way. As the cult of these shrines appeared to be very efficacious, Ieyasu, who had heard the matter, gave them an additional endowment of land. According to the *Shokoku nijindan*,<sup>3</sup> whoever succeeds in creeping on all fours in the midst of the night with a string of a hundred small coins in his mouth from the torii before the *Kenzu no sha* to the temple, certainly will obtain good luck. For if the god is not willing to hear his prayer, the man cannot reach the temple because he is pulled back by the legs.

The *Honchō kvaidan koji*<sup>4</sup> tells exactly the same story about a hunter in Ōmi, who afterwards erected a small Shintō shrine for his white dog, which he called "*Inugami Myōjin*,"<sup>5</sup> the "Brilliant Dog-god." This shrine was still existing in the author's time. A similar legend is told in the *Kwagetsu sōshū*<sup>6</sup>

1. 和漢三才圖會, written in 1713; Ch. LXIX, p. 1128, Mikawa province.

2. 犬頭社 and 犬尾社.

3. 諸國里人談, Zoku Teikoku Bunko, Vol. XX, p. 881, written by KIKUCHI SENRYŪ, 菊岡 沾涼, in 1746.

4. 本朝怪談故事, written in 1711 by the Buddhist priest Kōyō, 厚譽, Ch. IV, p. 39.

5. 犬神明神.

6. 花月草紙, written by MATSUDAIRA SADANOBU, 松平定信, who lived 1757-1829. Iiyakka setsurin, Vol. 正下, p. 867.

about a cat, the head of which killed a snake in order to save a girl.

In the *Shinchomonshū*<sup>1</sup> we find among the "calamities inflicted upon culprits" three legends concerning dogs. In the first one<sup>2</sup> two servants, who had killed and eaten their master's favourite dog, two days afterwards went mad in a very peculiar way. They acted precisely as dogs, took their meals in the garden, slept under the furnace and barked at the passers-by. One of them died, the other recovered after having many prayers recited on his behalf. The same curse fell upon a married couple who in the rudest way had refused food and lodging to a travelling Buddhist priest. The bonze was hospitably received by a younger brother of the man and said to him: "To-day your elder brother and his wife have fallen upon the Animal-road." And he spoke the truth, for they had lost their human voice and could only bark as dogs. When the rumour spread, from far and near people came to listen at their gate at night and hear them bark.<sup>3</sup> Severe was also the punishment of a man who made it his profession to kill dogs, for in the dark he killed his own little daughter instead of a dog.<sup>4</sup>

As to the *cat*, she is spoken of in several legends to be found in Ch. X.<sup>5</sup> An old cat appeared, nobody knew from where, at the sick-bed of a maid-servant, more than fifty years old, and however the bystanders beat it and tried to drive it away, it did not withdraw from the bed till the patient died; then it disappeared at the same time.<sup>6</sup> On the next page we read about two cats who in the year 1683 were heard speaking human words. The house cat of the abbot of a monastery one evening was called from outside, opened the door and let another big cat enter,

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1. 新著聞集, written about 1700. Zoku Teikoku Bunko, Vol. XLVII, Ch. XIV. 殃禍篇, Okwa hen.

2. Pg. 200.

3. Pg. 202.

4. Pg. 207.

5. 奇怪篇, kikuwa hen.

6. Pg. 134.

whereupon she shut the door again with the key. When both were sitting on the kotatsu (a kind of hearth covered with a quilt), the strange cat said: "To-night there is a ball in Nayamachi; come, let us go there." The house cat answered: "That is difficult, because I have to attend on my sick master." "Lend me then a towel (tenugui)," said the other, but this was also refused because the abbot used it always. Then the guest was shown out by the house cat, who shut the door as before. The abbot, who had heard this conversation, stroked the cat and said: "You need not attend on me; go quickly to the place where you were invited to go and take also the towel." Then the cat ran away but never returned. Another cat, that had taken the shape of a woman, was recognized when sleeping, because her mouth was so broad that it reached her ears. On being killed she changed into an old cat.<sup>1</sup> In the Genroku era (1688-1703) a red cat, which was kept a long time in a side temple of Zōjōji in Yedo, one day fell from the roof while pursuing a rat. "Namu Sambō!" ("Oh Three Treasures") she cried with a loud voice. Those who heard it remarked: "That must be a nekomata; what a careless way of announcing herself!" Thereupon the cat disappeared and was never seen any more.<sup>3</sup> There was also a cat which was buried in 1670 by its master, a Zen priest in Ōsaka, who had kept it for a long time till it was killed by a dog. He deplored its death and said: "As you are an animal, you cannot become a Buddha; but because the tiger is the highest of all animals, you must be reborn as a tiger." Thirteen years later, on the same day of the same month, the cat appeared to him in a dream and told him that it actually had been reincarnated as a tiger. YAMAOKA GENRIN<sup>4</sup> says that in his time many rumours were

1. Ch. X, p. 138.

2. Ch. XVII, p. 242.

3. Ch. XVIII, p. 258.

4. 山岡元隣, who died in 1672, in his work entitled "*Kōkon Hyaku monogatari hyōban*, 古今百物語評判, which was continued by his son and published in 1686.

current about the terrible deeds of *nekomata*. "They are," says he, "animals of Darkness<sup>1</sup> considered as being tigers; therefore the cat is also called 'tegai no tora,' a 'tiger fed by the hand.'<sup>2</sup> In Chinese books we find many cases of cats which assumed human form and killed their masters."

In the *Yamato kwai-i ki*<sup>3</sup> we read the following story.—In the province of Echigo there happened strange things in the house of a samurai. At night luminous balls flew about three inches from the floor through the rooms and nobody could catch them. One day a large number of these mysterious objects were seen on a tree in the neighbouring garden. As the rumour spread rapidly all over the province, old and young flocked together when it was getting dark, in order to see this strange phenomenon. At the same time the maid-servants were frightened in their sleep by a spirit; and especially one of them was haunted frequently. Her spinning-wheel turned of itself, and when she was sleeping, her pillow moved in all directions. In vain she called for help from sorceresses, Shintō priests, yamabushi and Buddhists priests; neither their prayers nor their charms had any effect. At last the master of the house saw a very old cat on the roof, walking on its hindlegs with a towel (tenugui) of the maid-servant upon its head, and anxiously looking about with its paw above its eyes. They killed the brute with an arrow, and from then the house was haunted no longer. It was an enormous cat, five shaku long, and having a split tail (*nekomata*).

The *Taihei hyaku monogatari*<sup>4</sup> contains the following stories. In a Buddhist temple at Kyōto, called the Hongyō-in, a visitor, while waiting for the priest who was absent, saw through a chink of the door three nice young women sitting and talking together in the next room. He thought it strange that the

1. *Injū*, 陰獸, opposite to *Yōjū*, 陽獸, an "animal of Light."

2. 手飼の虎.

3. 大和怪異記, published in 1708, author unknown; Ch. III, quoted by INOUE, *Yōmeigaku kōza*, Vol. II, p. 232.

4. 太平百物語, written in 1732 by YŪSUKI, 祐佐.

priest had such company in his house, but his astonishment was much greater when the latter came home and invited him to go into that same room, for instead of the three women there were now only three cats. Apparently these brutes had transformed themselves into women before and had resumed their original shape when they heard their master returning. Whispering into the priest's ear, the visitor warned him, whereupon the frightened man ordered the cats to go away at once because they were *nekomata*. They went, with angry glances at the stranger, who soon afterwards fell ill and died. The people said that it was the curse of the cats which killed him.<sup>1</sup>

In Bichū province a samurai had killed a cat which he suspected of haunting mankind. The soul of this cat possessed his wife, drove her mad and spoke, through her mouth, the following words: "I am the cat so and so, killed by you without reason." But when the samurai threatened to kill all her young if she killed his wife, she said that she would not do so and besought him to spare the kittens. Thereupon he promised to pray for her in order to save her soul, and the cat went out of the woman who then recovered at once. A fiery ball (the soul of the cat) was seen flying out of the house to a neighbouring bamboo grove, where it was extinguished after a little while. The samurai kept his promise, and the splendid career which he afterwards made was ascribed by the people in the neighbourhood to the cat whose soul he had saved by his prayers and who rewarded him in this way.<sup>2</sup>

A samurai, who was passing the night in a friend's house, went at night to the privy, but when he started to leave it, he found that the door had become a wall, so that he could not get out. Then there appeared a glittering being above his head and grasping his hair pulled him up from the floor. Without losing his presence of mind, he drew his sword and gave the mysterious monster such a violent blow, that it dropped him. He fell

1. Ch. II, p. 32

2. Ch. IV, p. 4.

down with such a noise that the inmates of the house heard it and came running out to see what had happened. They found the guest lying unconscious on the floor of the privy, and when they had brought him to his senses, he told them his adventure. The next morning traces of blood showed them where the spirit had gone, and under the floor of the saloon the dead body of a cat was found. It belonged to a neighbour and was apparently a *nekomata*.<sup>1</sup>

In the *Rōō chawwa*<sup>2</sup> we read about dogs which caught and killed foxes that had taken the shape of magistrates with their followers and ordered a man to commit harakiri in the midst of the night.<sup>3</sup> Another time numberless puppies were haunting a guest in a monastery, who tried in vain to sleep, and at last it appeared to be a *tanuki* trick.<sup>4</sup> That dogs were clever in recognizing and killing transformed *cats* as well as foxes, we learn from the following legend. "An old woman was very fond of cats which she loved even more than her children and grandchildren. Once when she was making a pilgrimage to the Suwa temple, she picked up a red cat on the "Pine-tree moor" (*Matsubara*) near the Emma chapel. Very gladly she took it home and kept it, but it disappeared, nobody knew where. After a while the old woman was troubled with an affection of the eyes and shunned the light so much that she stayed always in a dark room. Her son wished to send for an oculist, but she would not be examined. Two women who served her disappeared, the one after the other, and were nowhere to be found. One day a man-servant, who was working in the field behind the house, dug up some clothes and found, when he dug deeper, not only the bloody clothes of the two maid-servants who had disappeared, but

1. Ch. V, p. 7.

2. 老猫茶話, written in 1742 by MISAKI DAIVARA, 三坂大彌太, *Zoku Teikin no Bana*, Vol. XLV.L.

3. P. 367, comp. my treatise on "Fox and Badger in Japanese folklore," *Transactions*, Vol. XXXVI.

4. P. 380.



also their bones. Frightened almost to death, he took the clothes and was minded to tell the matter to his master, but just as he was about to enter the house, the old mother suddenly rushed upon him, seized the clothes and said with a terribly angry face, big eyes and a broad mouth : ' If you speak about these clothes and the bones to my son, I will devour you immediately.' The servant trembled with fear, and took his dismissal under pretext of illness. Thereupon the rumour spread that the old woman was a *nekomata*. One morning, before the gate was opened, a neighbour saw her jump quickly over the fence and wash blood from her mouth in the brook before the gate. Just at this moment a black dog came running towards her and bit her on her left arm, but she shook the brute off and jumped again over the high fence into the garden. The neighbour, who saw this, was now convinced that a cat had taken the shape of the old mother, and related the matter to her son. When the latter heard it, he said : ' No doubt it is a cat who has devoured my mother and taken her shape. She was always thinking about the future life and praying to Buddha from morning till night, but since last summer she has not offered any more perfume or flowers to Buddha. She said that her eyes were troubling her and hid herself in a dark place ; and she would never face me, certainly because the eye-balls of a cat change at all hours. Let us set the dogs upon her and see what happens ! ' And he borrowed some four or five fine dogs and let them all loose into his mother's room. As soon as the brutes saw the old woman, they barked furiously, rushed upon her and tried to tear her to pieces, killing her in a moment. Then she showed her real shape and changed back into a red cat, the same which the poor old mother had picked up near the Emma chapel. The animal had actually devoured her and assumed her shape. Therefore no one must keep a red cat, called ' *kinkwa-neko* ' (gold-flower-cat)<sup>1</sup> for any length of time."

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1. 金花猫 : pp. 271-274.

Another legend about a transformed cat is related on p. 295. There was a spirit in the castle of Yoshida in Sanshū, and several women were missing, which caused great fear among the people. But they were still more frightened, when fresh human bones were discovered which showed that the victims had been devoured by the monster in the castle itself. One night a very strong woman, in whose room the bones had been found, saw a woman coming, who perpetually sniffed with her big nose and made a noise like the breathing of a horse. Her appearance was horrible, her eyes sparkled and her mouth extended to her ears. She rushed upon the strong woman who pretended to sleep, wrapped her in her clothes and was about to take her outside, when her victim stretched out her arms and firmly grasped the apparition's head. Lowing like a cow, the frightful being fell down, and behold it was an enormous cat, more than five shaku long, and with a forked tail.

Another eat in female shape is mentioned on p. 361. The castellan of the castle of Koga in Shimōsa province was warned in a dream by an old man, who said to him: "To-morrow night you will be haunted by a phantom, because I am not always at your side. I am the spirit of the sword of Kunimitsu [that is, of the castellan himself]." Thereupon he disappeared. The next day Kunimitsu girt on his sword and waited. There entered his bedroom in the dead of night a ghastly looking tall woman who ran up to him, showing her big teeth and widely distending her eyes. He drew his sword and gave her a blow, whereupon she fled away. The next morning the big body of a dead eat was found near by.

A beautiful concubine of a samurai was sent away by the man's mother, because he was to marry a rich girl. The concubine, however, came to the young man every night from her village, crossing two broad rivers, and had intercourse with him as before. One winter night, in a terrible snow-storm, she came as usual and softly opened the sliding-door, but

all of a sudden she changed into a big cat with hair like that of a tiger, and rushed upon her lover, who stood near the bed. He drew his sword, pursued the fleeing brute and killed it, whereupon he discovered that it was the old cat of his neighbour.<sup>1</sup>

YANAGIWARA MOTOMITSU,<sup>2</sup> a famous daimyō who lived from 1746 to 1800, writes the following in his book entitled *Kansō jigo*<sup>3</sup>: "There happened in my house, I do not know when, a series of unlucky incidents, which were all ascribed to a haunting cat. As a young samurai of my establishment had killed an old cat, my grandfather had exorcists<sup>4</sup> build a shrine for the spirit of this animal behind the shrine of the tutelary god of the house. This shrine was called the 'Shrine of the Cat's Spirit,' and it is for this reason, tradition says, that it is forbidden to kill a cat in my house."

The *Sanshū kidan*<sup>5</sup> contains the following passages on dogs. —In 1752 a mysterious being, apparently a spirit, repeatedly opened the door of a house during the night and blew out the light. When the inmates kept watch in order to detect the annoying intruder, they saw a boy who easily opened the door and blew out the light; but what he further did they could not make out. Frightened by their voices, he fled under the verandah and was beaten to death. It appeared to be a strange kind of dog, with very short legs, a triangular shape and grey hair. The animal resembled a badger (*tanuki*), and was called by some people "mi-tanuki"; yet it did not seem to live in the field, but in the ground under the verandah. It was a dog, the forepart of which resembled that of a mole (*ugoromochi*). Some people called it "dog-dragon"<sup>6</sup> and its young "shakyōchū."<sup>7</sup> It was said that

1. Pg. 271.

2. 柳原紀光.

3. 閑窓自語, *Hyakka setsuwa*, Vol. 正下, p. 430, under the heading: "the ghost of a cat as a god in my house."

4. Ken-sha, 驗者.

5. 三州奇談, written in 1764 by Hotta Bakusai, 堀田 夢水, *Zoku Teikoku Bunko*, Vol. XLVII.

6. 狗龍, *inu-ryū*.

7. 謝豹虫.

these young animals died if they came into the day-light, but that, after getting old, they became hardened and did not feel the effects of light any more. Such an animal had also devoured an old woman in Ōsaka, who had disappeared in a mysterious way. One evening the master of the house, when sitting on the verandah, discovered a strange hole in the ground, which became broader the deeper it was dug. At the bottom of the hole a jet of water of about four shaku in length gushed forth, and near to it lay the remains of the poor old woman, who apparently had been devoured by some monster. There was also a broad opening, which was stopped up by order of the authorities, and the beast was killed by means of a stick pushed into its hole. "It is difficult to make out," the author adds, "whether this was a different animal from that of the other story or not. Even the metropolis (Kyōto) abounds with strange monsters. Moles, earth-dogs,<sup>1</sup> dog-rats<sup>2</sup> and so on are said to change when coming into the sunlight; perhaps the animal in question was one of this kind."

In Ch. IV, p. 797, we read that "a good dog has communication with the gods and changes into a dragon." A white dog was found outside a certain house, bringing forth young. The inmates of the house, near which the animal was lying, took it inside and treated it with care. One night a man in a white garment appeared in a dream to the mistress of the house and said: "Within a few days there will be a landslip, and this neighbourhood will certainly become a muddy pool. You must flee away quickly; I tell you this because you have treated me so well." The next morning at daybreak the woman's husband, a samurai, came hastily home from the yashiki of his Lord, where he had been on service, and sought the dog. When his wife asked him the reason why he did so, he answered: "Although this dog never came to the yashiki

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1. 土狗.

2. 犬鼠.

3. Ch. II, p. 732.

before, last night he came and barked continually. When I went outside he pulled me by the skirt of my clothes as if he would say: 'Go out of the house.' Therefore was I in such a hurry." Then the woman told him her dream, and they went away together. This happened on the 22nd of the 12th month of 1699, and on the next day the mountain tumbled down into the Asano river, crushing 85 houses and killing more than thirty persons. The place actually became a muddy pool, as the dog had foretold.

Another story, which I have mentioned in my treatise on Foxes and Badgers,<sup>1</sup> shows that dogs were considered as not less skillful in recognizing and killing *mujina* (badgers), transformed into human shape, than they were in detecting and killing foxes, changed into men or women.

We also find in this book a story about two white *komainu*,<sup>2</sup> that appeared to have miraculous powers. In the beginning of the Genroku era (1688-1703) there were a lot of wolves in the neighbourhood of a Buddhist monastery, called Dentōji. These brutes destroyed the fields and devoured the people, nay they even penetrated into a house and wounded a little boy. The grandfather of the child took it to the monastery and besought the abbot to help him and the other villagers; for, although the wolves had been driven away by a big crowd, they would certainly come again and kill the people. The abbot had the child laid in the "Hall of the Guardian-god,"<sup>3</sup> burned incense and sat down in religious meditation. When the darkness fell, and a loud and continuous noise of howling wolves and fighting dogs was heard outside, but nothing else happened. In the morning, when the old man came with other villagers to hear what had occurred, the child, which was now safe and sound, said: "By the protection of the god a strange thing has taken place. Yesterday evening, when an enormous lot of wolves were

1. Ch. III, p. 750, Transactions Vol. XXXVI.

2. Ch. IV, p. 796; about the *koma inu*, 高麗狗, see the following text.

3. Chinjūdō, 鎮守堂.

approaching and the villagers closed their doors and kept watch, out of this monastery two white dogs ran and killed a large number of the wolves, while the rest fled away in a great fright." The abbot was astonished and proposed to make an offering in the Guardian-hall, whereupon they all went there together and looked about. At once they discovered that the two dogs, placed in the hall, had their legs covered with earth, while blood was flowing from their mouths and sides. It was clear that these komainu were the dogs which had killed the wolves the night before. The people were very much amazed, till an old man came and gave the following explanation. In olden times a Bodhisattva, namely Gyō-gi<sup>1</sup> Bosatsu, came to another village and carved two images of Kwannon; from the remainder of the wood he made these two komainu. Then a temple was built for the two Kwannon images, and in its Guardian-hall, dedicated to Haku-sangu,<sup>2</sup> the Shintō god of Mount Hakusan, these two dogs were placed. In later times, when the temple had been destroyed, the two Kwannon images remained the glory of the village and were placed in a dark chapel at a cross-roads, along with the dogs. In the Tenshō era (1573-1591) a lot of boars appeared in this region and destroyed the fields, much to the grief of the peasants. Then a komainu announced to one of the villagers in a dream, that his master (the god of Hakusan) found himself within the compound of the Dentō monastery, and that if he, the dog, was taken there, he would communicate the matter of the boars to this god and drive them away at once. In consequence of this dream, the two komainu were brought to the Guardian-hall of Dentōji, and not one boar appeared any more. So there was no doubt as to the supernatural power of these komainu. All the villagers were deeply moved and full of admiration.

A cat story is told in Ch. II (p. 728). A house, which had not been inhabited for a long time, became notorious in the vicinity by the strange fact, that, although the gatekeeper declared

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1. 行基.

2. 白山宮.

that no one was living there, yet the neighbours heard every night, and also in the day-time on rainy days, a sound as if there were four or five persons talking in the parlour, and they could swear that there was a nurse soothing a baby. It was no wonder that soon the rumour spread that the house was haunted. This was sufficient for a brave young samurai, who decided to examine closely into the matter. The first night he passed in the house, he himself in the parlour and his servant in the kitchen, nothing happened. The second night, however, at about four o'clock in the morning, he was awakened by a loud cry from his servant, who violently struck upon the kitchen floor with his stick. As the samurai sprang to his feet, all of a sudden a yellow light was dancing on the wall of the parlour, which was the only strange thing he saw. But the servant told him that in the previous night he had seen something appearing at the bottom of the sink for carrying off dirty water (*hashiri*), and as he saw the same mysterious thing approaching him this night nearer and nearer, he struck at it with his stick but apparently hit nothing. In the meantime the yellow light illuminated even the darkest corners of the house; no sound, however, was heard. Then it disappeared and everything was quiet as before. The people said that it was the work of a bewitching cat.

In the *Kenkadō zatsureku*<sup>1</sup> we read two stories about dogs as reincarnations of men. In the beginning of the Kwanei era (1624-1643) an abbot had a dog which he proposed to leave behind when he was going to another monastery. But as the dog appeared twice in his dreams and said: "I am your father; you must take me with you and keep me," he took the animal with him and treated it with the utmost care. It was always in his company, even at religious meetings, much to the indignation of other priests, who once threatened to stop the meeting if he did not send the dog away. But when he told them that it was his father, they yielded. After the dog's death the abbot had a

<sup>1</sup> 犬猫伝説集, 1830, KIMURA SON'AR, 木村 孫藏, who lived 1792-1860, Ch. I, pp. 25-26.

small wooden shrine made for its mortuary tablet (*ihai*), a canopy was carried over its coffin and banners preceded it; in short he gave it a funeral quite in the best style; and during three days masses were held on behalf of its soul. In the same period another abbot had a similar experience. A dog had come to his temple and given birth to three puppies. Apparently the mother-dog disliked one of them and did not feed it sufficiently, so that it became thin and miserable. One night she appeared to the abbot in a dream and said: "In my previous existence I had two children of my own and one step-child; we all died and became dogs, I the mother-dog and they my children. The father is still in life and will come here to ask you for a puppy. Please give him one at once." The next morning a man actually came, looked about and discovered the puppies. At his request the abbot allowed him to take one, whereupon he chose the thin puppy and went away rejoicing.

The reverse, i.e. a dog reborn as a man, is mentioned in a story of the *Shokoku nijindan*.<sup>1</sup> The white dog of an abbot had died, choked by a piece of rice-cake which was too big for its throat. One night he appeared to his master in a dream and told him that he would be reborn as the son of the gatekeeper. When this man's wife gave birth to a son, the abbot educated the child, which was very clever but had one peculiarity, namely, a strong aversion to rice-cake. Other people, who heard of the matter, connected it with the dog's death and called him "white dog." In order to put a stop to this talk, the abbot advised him to try to eat rice-cake, but he disliked it so much that he ran away and was never seen again.<sup>2</sup>

1. 諸國里人談, written in 1746 by KIKOKU SANRYŌ, 菊岡沾涼; *Zoku Zoku Bunko*, Vol. XX, p. 652.

2. As a rule are products of the imagination of the writer, not of the people. I will not treat of dog or cat rebirth except in a few words. In 1809 a novel appeared entitled *Shokoku nijindan* (諸國里人談), 人猫怪話竹鶴太郎, written by KIKOKU SANRYŌ, a famous novel of the *Shokoku Hangan* (南総里見八犬傳) was written by BAKIN from 1815 to 1841.



The *Shōsan chomon kishū*<sup>1</sup> tells about talking cats, that were heard speaking in 1835. Besides the afore-mentioned tale of the *Shinchomonshū*,<sup>2</sup> the author quotes a miscellaneous writing (*zuihitsu*), entitled "*Alimi-bukuro*,"<sup>3</sup> where we read how, in 1795, a cat said: "What a pity!" when her master, the abbot of a monastery, scared some doves for which she was lying in wait. The abbot, who heard these words, seized the brute and threatened to kill it, if it did not speak again immediately. "It is very strange," he said, "that you, an animal, can speak. You can certainly also transform yourself and haunt mankind. As you have spoken once, you must speak again, otherwise I will break the commandment to spare all living beings, and kill you." Thereupon the cat answered: "We cats are not the only creatures that can speak; all creatures are able to do so when more than ten years old. When they reach the age of 24 or 25, they can also change themselves in a miraculous way, but no cat reaches this age. A cat, however, that is a cross between a fox and a cat, can speak even before the age of ten." Then the abbot was satisfied and said that the cat might stay in the monastery, but she took her leave with three bows and was never seen again.

Another tale, similar to that which we have read in the *Rōjō chawwa*,<sup>4</sup> speaks about an old woman, who of a sudden became very queer and disagreeable, living in a dark room and drinking all the wine that she could get. Once, when she was lying dead drunk in her bed, her son discovered with fright and astonishment that it was not his mother but an enormous cat wearing her clothes. He took the brute to the prefect, who allowed him to do with it what he liked, whereupon he killed it and cut it to pieces. At the

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1. 想山著聞奇集, written in 1849 by MIYOSHI SHŌSAN, 三好想山; *Zoku Teikoku Bunko*, Vol. XLVII.

2. See above p. 25.

3. 耳嚢, written in 1815 by FUJIWARA NO MORINOBU, 藤原守信.

4. Above p. 29.

entrance of the village he buried the cat and erected a big stone monument over the grave, which he called "Nekomata grave."<sup>1</sup>

A guest at an inn, who saw a nice girl, with whom he was passing the night, drink the oil from the lamp and take on a horrible, demoniacal face instead of her own, ran away in fright, thinking that she certainly was a nekomata or an old badger.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Tōen shōsetsu*<sup>3</sup> we find an illustrated story-book referred to, entitled "*Nekomata-zukushi*," printed in the Jōkyō era (1684-1687), and an old musical drama (jōruri-bon), entitled "*Imagawa honryō nekomata yashiki*,"<sup>4</sup> or, "The mansion of the bewitching cat in the territory of the (daimyō family) Imagawa."<sup>5</sup> Further, this work contains a legend concerning an old cat that devoured an old woman and buried her bones under the floor. She then took the old woman's shape, but was discovered eating on all fours, and was killed by her victim's son. It was a long time before the dead body resumed its original feline form, so that the man thought that he had killed his real mother and was about to commit harakiri.

Not always, however, did cats bring calamity upon their owners or upon those who had been in contact with them. So we read in the *Ōshū-banashi*<sup>6</sup> about the cat of the abbot of Tokuanji in Yedo, which bit a thief (who was trying his luck

1. Ch. V, p. 636.

2. Ch. III, pp. 512 seqq.

3. 夷園小説, written in 1825 by BAKIN and 7 others, *Iyakka Satsurin*, Vol. 正下, p. 476.

4. 今川本領猫股屋敷.

5. Another famous novel is the "*Nabeshima no neko sōdō*," 鍋島猫騷動, "*Tumult caused by a cat in the Nabeshima house*," a so-called kōdan (講談), or story told by the story-teller MITSUBAYASHI HAKUEN, 松林伯圓; it is also entitled "*Saga no Yozakura*," 嵯峨の夜桜. There are several other tales of the same kind, as for example the "*Arima no neko sōdō*," 有馬猫騷動, a.o. In the Genroku and Hōei periods (1688-1710) the *Yamatoke monogatari* (山猫物語) and other cat-novels appeared, as well as cat-comedies, by which the actor MIZUKI TARUNOSŪKE (水木長之助) made himself very popular in Yedo in 1671.

6. 奥州波奈志, *Onchi sōsho*, 湯知叢書, Vol. XI; written by TADANO AYA KO, 只野綾子, i.e. KUDŌ MAKUZU KO, 工藤真葛子, a female writer who died in 1825.

during the abbot's absence) in the tongue<sup>1</sup> so dreadfully, that the fellow roared with pain and tried in vain to fling his assailant off, and when one of the priests came, he found them both dying. The abbot, deeply moved by the self-sacrifice of the animal, buried it and erected a stone monument over its grave. So did also another Buddhist priest for his cat, which had saved his life. This cat had been saved by him from a floating plank ten years before and had ever since been given the run of his house. One day the priest's servant, when dozing on the verandah, heard a neighbour's cat talking with the cat of his master. The former said: "Come, let us go to Ise; it is such nice weather now;" but the priest's cat replied: "No, I cannot go away, for my master is in danger." The servant did not know whether he was dreaming or awake. That night there was a thundering noise above the ceiling of the main hall of the temple, and the next morning the two cats were found there, covered with blood; the priest's cat was dead and the other one dying. At a little distance their enemy, an enormous rat, about two shaku long, with hair like needles, was also lying half-dead, and was quickly killed with a stick. This monster wore the robe of a travelling priest, who had been staying in the temple for some days and had disappeared the same night in a mysterious way. Apparently the rat had taken the shape of this man in order to devour the abbot, and the cat, knowing this, had sacrificed her life for her master. The latter erected a grave stone for the two cats and held masses for their souls, as well as for that of the rat, and for many years afterwards the people praised the thankfulness and self-sacrifice of the cat.<sup>2</sup>

Another time a cat took the shape of a man in order to bring two gold pieces to a fishmonger, who had been ill for a long time and was plunged in the utmost misery without anybody knowing

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1. He was making a hole in the paper sliding-door with his tongue.

2. *Kinsō shō*, 閑窓瑣談, written in 1541 by KYŌKUN RŌJIN, 教訓老人, "The instructing old man," i.e. SASAKI SADATAKA, 佐佐木貞高, Ch. I, p. 22, nr 7.

it. The cat did so from thankfulness, because the man, who had daily come to her master's house, had always given her some fish offal. When the man had recovered, he went to the cat's master in order to ask of him some money for starting his business again. Then he heard that the cat had been killed because she had stolen two gold-pieces. Twice before she had been prevented from running away with money in her mouth, so that she was certainly the culprit. At once the fishmonger understood who had been the stranger who brought him the money, and he showed the master of the cat the paper in which the gold-pieces had been wrapped. As the man recognized his own writing, there was no doubt that the cat had in this way saved the fishmonger's life. The latter had the animal buried in the Buddhist temple Ekō-in in Honjo, a district of Yedo, and masses were read on behalf of its soul.<sup>1</sup>

The legends, mentioned in chronological order in the preceding text, have treated of dogs and cats in various ways. I will now treat separately the belief in the protective power of the dog, prevalent from olden times up till to-day.

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## CHAPTER III.

### The dog's protective power.

The dog is believed to have the power of protecting mankind against all kinds of bad demons. He recognizes at once a transformed cat, fox, badger or other animal, and kills it on the spot. Moreover, the bitch is famous for her easy birth and is therefore a welcome guest to pregnant women. But it is not only the animal itself which is such a powerful protector and helper of young and old, men and women, but also its image, nay even the Chinese character by means of which the word

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1. *Miyakawasha mamfutsu*, 宮川 舍漫 筆, written in 1858 by MIYAKAWA SEIUN, 宮川 政運, Ch. IV, p. 6.

"dog" is written, is considered very efficacious in driving away wicked demons or alleviating the troubles connected with childbirth.

**A. The character 犬 (inu, dog) written on the foreheads of babies.**

About the character 犬 (inu, dog) written on the forehead of an infant in order to protect it against foxes, badgers and other haunting demons, we read the following in FUJIWARA NO TAMERUSA's<sup>1</sup> diary, entitled *Taifuki*<sup>2</sup>, sub dato 27th day of the 8th month of the 5th year of the Kōwa era (1103): "The Crown prince moved to Takamatsu palace. When he went out at 8.30 in the evening, (Fujiwara no) Munemichi wrote the character 犬 on his forehead. Some days before a Court-lady had done the same." And in the diary of AKITAKA<sup>3</sup>, the eldest son of TAMERUSA, we read: "The Crown prince went out at the hour of the dog, and I was sent as a messenger to request Munemichi to write the 'ayatsukōdo<sup>4</sup>.'" This proves that the writing of the character 犬 on a child's forehead was called "ayatsukōdo," which word I cannot etymologically explain. The same thing is told of another little Crown prince in FUJIWARA NO MICHIE'S<sup>5</sup> diary entitled *Gyoku-zui*<sup>6</sup>, sub datis 1220, 4th month, 16th, 23th and 26th. At daybreak, before the prince left the palace, the Udaishō, Right General of the Body-Guard, every time wrote the character 犬 on his forehead<sup>7</sup>. In order to prove that it was a magical means of protecting the child against evil demons, KITA SHINGEN, author of the *Baien*

1. 藤原爲房.

2. 大府記.

3. 顯隆.

4. 阿也都古人. See the work "*Nansankibun*," 牟山紀聞, Ch. 1, (*Honchō* 1765n, Vol. 續 上, p. 8), written by ANDŌ TAMEAKI, 安藤爲章, in 1702.

5. 藤原道家, who lived 1192-1252.

6. 玉榮.

7. See the "*Baien nikki*," 梅園日記, written in 1844 by KITA SHINGEN, 北嶺言 (1765-1848), *Honchō* 1848n, Vol. 續 上, p. 306.

*nikki* (p. 306), quotes the *Tsukubashū*<sup>1</sup>, where we read that the verse "A dog is a being which protects mankind" is continued by the priest Ryōwa in the following way: "This is clear if one sees the character 'dog' on the foreheads of sucklings."

In KITA's opinion the character "dog" is written on a child's forehead especially to drive away the bird called *kishachō*, 鬼車鳥, or "Demon's carriage bird," a Chinese fabulous bird which enters the houses and robs the people of their souls. It is the "spectral chariot," mentioned by DE GROOT<sup>2</sup> as a bird with ten heads, one of which had been devoured by dogs. A work of the eighth century, the *Fen-ts'ao shih i*,<sup>3</sup> says: "Out of the place where that one head was blood trickles continually, and if this drops upon a house, misfortune will befall it. When the inhabitants of King and Ch'u hear the bird flying and crying in the night, they extinguish their lamps, and in order to prevail over it drum on the doors and *twit* the ears of their dogs, for, they say, it is afraid of dogs [one of which once bit off its head]." In the *T'ai ping k'uang ku*,<sup>4</sup> quoted by KITA, we read as follows about another bird, the *tu kūn*, 杜鵑, which is the Japanese *hototogisu*, or cuckoo: "This bird's cry as heard above the privy is a bad omen, and the way to counteract it is to answer it *with the bark of a dog* [that is, by barking like a dog]." And FANG I-CH'U<sup>5</sup>, an author of the Ming dynasty, writes in his work entitled *T'ung ya*<sup>6</sup> in the following way: "The *ts'ang lu* (蒼鷺) has nine heads. I heard this bird myself when staying at Sung kiang.

1. 菟玖波集, a collection of "continued haiken," haiken renga, 俳諧連歌, humorous poems made in company, everybody present continuing them (comp. FLORENZ, *On the origin of Japanese haikai*, p. 440), written by NISHI YOSHIMOTO, 二條良基, who lived 1319-1388.

2. *R.L. Spec.*, Vol. V, pp. 612-614.

3. 本草拾遺.

4. 太平廣記, written by LI I-CH'U, 李昉, and others in the second half of the 10th century, ch. 403, quoting the 西陽雜俎, *Yi-yang zai-lu*, written by TWAN CH'ENG-SHIH, 段成式, of the ninth century (comp. in GROUN, IV, p. 74, note 1; V, p. 642).

5. 方以智.

6. 通雅.

The people of that town tried to outdo one another in barking like dogs, in order to drive the bird away. Tradition says that blood is flowing from one of its heads, and if this falls upon a house, calamity is imminent." According to a work of the T'ang dynasty<sup>1</sup>, the so-called *ku hweoh* (姑獲, in Japan the "*ubume-dori*," or "woman in childbed-bird") belongs to the same class as the "spectral chariot" and the owl, while the *Huen chung ki*<sup>2</sup> states that "this bird likes to fly off with the little children of the people and to devour them. The reason why the people of to-day do not like to leave their babies' clothes outside during the night is because this bird, which is fond of babies, marks the clothes with its blood and flies off with the child [the next day]." According to another work<sup>3</sup>, it drops its feathers in the gardens, and, if they fall upon the clothes of a baby, the child at once falls into convulsions and invariably dies. Especially in the 7th and 8th months must one beware of this bird. With this passage KITA compares the above quoted words of TAMEFUSA in his *Taifuki*, in respect to the statement that in the 8th month a Court-lady had already written the character "dog" on the Crown prince's forehead some days before Munemichi did so. It may be that the Chinese belief that these birds annoy mankind especially during the 7th and 8th months prevailed among the Japanese courtiers, so that they used to perform the protective magic act at that time of the year more than in other months. But it was probably quite accidental, for in the *Gyoku-zui* we saw that the same thing was done on the 16th, 23th and 26th of the 4th month, which proves that in other months also it was often performed, evidently whenever the child went out. In China, however, the eighth month was certainly more than any other time of the year devoted

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1. The *Poh ku lei*, 北戶錄, written by TWAN KUNG-LU, 段公路, about 860.

2. 玄中記, a work dating from before the 6th century.

3. The *T'ou n' tai fang*, 千金方, a medical work, written by SUN SZ' MONG, 孫思邈, who lived 550-630; Ch. V, p. 29.

to the magical protection of babies, for we read in several books<sup>1</sup> that on the 10th day of the 8th month all classes of the people *applied dots of red ink to the foreheads of their babies*, which was called "*t'ien kin*" (天灸, 'celestial moxa') and was done in order to ward off diseases. Finally, we may refer to two other Chinese books<sup>2</sup> which mention the dog as the magical protector of babies. They state that "If a baby cries at night, one must immediately take the hair beneath the throat of a dog, put this into a red bag and bind it on the hands of the baby; then the child stops crying at once." This reminds one of BRINKLEY's statement<sup>3</sup>, that in Japan a baby's crying is stopped by tying on its back a red cotton bag containing dog's hair; but as I have not read or heard this anywhere else, I am not sure that this Chinese custom is actually imitated by the Japanese.

On comparing the above quoted Chinese passages with the Japanese custom of magically protecting a child by writing the character 犬 (dog) on its forehead, we arrive at the conclusion that it is a purely Chinese idea, borrowed and transformed by the Japanese. The dots of red ink of the Chinese were made more efficacious by their imitators by replacing them with the character indicating the dog, which animal the Chinese themselves had declared to be the best protector of babies against evil demons. The Japanese also gave this character a *red* colour, as is stated in the *Shintō myōmoku ruiju shō*,<sup>4</sup> where we read the following: "The priests of the Gion temple at Kyōto paint with red earth the character 犬 (dog) on the foreheads of babies.

1. The *King Chu sui-shu ki*, 荆楚歲時記, written in the sixth century by TSUNG LIN, 宗悫; the *Pai ping yü lan*, a cyclopaedia completed in 983 by LI FANG, 李昉, and others; the *Sui shi k'wang ki*, 歲時廣記, written by CHAN YUEN-K'UO, 陳元觀, in the thirteenth century; the *Yuh chih pao tien*, 玉燭寶典, written by TU TAI-K'ING, 杜臺卿, under the Sui dynasty (581-618); and the *Tsun ku lu*, 潛居錄, a work of an unknown author.

2. The medical works *Wei tai pi yao*, 外臺秘要 (ch. 35), written by WANG TAO, 王濤, in 752, and *Shin ts'ui lu*, 聖濟總錄 (ch. 170), written in 1111-1117.

3. *Japan*, Vol. V, p. 237.

4. 神道名目類聚抄, written in 1199 by NOBONO, 野殿, Ch. VI, p. 19.



This is called '*inu no ko*'<sup>1</sup>; it is a secret charm of the Gion temple<sup>2</sup> only." And ISE TEIJŌ<sup>3</sup> says: "If one carries a baby out of doors at night, he writes with minium (beni, rouge) the character 犬 on the child's forehead. This is called '*inu no ko*,' that is, '*inu no ko*,' 'puppy.' If one does this, evil spirits are warded off and the child is not haunted by foxes, badgers and so on." Finally, we may quote the *Kōkushi daijiten*<sup>4</sup>, where "*inu no ko*" is said to be "the magic of diviners<sup>5</sup>, practiced when a baby is crying with fear." After having quoted TEIJŌ's words, above mentioned, TANAKA says: "As to the name '*inu no ko*,' this means 印の子, namely, impressing the seal (印) containing the characters 巫婆寶珠, '*Tuba hōshū*,' 'the precious gem of the old witch,' upon a child when making a pilgrimage to Gion [the above mentioned Shintō temple at Kyōto]. It is also explained as 犬の来, '*inu no ko*,' 'the arrival of the dog', namely, a charm in consequence of which a dog comes (来) and warding off the 'Evil' (邪), protects the 'Righteous' (正, sei); this charm consists of writing with rouge the character 犬 (dog) on a baby's forehead."

### B. The *inu-hariko*.

Another kind of *dog-magic* is the so-called *inu-hariko*, 犬張子, or "papier-maché dog." It is based upon the easy birth producing, as well as upon the protective, power of this animal; the combination of these two making it an animal *par excellence* for the lying-in room. A work written in 1686<sup>6</sup> gives the following:—"The so-called *inu-hariko* is a utensil used in the lying-in chamber. This dog-box is dressed

1. 印の子, "seal-child."

2. It is remarkable that the servants of the headpriest of this temple were called "inugami-bito," "dog-god-men" (see below).

3. 伊勢貞丈, who lived 1715-1784, in his "*Teijō zakkō*," 貞丈雜記, Ch. XVI, l., p. 14.

4. 國史大辭典, "Great Dictionary of the National History," written by TANAKA YOSHINARI, 田中義成, in 1908; p. 213, s. v. *Inu no ko*, 犬子.

5. Onyōka, 陰陽家

6. The *Fūm yashinai-suzi*, 婦人養草, written by BAI-U SANJIN, 梅塲散人, Ch. V, p. 1.

beforehand in the first clothes of the new-born baby<sup>1</sup> and then the child itself is dressed in them. Inside the box charms<sup>2</sup> are placed as well as the white powder and paper<sup>3</sup>, used in the lying-in room, and the brush by means of which the powder is rubbed from the eye-brows<sup>4</sup>. These inu-hariko are sold in a nunnery, called Hokkeji, at Nara, where they are made by the nuns.<sup>5</sup> In the above quoted dictionary, "*Kokushū daijiten*", we read s. v. Inu-hariko (p. 213) the following: "This is a box with the form of a dog, also called 'inu-bako,' 'dog-box.' It is placed by the side of babies in order to drive the demons away. The *Taijō zakki* [see above] says: 'On the birth of a child a dog-box is made and placed by its side, because the dog has an honest character and makes the "Demonic obstacles" (moshō, 魔障) withdraw. ....If a child cries in its dreams, the people say: 'puppy, puppy' (inu no ko, inu no ko); this is the same kind of charm," The new "*Encyclopædia Japonica*"<sup>6</sup> gives the following explanation.—"*Inu-hariko*. Formerly called *inu bako*<sup>7</sup>, *otogi no inubako*<sup>8</sup>, *hariko-inu*<sup>9</sup>, *tonoi-inu*<sup>10</sup>, and *otogi-inu*<sup>11</sup>. In olden times used as a wedding utensil,<sup>12</sup> and also at the birth of a child. Nowadays it is used at the "miya-miri" [going to the temple

1. Ubu-gi, 産衣.

2. Mamori-fuda, 守札.

3. Tatō-gami, 疊紙, "folded paper."

4. Mayu-harai, 眉拂.

5. Still nowadays these earthen dogs with a red collar are made by the nuns, who think to wipe out their sins by so doing. According to the tradition of the nunnery, the Empress Kōmyō originally made them of the earth of the mountain, and they bestow *easy birth* and make children stop crying at night. *Encycl. Jap.*, Vol. I, p. 662, s. v. *Inu-mamori*.

6. *Nihon hyakkaen daijiten*, 日本百科大辞典, Vol. I (published in 1908), s. v. *Inu-hariko*, p. 660.

7. 犬篋, dog-box.

8. 御伽犬篋, attending-dog-box.

9. 張子犬, papier-maché dog.

10. 宿直犬, watch-dog.

11. 御伽犬, attending-dog.

12. This was mostly a white-painted wooden dog, sent by the parents of a distinguished bride to the house of the bridegroom. It was placed near the bed of the young couple and brought back by the go-between the next day to the bride's parents, who preserved it as a guaranty of the luck and harmony of their children.

of the uji-gami, the tutelary god of the place, a month after the child's birth] and has become a toy of the children. Formally its face resembled that of a little child, and its body was that of a sleeping dog. There were male and female dog-boxes; the male ones looked to the left and the baby's charms were put inside, while the female ones looked to the right and contained the woman's toilet necessities and also toys. Nowadays the inu hariko has entirely a dog's shape; among the higher classes it is still a box with a separate cover." Pictures of the old and modern inu-hariko are placed between the text of this passage. For the miya-mairi a dog-day is generally chosen; the priest of the temple waves the sacred gohei, into which the god is believed to descend, over the child's head, saying: "May this ward off evil and give good luck to the baby"; at the same time the child is given its name. When leaving the temple, the parents pay fifty sen to the priest and buy a so-called "*emmei-ame*"<sup>1</sup> or "longevity jelly," which is sold before the temple and which they give as a "*miyage*", or "returning-present", to the relatives upon whom they call before returning home. The relatives on their part give a papier-maché dog, the inu-hariko, to the baby as an excellent protection against all evil spirits. This dog has a conventional form and varies only in size; its colour is always white, with black dots here and there, while it often wears a kind of garment, gold and red, with blue and red ornaments representing the sun (in front) and the "*tomoe*"<sup>2</sup>, three comma-shaped figures in a circle, which represent the Chinese T'ai-Kih, Yang and Yin<sup>3</sup>, the primum mobile, the male and the female principle of the universe.<sup>4</sup> The

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1. 延命餅.

2. 巴.

3. 太極, 陽 and 陰. Comp. DE GROOT, *Jaarlijksche feesten en gebruiken der Emoy-Chinezen*, Vol. I, p. 45, note 72.

4. The "*futatsu tomoe*," with two commas, a white one and a black one (male and female principle) is found side by side with the three-comma-shaped figure; the latter has also become a family badge. The name *tomoe* means "drawing on a *lomo* (the leather shield worn at the left elbow by archers)." Comp. FLORENZ, *Geschichte der Japanischen Mythologie*, p. 77, note 7.

more relatives are called upon on the day of the child's first visit to the temple, the more inu-hariko it gets. It is a curious sight to see the funny papier-maché dogs hanging at the back of the riksha of mother and child on the way home. The inu-hariko is believed to be in such a close magical connection with the child, that afterwards, when the latter has caught a cold and its nose is stopped, the nose of the dog is pierced with a gimlet in order to cure the child. And if a baby cries at night, the inu-hariko, with a small bamboo basket upon its head, is hung above the child in order to make it stop crying. At the girls' festival, on the third of March, the dog is placed between the dolls (hina) on the hina-dan, or "doll steps."

### C. The dog as a bestower of easy birth.

In regard to the dog as a bestower of *easy birth*, we may mention the fact that the *iwada-obi no iwai*,<sup>1</sup> "the festive occasion of the iwada-girdle," when Japanese women put on a kind of bandage of this name in the fifth month of their pregnancy, always takes place on a day of the dog. And when the festival of the Suitengu temple in Tōkyō, which is celebrated twice a month, namely on the fifth and the fifteenth, coincides with a dog-day, the charms bought there on that occasion are believed to give easy birth. As to this special power of the dog, we may note the following story.<sup>2</sup> In 1783 the wife of a man called Okada Kō became pregnant, whereupon the couple made a pilgrimage to the Great Temple at Ise and to the famous Inari temple at Fushimi. While they were dining in an inn at the latter place, being about to return home, their servant found a small dog of the size of a cat sleeping in the woman's sedan-chair. He drove the brute away and did not speak about it until they reached home. When he told it then, the mother of his mistress

1. 岩田帯の祝. The girdle is also called *iwata-obi*.

2. *Tetsu i kudon*, 提醒紀談, written in 1850 by YAMAZAKI BISEI, 山崎美成, who lived 1796-1856; Ch. II, p. 21, under the heading: "kuji no kwai," 狗見の怪, "the haunting puppy."

got very angry, because he had driven the dog away instead of keeping it. For as the dog has a very easy birth, the sleeping dog in the pregnant woman's *sedun-chuir* was an excellent omen for her. Therefore the servant was ordered to go immediately back to Fushimi and fetch the dog. He did so, but in the same year the dog killed a fox, became mad (by the curse of the fox) and bit several people who all died.<sup>1</sup> Then its master ordered the animal to be wrapped up in a bamboo mat and thrown into the river. Soon afterwards his wife gave birth to a son, but she could not nurse her child and after four or five months it fell ill. No medicines could cure it and the parents were at their wit's end, when Okada's attention was drawn to the drowned dog by its repeated appearance in his dreams and by the words of a god who said to him: "Your child's illness is caused by the curse of the dead dog; you must read the Hannya (Nirvana) sutra on behalf of its soul." Thereupon he requested a Buddhist priest to read this sutra for him, and the result was marvelous, for the child recovered at once.

#### D. Dog-charms.

Besides the character 犬 (dog) and the *inu-hariko*, *dog-charms* also are believed to be efficacious in driving foxes and other haunting creatures away. Some twenty years ago it was the custom in Kazusa province to go to Mitsumine, a mountain in Musashi, in order to obtain a charm against fox-possession, when somebody of the family was afflicted with this disease. Such a pilgrimage was called "going to borrow a dog," "*inu wo kari ni iku*." Apparently the meaning of this name was that an invisible supernatural dog was believed to follow the charm and drive the fox away. And sacred dogs were actually kept in a special building of the temple of Mitsumine Gongen, the

1. MIYAKAWA SEIUN, 宮川政運, says in his work entitled "*Myōden-ku* (or *Kyōsū nōka*) *myōden-ku*," 宮川舎没筆, written in 1858, Ch. IV, p. 13, that the bite of a mad dog can be quickly cured by applying leaves of the *illicium religiosum* (*shikumi*) to the wound and burning a moxa on these leaves. The *shikumi* is well-known for its power to ward off bad influences, comp. my paper on "*The Fox and the Badger in Japanese Folklore*," *Transactions*, Vol. XXXVI.

"Manifestation of Mitsumine," a Buddhist name of the mountain god. We read about this temple in YOSHIDA Tōgō's *Geographical Dictionary*<sup>1</sup>: a large number of pilgrims visited the temple and prayed there or asked for a so-called mountain dog (yama-inu, 山犬) or "honorable dog" (o-inu), which they bought for money. On the 19th of every month a special offering of cleaned rice was brought from the temple to the place where the dogs were kept; wine and red rice were given to a bitch when it had young, and they were all treated with the utmost care. These dogs were "the servants (kenroku, 眷屬, members of the household) of Mitsumine Gongen." Probably the mountain god himself was originally believed to have a dog's shape, as for example the god who led Prince Yamato-take through the mountains of Shin-mo<sup>2</sup>, and the one who lived with a human wife.<sup>3</sup>

### E. The hayato.

While speaking about the magic power of the dog, we must not omit the so-called *hayabito* or *huito* or *hayato* (隼人), a body of Imperial guards in the Palace, whose task it was to bark as dogs on special occasions in order to drive all evil influences away. The "haya-uto no kami" (隼人正, or "head of the haya-uto") is already mentioned among the officials of the Daihō era (701-703), enumerated in the *Ryō no gige*<sup>4</sup>. In the *Nihongi*<sup>5</sup> we read that when Hiko hōhōdemi, the youngest son of Ninigi no Mikoto, conquered his elder brother Ito-suseri by means of the jewel which he had got from the Sea-god, Ito-suseri said: "From now on during eighty generations my descendants will be your clowns (actors, 俳人)", or, according to another version,

1. 吉田東伍, 大日本地名辭書, *Da Nihon junci jisho*, Vol. II, p. 3054 s. v. Mitsumine (三峰).

2. See above p. 9.

3. See above p. 16.

4. 令義解, written in 833 by Kiyomasa Naruno, 清原夏野; K.T.K. Vol. XII, p. 12, Ch. I [官位令]. The head of the hayabito is mentioned there as an official of the secondary sixth rank.

5. K.T.K. Vol. I, Ch. II, p. 60.

"your *dog-men* (inu-bito, 狗人)". "For that reason," says the author, "up till now all the hayahito, descendants of Ho-suseri, do not leave the enclosure of the Imperial Palace and serve the Emperor as barking dogs." The *Engishiki*<sup>1</sup> describes the "Ceremonies of the head of the hayato" as follows: "Generally on New-year's day, at an Emperor's accession to the throne, and when foreigners visit the Court, two *tai-i*,<sup>2</sup> 20 *banjō no hayato*<sup>3</sup> ("higher hayato"), 20 *imagi no hayato*<sup>4</sup> ("newly arrived hayato," novices), and 132 *hakuchō no hayato*<sup>5</sup> ("hayato who wear white clothes," i.e. the clothes worn by inferior servants of the Court nobles), under the command of two *kwanjin*<sup>6</sup> ("officials") and 2 *shisei*,<sup>7</sup> are all sitting in rows on the left and right outside the Ōten gate [of the Palace]. When the officials enter for the first time, they rise from their seats, and the "imagi no hayato" bark thrice. (When foreigners visit the Court, there is no fixed number of times of barking)..... Generally, when an Heir-apparent privately succeeds to the Throne,<sup>8</sup> and on the day when the new Emperor tastes the new crop for the first time," the hayato are drawn up inside the Ōten gate, on the left and right side, and bark when the officials enter for the first time..... Generally, when the Emperor makes a far journey, 2 *tai-i*, 9 *banjō no hayato* and 10 *imagi no hayato*, under the command of 2 *kwanjin* and 2 *shisei* accompany His Majesty. When His carriage passes either the frontiers of a province or curves in mountains, rivers or roads, the "imagi no hayato" bark. Generally also when the Emperor passes the night somewhere during his journey, the hayato bark. But if His Majesty proceeds only to a

1. 延喜式, published in 927; K.I.K. Vol. XIII, Ch. XXVIII, p. 854 (兵部省, hayato no tsukasa no shiki, 隼人司式).

2. 大吏.

3. 番上集人.

4. 今來隼人.

5. 白丁隼人.

6. 官人.

7. 史生.

8. 踐祚, sen-so.

9. 大嘗日, daishōjitsu.

near place, they do not bark..... Generally the *imägi no hayato* learn barking from the *tai-i*; those on the left hand bark first, than those on the right hand, and then all together, ten times loudly and once with low voices; finally one man cries twice with a thin voice." In the *O-u-ki*<sup>1</sup> we read the following: "On the 22nd of the 11th month of Chōwa 1 (1012) the hayato did not bark at the Daishō festival. Then one or two of the Court nobles barked with a low voice, but it was quite different from the ordinary sound [of the hayato themselves]."

An interesting passage on the hayato is to be found in BAN NOBUOMO's<sup>2</sup> *Hiko bar*,<sup>3</sup> where three upright stones are mentioned, standing near the tomb of the Emperor Gemmei (707-715) at Nahoyama, Soegami district, Yamato province. These are the three so-called "dog-stones," cut in relief representing naked men with dog's heads. There are traces of red paint on them. One of these dog-men, about 2 shaku 6 sun long, is leaning with both hands on a stick<sup>4</sup>, and above his head the character 北, "North," is to be read. The two other figures are squatting, with their hands in the same position as the former, but without a stick. In olden times these dog-stones, the figures of which are given in a picture<sup>5</sup> by the author, were seven in number. Four of these "seven foxes of Ōnabe," as the people called them, are lost. The *Konjaku monogatari* (before 1077)<sup>5</sup> mentions them as "figures of demons" (鬼形); apparently the people of that time did not understand their meaning and considered them as demons, while later generations mistook them for foxes. In BAN NOBUOMO's opinion there were originally 4 standing and 4 squatting figures; the character "North" above the standing one certainly indicates that it was erected on the North side of the tomb, and there must have been three

1. 小右記, the diary of FUJIWARA NO SANE-TOE, 藤原實資, who lived 956-1046.

2. 伴信友, who lived 1773-1846.

3. 比古邊衣, Ch. III, *Hyakka s. s. n. m.*, Vol. 續中, p. 52.

4. According to the author, it resembles a 楚, ぞ, a spinous stick used as a rod.

5. Ch. XXXI, nr 35, K. T. K. Vol. XVI, p. 1148.



other ones on the South, East and West sides. The squatting figures were probably placed on the corners, so that there were eight stones in all. The fact that they were called "the seven foxes," even in the author's time, because there had been seven of them in olden times, seems to indicate that one of them was lost already in remote ages, so that tradition only knew of seven figures. BAN NORTOMO's explanation of these dog-men, placed on the Emperor's grave, is very ingenious and probably correct. He says that formerly the *hayato*, when they had to bark at great Court ceremonies, wore dog-masks, and that possibly for this reason their images, representing men with dog's heads, were placed on the Imperial grave as followers of His Majesty even after his death. Just as the living men protected the living Emperor and kept off all bad spirits, their images did the same at his tomb. The matter reminds us of the *hanwa*<sup>1</sup> or "clay-rings," the clay figures set up at tumuli as substitutes for living men; but while the *hanwa* were only intended for the deceased Emperor's comfort, the dog-men served as his protectors. Professor FLORENZ, who mentions the *hayahito* twice,<sup>2</sup> says that they were people from Satsuma and Ōsumi (which fact I have found also stated by KITAMURA SHINSETSU<sup>3</sup>), who served as Imperial Guards, and that according to Professor Tsuboi there is a sculpture at Nara, in which *hayahito* are represented as men with dog's heads. This fact agrees well with the above mentioned dog-men on the Emperor Gemmei's tomb.

## F. The Koma-inu.

Finally, we have to mention the so-called *koma-inu*, or "Korean dogs"<sup>4</sup>, as magical expellers of all evil influences, first

1. 埴輪, see ASTON, *Sanio*, p. 57; *Nihongi*, Ch. VI, 32th year of the Emperor Suinin, K.I.K. Vol. I, p. 127.

2. *Japanische Mythologie*, p. 176, note 23, and p. 237, note 48.

3. 喜多村信節 (1783-1856), in his *Literarische*, 埴庭雜考, *Hanwa setsuwa*, Vol. 續下一, p. 407.

4. 狛犬 or 高麗犬. The people call them also "ama-inu," "heavenly dogs," by a false etymology.

only used in the Palace, but afterwards and also nowadays often placed in front of (or within) Shintō temples. They are, however, more *lions* than *dogs*, and the old writers often call them *shishi-koma-inu*,<sup>1</sup> "Lion-Korean dogs." This is the case in the first work in which we find them mentioned, namely the *Makura no sōshi*,<sup>2</sup> which speaks about the *shishi-komainu*, which stood in the Nijō palace at Kyōto in the bedroom of Sūdako, the second Consort of the Emperor Ichijō (986-1011), and about *shishi-komainu* dances, and says that *shishi-komainu*, big chairs etc. were placed before the Imperial Curtain of a new Empress. The *Eigwa monogatari*<sup>3</sup> describes how after the death of the Empress "the *shishi-komainu*, which were formerly standing before the Imperial Curtain facing each other in a solemn way, were now put aside against the wall of an empty room" (because they could no longer guard the deceased Empress), and how one of the Ladies-in-waiting made a poem, in which she spoke about the *shishi-komainu* as the guardians of her Imperial Mistress during her life. The same work also mentions the *shishi-komainu* dances, performed at the dedication of the temple erected in honour of the deceased Empress Jōtōmon-in, Consort of the Emperor Ichijō, who died in 1074. These were evidently the same dances as the well-known *shishi-mai*<sup>4</sup> or "lion-dances," performed even to this day in the first month of the year by men with lion-masks, in order to drive away evil spirits, and mentioned by ŌE NO MASARU<sup>5</sup> when he describes the dedication of a Buddhist temple, the Kōfukuji at Kyōto. The same author calls the *shishi-komainu*, which were among the articles of furniture of the new Empress, "*shishi-gata*,"<sup>6</sup> "lion-forms." The same

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1. 獅子狛犬.

2. 枕冊子, written in 1000 by SEISHŪ NAGON, 清少納言; Ch. VII, X and XI.

3. 榮華物語, written about 1100, Ch. 布引籠, Nunobiki no taki.

4. 獅子舞.

5. 大江匡房, who lived 1090-1111, in his *Kōke shōrai*, 江家次第, Ch. XIV (踐祚の上の讓位).

6. 獅子形.

collective term is used by TAIRA NO NOBUNORI,<sup>1</sup> who says: "I placed [in 1166] the Imperial chair inside the curtain [in the Nanden, the "Southern Palace," one of the buildings of the main Palace], raised the hangings on all four sides and placed the shishigata inside [on the elevated floor]." And in a very interesting old book, the date and author of which are unknown,<sup>2</sup> we read the following:—"When the Empress uses the hamadoko [lit. "beach-bed," a broad couch], the curtain and the other things are as before, but as to the *shishigata*, they are placed opposite each other on the left and right side of the entrance outside the southern hangings, before the curtain, on the left a *lion*, yellow, with an open mouth, on the right a *komainu*,<sup>3</sup> white, with its mouth closed, and having a horn."<sup>4</sup> The fact that they were called "lion-forms" and that the lion-dances were indicated by the word "shishi-komainu-dances" shows clearly that the *komainu* were considered lions; but on the other hand we can gather from the last mentioned passage that the so-called *shishi-komainu* were not two lions but a lion and a unicorn. This is also stated by the Emperor JUNTOKU, who reigned from 1211 till 1221 and died in 1242, in his work entitled *Kimpishō*,<sup>5</sup> and is confirmed by the pictures of another work,<sup>6</sup> which dates from 1444. One of the two *shishi-komainu*,

1. 平信範, who was born in 1117 and became a Buddhist priest in 1177; he wrote the *Jinshiki*, 人事記.

2. The *Ryūjū zatsugoshō*, 類聚雜要抄, Ch. IV, *Gunsō ruijū*, nr 470, Vol. XVI, p. 1280; it contains an illustrated description of all kinds of ceremonies, offerings, furnitures and so on in the Palace.

3. 胡摩犬.

4. 在角. According to these characters the meaning is: "it is standing in the corner." But as there is no question of a corner, both standing at the entrance of the curtain, the author must have wrongly used the character 在 instead of 有, and the meaning must be: "it (the *komainu*) has a horn." It is remarkable that all the Japanese authors, who quote this passage, have omitted these two last characters, evidently in order to avoid the difficulty.

5. 禁秘抄; it is also entitled *Kemiyaku no shōki*, 建曆御記, "Imperial records of the Kemiyaku era (1211-1212)."

6. The *The Bunan seiwai chōden*, 文安御即位調度圖, "Pictures of the furniture used on the occasion of the Accession to the Throne in the Bunan era (1444)," *Gunsō ruijū*, nr 62, Vol. V, p. 598. These pictures have been copied by FUJIWARA NO MITSUTADA, 藤原光忠, in 1444, and as there was no accession to the Throne in this era, the people of later times must have thought that MITSUTADA had given the pictures of the furniture used in 1444; but in that year he only copied the old pictures of a former occasion.

represented in this book, has a dog's head, but one horn upon it, pointing backwards just as the horn of the kilin<sup>1</sup>; yet it is different from that Chinese animal, as it has claws instead of hoofs and no scales. It looks to the left, while the other animal, which is looking to the right, resembles also a dog, but has no horn; the latter is apparently the lion, mentioned in the *Ruiju zatsuyōshō* and *Kimpishō*. Between the two animals a large number of banners and drums are placed. According to the explanatory note of the author on p. 598 at the side of the former animal, this is a "komainu-gata"<sup>2</sup> or "komainu-shape," made of copper and seated on a copper pedestal, which resembles a boulder, and before it is a copper pillar, a little more than a shaku long. Further, he quotes the *Saemonshiki*, a part of the *Engishiki*, where the image of a rhinoceros is compared to a komainu.<sup>3</sup> Although I have not found the passage to which he refers in the *Saemonshiki*, but only another one where the rhinoceros is mentioned, yet there is sufficient evidence to state that the komainu must originally have been different from the lion, that is to say a unicorn.

From the *Kana shōzokushō*<sup>4</sup> we learn that the shishi-komainu were placed on the eastern side of the Imperial curtain, and from the above quoted *Kimpishō* that in the Nanden so-called "kage no inu", or "shadow-dogs", were painted on a door of the room of the Imperial curtain. As we have seen above,<sup>5</sup> shishi-gata were placed inside that same curtain, so that we arrive at the conclusion that the Emperor was guarded

1. We find a picture of the ki-lin, 麒麟, in DE GROOT'S *Religious System of China*, Vol. II, p. 819, fig. 36, reproduced from a Chinese work. These ki-lin are among the enormous stone animals placed along the avenue leading to the Imperial Mausolea of the Ming dynasty, together with lions, elephants and camels. They have split hoofs and are covered with scales.

2. 狛犬形.

3. K.T.K. Vol. XIII, p. 1119, an image of a rhinoceros (兕) is mentioned, but not compared to a koma-inu.

4. 假名装束抄, also entitled *Masasūke shōzokushō*, 雅亮装束抄, written by MINAMOTO NO MASASŪKE, 源雅亮, who lived in the second half of the twelfth century. *Gunsho ruijū*, Vol. VI, nr. 112, p. 12.

5. In the *Jinshaki*, see above p. 56.

there by not less than four shishi-komainu, two painted on the door and two copper ones placed inside the curtain. The name "shadow-dogs," given to the former two, is found in the *Shimmei hyōdan*,<sup>1</sup> which explains them as expellers of bad spirits and compares them to the dogs, crucified at the four gates of the capital in China during the Ts'in dynasty, and to the two dogs painted in the Palace of the Chinese Emperor in imitation of the same old custom.<sup>2</sup> Besides in the Nanden, in two other buildings of the Palace, namely the Shishinden and the Seiryōden, shishi-komainu were placed inside the Imperial curtain, as we read in the *Shimin honden*<sup>3</sup>; the former building contained the throne room, the latter the apartments of the Emperor. So the shishi-komainu protected His Majesty when giving audience as well as in his sleep and domestic life. The same work states that they were also placed on both sides of the Shōmei gate when a new Emperor succeeded to the Throne. TAKAYA CHIKABUMI,<sup>4</sup> a commentator of the *Tsurezuregusa*, says that the shishi-komainu are golden or copper lions, not dogs, placed near screens in the Palace in order to prevent them from moving, and *before the gates* to prevent them, when open, from shutting. Yet he also considers them as guardians of the Palace and the Shintō temples.<sup>5</sup> Another commentator of the same work, KITAMURA KIGIN<sup>6</sup>, asserts that on New-year's day, at an accession to the Throne etc., the hayato barked as dogs *behind the shishi-komainu* in order to guard the Emperor. The *Engishiki* has taught us that the hayato were drawn up outside or inside the Ōten gate, while the *Shimin honden* stated that the shishi-komainu were

1. 神明憑談, written by TADA YOSHITOSHI, 多田義俊, who lived 1697-1750; quoted in the *Komainu kō*, 狛犬考, *Onchi sōsho*, 溫知叢書, Vol. VIII, p. 5.

2. See above p. 4.

3. 四民本傳, written in 1730 by SAMUKAWA TATSUKIYO, 寒川長清; quoted in the *Komainu kō*, p. 6.

4. 高屋近文.

5. In the *Tsurezuregusa ōgishō*, 徒然草奥儀抄, written in 1716.

6. 北村季吟, in the *Tsurezuregusa bundanshō*, 文段抄, p. 395, Ch. VII.

placed at the Shōmei gate, when the new Emperor succeeded to the Throne. We can gather herefrom that in olden times the procession entered the Palace through the former gate and centuries afterwards through the latter. Placing the shishi-komainu before the gates was evidently also a later custom, for the old books do not mention it. The *Masu kagami*<sup>1</sup> relates how in 1290 the shishi-komainu in the Shishinden split, whereupon the Emperor became alarmed and consulted diviners who declared it to be a foreboding of bloodshed, i.e. of war.

The first time we find the shishi-komainu in a *temple* instead of in the Palace is in the *Gempei seisuiki*,<sup>2</sup> which after having mentioned a painted phoenix, cuckoo and cock which sang and crew, tells the following:—"The shishi-komainu, which Jochō [a Buddhist priest] had made and offered to Zōō Gongen of Kimpusen [the famous Tengu mountain], had a fight [litt. bit each other] in the temple hall and fell from their pedestals." An amusing story is told by the monk KENKŌ Hōshū<sup>3</sup> in the *Tsurezuregusa*<sup>4</sup> about the Buddhist priest Seikai, who, when visiting a branch temple of the Great Shintō temple (Taisha) at Izumi with a large crowd of other pilgrims, saw the shishi-komainu standing with their heads in an exactly opposite direction to their usual position. He considered this a very good omen, and, full of emotion, with tears in his eyes, drew the attention of his companions to the miracle. They were all astonished and glad that they could tell such an interesting incident after their return to Kyōto. But when Seikai asked a priest of the temple what the reason might be, the latter answered that it was only a trick played by children. So the emotion and tears of the good priest had been wasted! In the famous Kamo temple at Kyōto were not only komainu, but on

1. 増鏡, written in 1340-1350; K.T.K. Vol. XVII, p. 1157, Ch. XIII.

2. 源平盛衰記, written about 1250; Ch. II, *Teikoku Bunko*, Vol. V, p. 42.

3. 衆奸法師.

4. 徒然草, probably written between 1334 and 1339 (comp. FLORENZ, *Jap. Literaturgeschichte*, p. 329), Ch. VII.

the door behind them "shadow-dogs", as mentioned above, were painted, according to SHIRAI SŌIN,<sup>1</sup> a writer of the Kwambun era (1661-1672), who adds that this was not often the case in Shintō temples and that its sense was sacred and a secret. As to the shape of the komainu, he asserts that they are not lions, but dogs from Koma. In regard to this point the opinions of the Japanese scholars are different. The Buddhist priest RYŌTEI<sup>2</sup> declares that the komainu are lions, which came from Koma and were called dogs by the Japanese because they did not know lions. The author of the *Wakun no shiori*,<sup>3</sup> however, bases his opinion that the komainu are not lions upon the above quoted passage of the *Ruiju zatsuyōshō*, where one of the shishigata is described as a lion, the other as a komainu. He says: "Although people say that the komainu are images of lions, originally brought from Koma [高麗, one of the kingdoms of Korea] and now placed at the Southern gate of Tōdaiji [a famous Buddhist temple at Nara], they are not lions, but 'kan' (犴, Chinese 'han'),<sup>4</sup> which came from the land of Koma (狛). Some say that they owe their origin to the *inubito*, but this is also wrong..... The komainu is an animal like the Chinese *k'üen p'u* (犬舖) (?), which is placed before the Imperial blind and is called 'blind-presser.' Those in the Shintō temples are also of the same kind." In TADA YOSHITOSHI's<sup>5</sup> opinion, the animals placed before the Shintō temples are "*swan*" (狻), a kind of lions, but still more violent

1. 白井宗因, quoted in the *Komainu kō*, p. 9.

2. 良定, who lived 1543-1639, in his work entitled "*Daikoku shōkisan*," 題額聖圖贊, Ch. V, p. 17.

3. 和訓栞, written by TANIKAWA KOTOSUGA, 谷川士清, who lived 1706-1776.

4. 犴 or 犴, explained by WELLS WILLIAMS, p. 165, as follows: "A sort of black feline beast found on the confines of the Desert; it is described as a monstrous, terrific beast, scaly, and producing *one horn* in its old age. Some accounts ally it to the Tibetan mastiff, but the *Pin Tsao* makes it a synonym of the 狓, or Malacca tapir, to which, or the *rhinoceros*, it should probably be referred." This reminds us of the above quoted words of FUJIWARA NO MITSU-TADA in regard to the comparison of the komainu to a rhinoceros.

5. The author of the *Shintō no shiori*, see above p. 58, note 1.

than these. The Chinese Empress Tseh T'ien of the T'ang dynasty had these lions made and placed near the throne; she also ordered all other kinds of "*osae*" (鎮子, *chinshi*, weights for pressing) to be made, and as the customs of that time were very much imitated in Japan, the same lions were also used in the Japanese Palace, as we read in the *Sankwaiki*.<sup>1</sup> FUJII Kōshō (or TAKAHISA), the author of the *Matsu no ochiba*,<sup>2</sup> refers to the Chinese book entitled *Yiu sien k'uh*,<sup>3</sup> where we read: "On the floor stood lions of jade (玉獅子)," with the following explanation of a Chinese commentator: "Lions, carved out of precious stone and placed on the floor in order to drive the evil demons away and hold down the carpet." It is with exactly the same idea that the shishi-komainu were placed on the ends of the southern hangings of the Imperial curtain in the Palace at Kyōto. After having stated that they were not yet found in Japan during the Nara period, as no author of that time mentions them, FUJII goes on as follows:—"These lions were brought from Koma as a present to the Japanese Court and were placed in the Palace. At first the Ladies-in-waiting did not know that they were lions and called them 'Koma dogs,' as they came from Koma and resembled dogs. But as some among these ladies knew that they were lions, they spoke to one another about them as 'lions' or 'Koma-dogs,' and so it became the custom to combine the two expressions into one: 'shishi-komainu.' The story-books and diaries, which were written in the colloquial, called them therefore 'shishi-komainu' or 'komainu,' while the truly historical works gave only 'shishi' (lions), not 'Koma-dogs.'"

This looks quite plausible, and yet it is partly wrong, for, as we have seen above, only one of the two animals was a lion, the

1. 山槐記, written by NAKAYAMA TADACHIKA, 中山忠親, who lived 1130-1195.

2. 藤井高尙 wrote in 1827 the 松の落葉, "Fallen pine leaves," *Hyekka satsurū*, Vol. 續上, p. 776, Ch. I.

3. 遊仙窟, written under the Tang dynasty by CHANG WAN-CH'ING, 張文成.



other was originally a unicorn, although it afterwards lost its horn and took the same shape as the lion. The Japanese, who did not know lions or unicorns or whatever strange beasts might live in the West, called them simply "Koma-dogs", or indicated them by the collective name "lion-forms" (*shishigata*), and afterwards combined the Chinese word "*shishi*" with *komainu* into one term. In order to explain the word "Koma dogs," later generations invented the legend that, when the Empress Jingō (170-269) conquered Korea, the king of Koma swore an oath that his descendants would be the servants and *dogs* of Japan; he had an image of a dog made which he presented to the Empress as a sign of his submission.<sup>1</sup> As to the character 狛, "koma," which means a kind of wolf-like dog, this is found in the old names of two villages in Yamashiro province, namely Ōkoma and Shimotsukoma (大狛 and 下狛), "Great and Small Koma."<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of these places, the "Komabito" (狛人), were, according to the *Sandai jitsuroku*<sup>3</sup>, the descendants of the Korean prisoners of war, presented to the Emperor Bidatsu (572-585) by Satehiko, after he had punished Koma for having attacked Kudara. So it is clear that the character 狛 was used to indicate the land of Koma (高麗).

After this long digression, which was necessary to show whether the *komainu* are real dogs or not, we arrive at the conclusion that, although they are not dogs, their magical power of driving away evil spirits is identical with that of the dog. They are both protectors of mankind, but the *komainu* guard the Emperor, the Palace and the Shintō temples, while the dogs protect women, children and ordinary houses.

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1. See the *Matsu no ochiba*, Ch. I, p. 774; comp. the *Hachiman gudōkun*, 八幡愚童訓, written in 1532 by the Buddhist priest KWAIGEN, 快元, Ch. I, *Gunsho ruijū*, nr 13, Vol. I, p. 456.

2. *Wamyōshō*, quoted in the *Matsu no ochiba* l.l.

3. 三代實錄, written in 901, Ch. V, K.T.K. Vol. IV, p. 93.

## CHAPTER IV.

## Sorcery by means of the dog-god.

Judging by the facts above stated, we might be inclined to believe that the dog's supernatural power was and is always used in a good cause, namely, to protect mankind against evil influences. There is, however, also another superstition, which makes the same animal a terrible weapon in the hands of wicked sorcerers. The so-called *inu-gami* (犬神), or "dog-god", is feared by the people of Shikoku as a formidable enemy, which brings illness, madness, nay even death. The first work in which I found this dog-god mentioned, the *Daigo zuihitsu*<sup>1</sup>, dates from 1670. We read there the following:—"In Shikoku the so-called dog-god is found. It is said that, if a man who has such a dog-god hates somebody, the dog-god suddenly possesses that person, whereupon the victim becomes mad and ill or even dies. A physician who lived in Shikoku told me, that the people there are so accustomed to hear stories about the dog-god, that they are very much afraid of him, and if anyone has caught a cold or suffers from malaria and fever, the patient himself as well as the inmates of the house consider it as the work of a dog-god. Then they make so much fuss about the matter, and so many yamabushi or similar fellows come to the house and pray and bring about evils which did not exist before, that in this way many a patient dies. I think the physician was right." After having quoted this passage the author of the *Kiyū shōran* compares the dog-god to the snake-gods of China, the Sanindō, Sanyōdō and Kyūshū.

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1. 醍醐隨筆, written by NAKAYAMA CHŪGI, 中山忠義, and quoted by KITAMURA SHINSEI (or NOBUYO), 喜多村信節, in his *Kiyū shōran*, 嬉遊笑覽, Ch. VIII.

The same comparison is made by ISE TEIJŌ<sup>1</sup>, who gives the following details: "There is a wicked sorcery called 'inu-gami,' 'dog-god,' which is even now to be found in families who have handed it down from remote times. The people of Tosa (in Shikoku) say that, when a person who employs a dog-god sees any one eating some nice food and wishes to eat it himself, the dog-god suddenly possesses the man who is eating and says with a loud voice: 'Give me that food.' If the man sends the food to the employer of the dog-god, the latter goes out of him and he recovers. This is a matter concerning not only food, but also clothes and others things. For this reason the employers of dog-gods have no intercourse with other people, nor do they marry with them. If one carries a tooth of a fox in his pocket, the dog-god does not possess him, and if one goes with a fox tooth in his pocket to the house of a person who is possessed by a dog-god, the latter at once goes out of the patient and leaves the house. As there are no foxes in Shikoku, it is said that there are people who buy a fox tooth in another province and keep it about their persons. Further, it is said that, if one's forefather used a dog-god, the latter is transferred to his children and grand children and does not leave the family."

In the *Kokon hyaku monogatari hyōban*<sup>2</sup> the way is described in which such a dog-god is obtained. "A dog is loosely tied with a rope to a pillar, and a vessel with food is placed at such a distance that he can only reach it with the tip of his nose. In this way he dies with hunger and his soul is worshipped. It is something like the 'Ku-poison' (蠱毒)<sup>3</sup> in China." A little different is MOTOORI's description, quoted by ASTON<sup>4</sup>, which runs as follows:—"A hungry dog is tied up in sight of food which he is not allowed

1. 伊勢貞丈, who lived 1715-1784, in his work entitled "*Jikuro-kun*," 軸體訓, Ch. III, p. 10.

2. 古今百物語評判, published in 1686, see above p. 26, note 4; quoted by INOUE, Vol. IV, p. 233.

3. See above p. 3.

4. *Shintō*, p. 332.

to cat. When his desire is keenest, his head is cut off and at once flies to seize the food. This head is put into a vessel and worshipped. A serpent or a weasel will do as well." ASTON adds: "It constitutes a mighty charm, which evidently owes its power to the keenness of the animal's sufferings. The *Fuzoku Gwaishō*<sup>1</sup> tells a story which was probably invented in order to account for this custom. 'An old woman buried her pet dog, leaving only the head above ground. Then she cut him about with a bamboo saw, saying: "If thou hast a soul, kill such a one, and I will make thee a god." The man really did die afterwards in strange fashion. From that time the dog-deity dwelt in the old woman's house and wrought many wonderful curses.'<sup>2</sup> In Tosa each village has several inugami-mochi (dog-deity-owners). They are shunned by their neighbours. A match-maker's first inquiry is whether there is such a person in the family."

MURASE KŌTEI<sup>3</sup> gives the following:—"I continually hear the people of all the provinces of the Nankaidō<sup>4</sup> speak about the Dog-god. They say that, if wicked fellows worship such a god well, he inflicts on those who are hated by them a curse, still more powerful than that of foxes or badgers. Sometimes, if the worshippers of a dog-god see that another possesses money, clothes or other things, and they desire to obtain them, they make the god possess that man and bring a curse on him. The god passes from father to son and grandson, and, even if one dislikes him, he cannot get rid of him. Therefore nobody among the villagers marries a member of such a family. Of late they have gradually died out, but nobody dares pull down the old houses which they occupied, so that these are found everywhere. In my opinion it is a kind of 'canine *ku*' (犬疊, Chinese dog-sorcery)<sup>5</sup>."

1. 風俗叢報.

2. Comp. the "*Katei ni okeru kikkō hyakudan*," 吉凶百談, 1908, p. 202.

3. 村瀬栲亭, in his "*Geien nishō*," 藝苑日涉, written in 1807; Ch. XII, p. 36 b.

4. Shikoku, Kii and Awaji.

5. Comp. above p. 4.

HOSOKAWA JUNJIRŌ<sup>1</sup> says: "The people of Shikoku often suffer from a kind of madness which they call 'Inu no tatari,' 'Dog's curse.' Whenever I have seen it, the possessed person was a woman or somebody of low standing. It was the same in olden times. The Chinese book *Fung suh tung i*<sup>2</sup> contains the following: 'In general all strange things occur to women or persons of low standing. The reason is that the latter are stupid and timid, and incline to believe such tales and to greatly enlarge upon them. If learned people do not reflect upon these things, they also are afraid of them; so that the evil spirits get hold of their empty souls and soon inflict calamities upon them.' This is true."

INOUE ENRYŌ<sup>3</sup> gives several details about the dog-god, obtained from persons in Awa province and Yamaguchi prefecture. Besides what we have read already in the above quoted passages, we learn from a resident of Awa, that all the female members of a family in which a dog-god had passed down from generation to generation, were called "inugami" by the people of the province, who were ashamed to have intercourse with them. These inugami often suffered from madness, but men were very seldom attacked by the disease. The inugami-families were all poor, and the reason why they were disliked so much was principally a matter of food, which they were believed to extort from the people by means of their dog-god. Of late they have vanished, but before the Restoration a large number of persons who were possessed by a dog-god or by foxes went to the Buddhist temple Jizōji in Taehi-e village, in order to pray to Jizō, famous for the many miraculous cures he had wrought. If the priest read sutras on their behalf, the inu-gami incessantly danced, or spoke gibberish, or jumped while dancing from the verandah and fell on the ground, whereupon they were tem-

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1. 細川潤次郎, in his work entitled "*Goen zuihitsu*," 吾園隨筆, written in 1886, Ch. II, p. 41.

2. 風俗通義, written by YING SHAO, 應劭, in the last half of the second century.

3. *Yōkwaigaku kōgi*, 妖怪學講義, "Lectures on Folklore," Vol. IV, pp. 237 seqq.

porarily cured. Soon afterwards, however, they acted again as madmen and it was impossible to drive the dog-god out of them. In jumping from the verandah, which was about 2 ken (12 shaku, nearly 12 feet) high, they did not hurt themselves in the least. The writer of the letter saw an old woman possessed by a dog-god, who loudly lamented and wept in the presence of the head-priest of the temple; and when the latter went away, she gradually stopped weeping and requested the bystanders to push her from behind, when, with a noise as of a drum in her stomach, she came to her senses. If the priest was not present, she could not be brought into this state of madness.

A man from Yamaguchi prefecture tells us of a case of hypnotism, in which the hypnotized person was believed to be possessed by a dog-god, used by the hypnotizer. A policeman frightened the former by drawing his sword and shouting at him, whereupon the hypnotized man fell down and went to sleep. After a while he awoke in an ordinary condition, but very tired. Those who are possessed by a dog-god are very susceptible to the so-called "kani-utsuri" or "god-removal"; that is, they often get into an ecstatic trance at a temple festival, and, wildly dancing, push their way hither and thither through the crowd. Woe to him who then tries to check them, for they beat him down with a force quite unnatural to them.

Dr. INOUE<sup>1</sup> also quotes the following information from the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, a newspaper:—In a village of the Takada district, in the province of Aki, a certain bride was so rich and beautiful, that the family of the bridegroom just for that reason suspected her to be an "inugami." When the rumour spread, the people in the neighbourhood got so afraid of the poor girl, that some of them even went elsewhere in order to escape from her influence. At last one of the bridegroom's relatives, who had spoken to her very angrily, was possessed by the dog-god, and thereafter successively all those who spoke ill of her were

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1. Vol. IV, p. 241.

similarly possessed. All these persons spoke like lunatics. INOUE himself states<sup>1</sup> that still nowadays marriages with inugami families are avoided and the dog-god is believed to take possession of the owners of such goods as his employer desires to obtain. In Tosa province this possession is called "to be bitten by a dog god<sup>2</sup>". Patients so afflicted say to everybody they meet that they have been bitten by the dog god of so and so, and the people believe them. It is also said that food wanted by a member of an inugami family spoils at once if it is refused to him.

Finally, we may mention the *inugami-bito*, or "dog-god-men", in Kyōto. In the *Kanden kōhitsu*<sup>3</sup> we read the following concerning these men :—"In Atagodera, in the East of Gojō at Kyōto, there is a kind of people who sell bow-strings and are called 'tsuruimeso.' This may be on account of the street calls which they utter..... Their name is written with the characters 犬神人 (*inugami-bito*). As I did not understand this, Morikawa Kōin said it might be because they resemble sacred men (神人) without actually being such..... From olden times until now these persons have had to do with the festivals of Jinushi Gongen of Kiyomizu (in Kyōto); further, they have been wont to accompany the mikoshi (sacred cars or sedan chairs) at the Gion festivals. Six men, their heads wrapped up in white cloth, and with sticks in their hands, walked ahead, followed by several others who were helmeted and clad in armour. Being fierce of appearance, they resembled sacred men (gods), though without being such. Although one might think of them as servants of the gods, yet they also appear, dressed in the same garb and walking ahead, as at the Gion festivals, at the funerals of the Lord Abbots of the Higashi and Nishi Hongwanji and the Bukkōji (three famous Buddhist

1. Vol. IV, p. 242.

2. *Inugami ni kui-tsukaretari*.

3. 閑田耕筆, written in 1799 by KANDENKO KŌKEI, 閑田 蘆 蒿 蹊 (pseudonym of BAN SUKEYOSHI, 伴 資 芳), *Ihyakka satsuin*, Vol. 續 下一, p. 54.

temples at Kyōto), and take charge of their cremation..... As they are proud of the position and fame they thus enjoy, they do not marry common people (heimin, 平民).” The same details are to be found in ISE TEIJŌ's *Ausai zuihitsu*<sup>1</sup>.

In another work, entitled *Shiojiri*<sup>2</sup>, the inugami-bito are supposed to have been formerly servants of the head-priest of the Gion temple (a Shintō temple at Kyōto), and a letter, dating from 1240, is quoted, in which an abbot of Hieizan writes to this head-priest the following words: “There are nowadays a large number of people who only recite prayers (without doing good works). This way of praying is quite contrary to Buddhism. As formerly, you must order the inugami-bito to put a stop to this.”

On consideration of these passages we arrive at the conclusion, that the inugami-bito did not bear this name because they were only “sacred men in appearance, being in reality dogs,” as Morikawa Kōin thought, but that the reason why they were called so by the ancient Japanese lies much deeper. When reading about their walking in front in the important religious processions of the Gion temple<sup>3</sup>, as well as in the funeral processions of the Lord Abbots, while also playing a part in the festivals of the famous Buddhist temple Kiyomizudera, and causing the bad religious habits of the people to cease, we cannot help connecting their name with the above described magic power, possessed by the dog, of driving away all kinds of bad influences. It is quite probable that these men did for the priests and temples, what the hayabito did for the Emperor and the Palace, namely protect them against evil demons.

1. 安齋隨筆, Ch. XVII, p. 50. About ISE TEIJŌ, comp. above p. 46, note 3.

2. 鹽尻, written by AMANO NOBUKAGE, 天野信景, who lived 1660-1733; Ch. III, p. 32.

3. As indicated above (p. 45 seq.) the priests of the same temple painted the character 犬 (dog) on the foreheads of babies. There was perhaps some connection between this “secret charm” and the inugami-bito.



## CHAPTER V.

## Conclusions.

In reflecting upon the different legends and beliefs, prevalent in China and Japan and mentioned in this treatise, we find that hardly anything in them is original Japanese superstition; it is nearly all Chinese fancy in a Japanese garb. Yet the way in which the rich material thus imported from China into Japan was selected and transformed by the Japanese, clearly shows their original ideas. Apparently the dog was one of their favourite animals, while in China, on the contrary, its bad, demoniacal character comes much more to the front than its protective power. Very few are the Japanese legends about wicked dog-demons, and very numerous those about dogs which assisted and protected mankind. The only case of an evil man-dog, found in Japanese literature, is the story of the highway robber Ayashi no Omoro, who, according to the *Nihongi*<sup>1</sup>, jumped out of his burning house in the shape of a white dog and attacked his enemy, but was killed by the latter and after death resumed his human form. It was also a white dog who lived in the mountains with a young woman, stolen by him from Kyōto, and whose curse caused the death of the man who tried to rescue her<sup>2</sup>. The colour *white* is very frequent in both Chinese and Japanese dog-legends; white and red are evidently the colours of supernatural dogs. For the animal in the last mentioned story was a mountain god, as well as the white dog who led Prince Yamatodake through the mountains of Shinano<sup>3</sup>. Here we probably have to do with an original

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1. See above p. 10.

2. See above p. 16.

3. See above p. 9

Japanese superstition, namely the belief in dog-shaped mountain gods. Up to the present time the only animals allowed on Kōyasan, the sacred mountain of the Shingon sect in Kii province, where are the pilgrim-visited tombs of Kōbō Daishi, Enkō Daishi and so many other famous men, are *dogs*, because when Kōbō ascended the mountain for the first time (during the Kōnin era, 810-823), he met *Kariba Myōjin*<sup>1</sup>, the mountain god, who was hunting there with two dogs. It is clear that the reason lies deeper, and that Kariba himself was originally a dog-shaped mountain god; otherwise the Shingon priests would not have made this concession to Shintō. The god was said to have promised to protect the monastery<sup>2</sup>, and this is just the ordinary way in which the clever Buddhist propagandists connected Shintō with their own doctrines in order to use the old beliefs for their own benefit instead of fighting them. According to another and slightly different version of the legend<sup>3</sup>, a black and a white dog led Kōbō Daishi, and the god himself showed him the way. After having built the monastery, he worshipped this god under the name of Kariba Myōjin, the "Brilliant God of the Hunting place." This is the reason why, on the picture representing the god, a black and a white dog are painted lying at his feet. Again, another legend<sup>4</sup> explains the name of the *Imu midō*<sup>5</sup>, the "August temple of the Dogs," a little branch temple of the Ōsu shimpukujī of the Shingon sect, as follows: "The founder of the monastery, the Shingon priest Mukwan, when making a pilgrimage through all the provinces, arrived, in the Jūei era (1182-1183), at this place, but was so tired that he would have died if a black and a white dog had not appeared with wet leaves in their mouths, by means of which they gave him something to drink. Immediately he came to and was

1. 狩場明神, the "God of the Hunting place."

2. MURRAY, *Handbook for travellers in Japan*, 7th ed. (1906), p. 381.

3. *Shicjiri* (see above p. 69, note 2), Ch. VII, p. 6.

4. *Sacurigusa* (see above p. 8, note 1), Ch. CXIII.

5. 犬御堂.

convinced that these dogs were messengers of Kōya Myōjin, the Shintō god of Kōya san. Thereupon Amida ordered him in a dream to build a little chapel on the spot, and, following the divine command, he placed in it images of Amida and of the black and the white dog, and called the chapel *Inu midō*." As we saw above<sup>1</sup> there was in the mountains of Harima province a Buddhist temple called "Inu-dera," or "Dog-temple," with a Shintō shrine devoted to the two dog-shaped guardian-gods of the region. The cult of these dogs was probably much older than the Buddhist temple itself. Later legends used to explain the worship of the dog-gods in the mountains as due to the remarkable fidelity of these dogs to their masters, whose lives they saved even after having been killed by them. The existence of *Inugami Myōjin*, the white Dog-god in Ōmi, the *Kensu no sha* and the *Kembi no sha* (the "Shintō temples of the Dog's head and the Dog's tail") in Mikawa, and the name of the Buddhist monastery *Kenmeisan* ("Dog-howling monastery") in Izumi province were all explained in the same way<sup>2</sup>. But the gods of all these places were probably originally dog-shaped mountain gods.

White dogs were often considered as incarnations or messengers of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas, as for example the dog out of whose nose the precious silk threads came<sup>3</sup>, the one that appeared at Naritsune's pillow and cured him, probably Fugen Bosatsu himself<sup>4</sup>, and Fudō Myōō's dog whose head, cut off by his master, flew up to a snake on a branch of a tree and killed it in order to save his master's life. For, according to the Buddhist explanation, it was Fudō Myōō's dog, and not a mountain god's messenger or incarnation. White or red dogs were also believed to have supernatural knowledge of the future and of hidden sorcery, as we have seen in the tale of the

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1. Pg. 23.

2. Above pp. 23 seq.

3. Above p. 16.

4. Above p. 17.

*Sanshū kidan*<sup>1</sup>, where a white dog predicted a landslip, and also in the legend about Fujiwara no Michinaga's red dog, which warned him not to pass over a dangerous magic instrument, hidden under the ground.<sup>2</sup>

In the old books, down to as late as the fourteenth century, we often find the dog mentioned as an ominous animal, and mostly in a bad sense. Howling, fighting, ascending a Palace tower, defiling places, appearing in the Palace with parts of human bodies in their mouths, all these acts of the dogs were considered as portending evil. Their birth and death made the Palace unclean, so that religious and other ceremonies had to be put off; nay even if a dog had bitten a child, the same consequences followed. Most diviners would therefore have declared the fact that a dog brought forth its young inside the Imperial curtain of the Empress to be a very bad thing, but Ōe no Masahira, the great doctor of divination, was not so superficial in his art, and by an ingenious use of Chinese characters predicted from the event the birth of a Crown-prince (1016)<sup>3</sup>. If the seer had lived in later times, he would have added that the dog was famous for its easy birth and therefore also in this respect an extraordinarily good omen for the Empress.<sup>4</sup>

Buddhism often spoke of men or women reborn as dogs or human reincarnations of dogs. Through the connection existing between the different existences a loyal man became a dog which guarded the Emperor in the Palace<sup>5</sup>, while a puppy that had heard a part of a holy text was reborn as a priest who could easily read only the same part<sup>6</sup>. But sometimes people who had killed and eaten dogs, or had rudely treated a Buddhist priest, fell even during their lives down to the level of the animal-road and acted and barked as dogs<sup>7</sup>.

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1. Above p. 33.

2. Above p. 17 seqq.

3. Above p. 19.

4. Comp. the tale of the *Tōsei kidan*, above p. 49 seq.

5. Above p. 20.

6. Above p. 22.

7. Above p. 25.

As we have stated above, it was the better side of the dog which predominated in Japanese superstition. It rendered the best services to mankind in recognizing and killing transformed foxes, badgers, and cats, in driving away all kinds of evil spirits, and in bestowing easy birth upon women. All this was not only ascribed to the dog in the times of old Japan, but has been even to the present day. The Chinese books have taught us that the two former beliefs were borrowed from China, but the Japanese have greatly extended them. In China a dog's barking was believed to frighten away the dangerous birds which were said to menace the lives of babies; in Japan the papier-maché dog, the *inu-hariko*, is the perpetual protector of little children, and when hanging above their heads makes them stop crying, just as did the red bag with dog's hair that was tied on their hands in China. Even the words "inu no ko, inu no ko," "puppy, puppy," are considered to make the Japanese baby quiet when it cries in its dreams; for the evil spirits which vex it flee when hearing their enemy's name. The red dots of ink, placed in China on the foreheads of babies, in order to drive away the demons of disease, have been made more efficacious by the Japanese by replacing them with the character 犬 (dog), while the imitation of the dog's bark, practiced in China in order to frighten away the evil birds which bring calamity, was practiced in the Japanese Palace by the hayabito, a body of guards especially appointed for the purpose of driving away all evil spirits by means of their barking, and thereby protecting His Majesty. Sometimes these hayabito guarded their Imperial Master even after his death, for their images, representing men with dogs heads, were placed about his tomb. And besides this the Emperor and his Consort were guarded by the "Korean dogs," the "*shishi-komainu*," one of which was a lion and the other a unicorn. These images came from China via Korea and soon found their way from the Palace to the Shintō temples which they still guard. The so-called *inugami-bito*, or "dog-god-

men" at Kyōto, who walked in front in the religious processions of the Gion temple and in the funeral processions of the Lord Abbots, were probably representative of magical dogs which drove away all evil spirits, as the hayabito did in the Palace and at the places where the Emperor stopped on his journeys. There is but one thing which we did not find in the Chinese books, namely, the belief in the dog as the magic bringer of easy birth. It may be that this is an original Japanese idea, for neither the dog-box, used for the baby clothes in the lying-in room, nor the special importance of the dog-days for pregnant women or these who want to become mothers, can be traced back to China.

Finally, in the seventeenth century, we first found *dog-sorcery*, again a Chinese idea, by which the soul of a dog, beheaded when all but famished in sight of food, is used by its worshippers in order to obtain food or other things from people whom this spirit possesses, makes mad, nay even kills. It is no wonder that the families, which are believed to employ such a dog-god, are shunned and feared by the people of Shikoku, where this superstition prevails. Although we did not find exactly the same magic in China, yet we read about dogs as instruments of a *ku-sorcerer*<sup>1</sup>; while the Chinese cat-sorcery makes us sure that we have not to do in this respect with an original Japanese invention, as it teaches us that the employing of the spirit of an animal in order to make it possess persons is entirely a Chinese thought. The only passage where besides this dog-god, we found a wicked kind of dog-demon, was in the *Sanshū kidan*<sup>2</sup>, but this was apparently a mole, not a real dog. As to the robber in the *Nihongi*, who jumped in the shape of a dog out of his burning house, he was evidently not believed to be a dog-demon, for after having been killed, he resumed his human form.

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1. Above p. 4.

2. See above p. 32.

In regard to the time in which these different beliefs prevailed, we may observe that the dog is spoken of as an omen in the oldest books, from the 8th century down to the 14th. The hayabito are mentioned principally in books dating from between the 8th and the 11th centuries; while in the three centuries next following the tracing of the character 犬 (dog) on a child's forehead was practiced at the Court. The shishikomai were used there from before 1000 A.D., and the *Gempei seisuiiki* (written in 1250) mentions them for the first time as placed in a Shintō temple. White dogs as mountain demons are found as well in books of the 8th and the 11th centuries as in those of the eighteenth, if my conjecture about the dog temples in the latter time is correct. Buddhism regarded dogs as reincarnations of men and manifestations of Buddhas or Bodhisattvas from the eleventh century onward; but persons who acted and barked as dogs in consequence of their evil deeds were not mentioned before 1700 (*Shinichomonsū*). Finally, sorcery by means of the inugami, and magic by means of the inu-hariko, belong to the three last centuries.

So far the dog; let us now see what the above quoted passages on the cat have taught us.

Introduced from China at the end of the 10th century, the cat was first treated in the Palace as a precious treasure; her young were tenderly taken care of as if they were babies, and she herself obtained from the Emperor the rank of a Lady-in-waiting. But gradually she became a common domestic animal of the people, and in the 13th century her glory had departed, her reputation having changed to that of a dangerous demon, haunting mankind. When more than ten years old, she was sometimes believed to spread a mysterious light at night, or to run away with precious objects. From the 14th century until now the old *nekomata* with her forked tail has been looked upon as a frightful supernatural being, and the 17th century spoke of her as an animal of darkness, a domestic tiger (*tegai no tora*),

just as also with the Chinese, who for this reason are afraid that the cat might cause a corpse to revive and change into a terrible demon<sup>1</sup>. The Japanese, who have the same fear, lay edged tools upon a corpse, or place a sword at its side, in order to prevent the cat from walking over it<sup>2</sup>. In the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries there were current a large number of tales of old haunting cats, which were due to a mixture of Chinese and Japanese superstition. The Chinese part is not only the idea that they get supernatural power by old age, but includes also their sitting, walking or dancing on their hindlegs with a towel on the head, which is done in Chinese legends by the dog, and their connection with old women, although in another sense than in China. For in the latter country the cat is the magic instrument of hags, and in Japan she devours old women and assumes their shape. In this case the inmates of the house observe with astonishment, that the old mother has at once become a most disagreeable creature, which shuns company, lives in a dark room and drinks enormous quantities of wine.

When a cat had been killed, her curse fell not only upon him who had done the deed, but upon all his descendants down to the seventh generation. Sometimes she killed the culprit, sometimes her soul possessed a woman in his house and spoke through her mouth, until it left her body in the form of a luminous ball. In order to soothe her angry ghost, Buddhist prayers were recited, or a shrine was built, and a strict order was given never to kill a cat in the house again. When ten years old a cat can speak, but when born as a cross between a fox and a cat she is able to speak even before this age.

Also we have to mention the legends of the nineteenth century, in which the cat played a good part instead of that of an evil demon. In these tales she sacrificed her life on behalf of her master or him who had been kind to her, and was

1. See above p. 7.

2. *Kikkyō Hyakudan*, 吉凶百談, written in 1908 by OKUMURA SHIGEMURŌ, 奥村繁次郎, p. 194.



rewarded by burial in a Buddhist grave-yard, with a stone over her grave and masses read for her soul. Also in another respect the cat is considered a very useful animal. There is an old tradition among Japanese sailors, according to which a three-coloured tom-cat (white, black and brown) is an excellent charm against evil spirits. Such an animal knows beforehand when a storm is near and climbs upon the mast, where she keeps off the demons. Therefore it is necessary to have such a cat on board, however rare and expensive she may be.<sup>1</sup> It is said that Enshin, a priest of the Tendai sect, had a golden cat on board the ship by which he returned from China with a precious collection of holy Buddhist texts. He was so afraid that the rats might destroy the books that he used this magic cat against these enemies. Years afterwards the cat was dug out of the ground by a man whose family for this reason got the name of Nekoma<sup>2</sup>. The same magic power is ascribed to a so-called *Nitta no neko* (新田ノ猫), that is, a picture of a cat painted by Nitta. Where this picture is hanging no rats appear, and it is therefore highly regarded by breeders of silk-worms<sup>3</sup>. So we see that even such a wicked demon as the cat has her good points, and even her picture is useful in superstitious Japan.



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1. *Kikkō hyakudan*, p. 196.
  2. *Saenzurigusa*, written in 1839 by KATŌ JAKUAN, 加藤雀菴, Ch. XX.
  3. *Kikkō hyakudan*, p. 198. In the same way the cats, carved by the famous sculptor Hidari Jingorō, 左甚五郎, who lived 1594-1634, are believed to drive away the rats.
  4. Corrections:
 

P. 4, note 3:	p. 8, note 2,	read p. 2, note 8.
P. 6, note 1:	隨,	, read 隋.
P. 12, note 1:	大,	, read 太.
P. 19, note 2:	杪,	, read 抄.
P. 19, note 6:	杪,	, read 抄.

The Chairman said that Dr. de Visser had last year made valuable contributions to the Transactions of the Society. The paper just read was likewise full of interest. He wished to express to Dr. de Visser the warm thanks of all present for this further paper; and in doing so he felt sure that he arrogated to himself no prerogative which all would not gladly accord.

The Chairman further said that folklore is of permanent and uncommon interest. Narration of it is both entertaining and informing. It suggests, not only the nature of beliefs and superstitions, but also much concerning the qualities of mind and the stage of mental development of a people. Hence it has its place and value in sociological investigations.

Two points of seemingly paradoxical nature were prominently suggested to the chairman's thought by this paper. It is frequently asserted that the Japanese are deficient in power of imagination; hence in invention and initiative. Yet these narratives attest that, in matters of superstition, the Japanese fancy has been strikingly active. In the way of knowledge and of the scientific habit of correlating cause and effect, they show the same faculty as other peoples to imagine supernatural explanations of the unknown and to weave them into weirdly fascinating legends. In the second place, these dog and cat legends, as well as the familiar fox and badger superstitions, seem to show a relative lack of imaginative power, in that they incorporate the supernatural powers in commonplace forms, associate them with common animals. The more imaginative superstitions of western peoples usually ascribe strange forms to supernatural manifestations or else simply omit to ascribe any material form to them. Herein the Japanese fancy seems less fertile than that of Western people.

Perhaps the paper had suggested to other members thoughts which they might wish to present in further discussion of this interesting subject.

Mr. E. W. Clement said that Dr. de Visser did his work so thoroughly that not much was left to be said on the subject; and he could only hope, like Ruth of old, to pick up a few sheaves, which Dr. de Visser, like the reapers in the field of Boaz, had probably dropped on purpose.

Dr. de Visser has rightly given a good deal of attention to the subject of *nekomata*, and has cited many instances thereof. He did not, however, mention one famous case, that of "The Vampire Cat of Nabeshima," related by Mitford in his "Tales of Old Japan." This cat, as the accompanying illustration in that book shows, had two tails, or a forked tail, as the word *mata* would indicate. And, by-the-way, there are also said to have been cats with three tails, or a three-forked tail (*mitsumata*). Mitford also relates in his "Tales of Old Japan" a story of a faithful cat similar to those related by Dr. de Visser.

Cats appear more or less in Japanese proverbs and figures of speech. The word *neko* is often applied to a geisha (dancing girl), perhaps because she is considered to be ungrateful, or because she is a flatterer. For a similar reason the phrase *neko-no-shita*, or *neko-jita* (cat's tongue) may refer to a geisha's tongue, which is not always careful to speak the truth, and indulges in flattery. But this phrase is also explained to refer to one who cannot taste hot food. *Neko-no-me* (cat's eyes) describes anything changeable or fickle. *Neko-baba* (cat's dung) is a term for anything concealed. *Neko-no-shippo* (cat's tail) is equivalent to "useless"; and this is one reason given why cats' tails are cut short. *Neko-no-hitai* (cat's forehead) is used for a small plot or bed, in a yard. *Neko-nade-goe* (cat-petting-voice) means a gentle voice, in the sense of a flattering voice. *Neko-wo kaburu* is a colloquial expression which means "to put on a mask." *Neko ni katsubushi* (dried fish to a cat) naturally means putting temptation in one's way; and *neko ni koban* (gold coins to a cat) is the equivalent of casting pearls before swine; *nekoze* (cat's back) is used of a hump back; *neko-zumi* (cat's face) means a round face. A *neko-guruma* (cat cart) is a kind of light wagon (cf. "dog-cart"). There is a proverb to the effect that "the cat which catches a rat hides her claws." When one buries a dead cat, he must return at once without looking back; because, if he looks behind him, he will become possessed by the spirit of the cat. In the spring the cat is a favorite topic of *hokku*.

Concerning the derivation of the word *neko*, there are three opinions. One is that it is a corruption of the word *nyoki*, which means "like a tiger," but this view meets opposition. Another opinion is that *neko* is derived from an ancient Japanese word *nekoma*, of which *ne* means "sleeping" and *koma* comes from Koma, the name of one of the three provinces of Korea. The third opinion is that *neko* means "sleeping child" and *ma* is a suffix. And Dr. Sekine, of the Imperial University, Tokyo, says that people disliked the lost syllable *ma*, because it has the same sound as a word meaning "devil," and therefore contracted the word to *neko*. The word *neko* is not so common in the composition of botanical terms as in English.\* I have found only three,—*neko-gusa*, *neko-hagi*, *neko-no-miso*, in which *neko* indicates a soft quality.

There is an interesting story of one Kano, a painter, who was painting a picture of the twelve animals of the zodiac. While he was painting, a cat came

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\* Cf. "catmint," "catnip," "cat-tail," "cat's foot," "cat-brier," etc.

and mewed sorrowfully, as if it had some complaint to make; therefore, he painted a cat with the other animals. In this case, the cat might be called an intercalary animal in the heavenly zodiac!

In this connection, it is quite interesting to hear a story giving a reason why the cat was not included in the zodiacal menagerie. It is said that, at the death of Buddha, all sorts of animals assembled at his bedside. A rat began to lick up the oil of the light which was before them; and a cat sprang at it and killed it. On account of this sacrilegious act of taking animal life on such a solemn occasion, the cat was excluded from the heavenly menagerie!

The dog also appears in Japanese proverbs and figures of speech. *Inu-jini* (a dog's death) signifies, as in English, a base and useless death. Disappointed persons, who go about with lugubrious countenances, are said to be "like dogs belonging to a family in mourning".

"To have the hand bitten by the dog you feed" (*Kai-inu ni te wo kumareru*) means "to be betrayed by one's own dependent." *Inu mo arukeba bō ni ataru*, or "Even a dog, if it roams about, falls in with a stick", does not mean, as it seems to imply, that such a dog is likely to get a beating, but that even a wandering dog may have some good fortune. "When one dog barks, a hundred follow," expresses a pretty general truth all over the world. "If you become a dog, at least be the dog of a great house", is good advice anywhere: compare "Do nothing by halves."

*Inukaiboshi* is one name of the constellation Aquila, which is called also Kengyo, and figures as "the herd-boy," who is one of the lovers that meet only on the 7th night of the 7th month (O.S.) The famous Tanabata Festival commemorates this.

The word *inu* appears in the composition of about forty botanical terms, in which it generally means "wild." The dog-brier, dog-cabbage, dog-daisy, dog-grass, dog-lichen, dog-parsley, dog-bane, dog-rose and dog-wood of English are matched in Japanese by the following: *Inu-bie, inu-biewa, inu-biyu, inu-budo, inu-buna, inu-ebi, inu-enju, inu-garashi, inu-guya, inu-giku, inu-giri, inu-guko, inu-gusa, inu-hagi, inu-hajikami, inu-hozuki, inu-i, inu-itadori, inu-jirami, inu-kihada, inu-koju, inu-maki, inu-murasaki, inu-nazuna, inu-no-hanahige, inu-omodaka, inu-saiki, inu-sansho, inu-shirono, inu-shoma, inu-shurachiku, inu-tabo, inu-tade, inu-tokusu, inu-tsuge, inu-warabi, inu-yomogi*.

The dog holds an important position in Japanese literature by means of Bakin's famous novel entitled "Hakkenden, or Story of Eight Dogs." The following account is made up from the introduction of that novel:—

Yoshizane Satomi, a daimyo of Awa Province, was besieged by Kagetsura Anzai. He suffered the hardships of a long siege, and he and his retainers were about to die of hunger, so that they had no strength left to fight against the enemy. One day Satomi found his favorite dog Yatsubusa in the yard and in fun told him to go and cut off Anzai's head and bring it to him. He promised Yatsubusa to give him a reward for the head, and asked the dog if he wanted

meat, his estate or anything else. He had a beautiful daughter called Fushime, whom no one equalled in personal attraction; and her Satomi offered to give to the dog as a reward. Then the dog ran off happy.

Finally a miserable fate threatened those in the castle; it seemed as if the last day had already come, and they all determined to die there. Suddenly the furious barking of Yatsubusa was heard, and, strange to relate, he had in his mouth a head which was none other than that of Anzai. They were all surprised, and, being greatly encouraged, won the victory over their enemies. Yatsubusa was rewarded with plenty of meat, and a special servant was assigned to him. But he was not satisfied and went mad.

Therefore Yoshizane determined to kill the mad-dog, but Fushime urged her father not to do so, and made up her mind to be the victim of her father's rash promise.\* Accordingly she left home with the dog and went into the mountains, where she stayed two years, living in chastity and reading the Hoke-kyo, a Buddhist Scripture. When she was at last found by her father, who had been searching for her, she committed suicide. From her wounds eight beautiful gems issued, which were scattered over the province. And in this province eight brave knights were born, each in a different section, and each bearing the name *Inu* (Dog). Each was born with a gem; one with it in his hand, another with it on his back, etc., etc. These eight brave knights were called *Hakkenshi* (Eight Canine Knights). They represented the eight virtues†, and became good retainers of the Satomi family. The stories of these knights make up Bakin's "Hakkenden."

In conclusion, we would call attention to two proverbs in which the characters of cats and dogs are portrayed by contrast. One says that a dog is the friend of a house. The other affirms that, while a dog remembers for three years the kindness of three days, a cat will forget in three hours the kindness of three years.

N.B.—Subsequent to the meeting of the Society Rev. E. R. Miller pointed out that the Japanese have a *neko-yana-gi*, which is, both in name and reality, the "pussy-willow."

Mr. Jamshedji Edalji arose and spoke as follows:

I should like to say a few words on the subject of the interesting lecture to which we have just listened. There is a belief among a small section of the Japanese people, probably confined to the inhabitants of the Oki Islands, that the dog has supernatural powers for working mischief. This belief, however, does not meet with general acceptance, and is perhaps of Chinese origin, the general belief being that the dog has super-human powers for counteracting the

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\* Cf. the story of Jephthah and his daughter as given in the book of Judges.

† *Jin-gi-rei-chi-chu-shün-kō-ai*: benevolence, righteousness, politeness, wisdom, loyalty, sincerity, filial piety, brotherly love.

influence of evil spirits, and it is probably for this reason that Japanese babies are given big dolls of dogs. In Japanese folklore the cat is described as having supernatural powers for working evil. The beliefs of the Japanese regarding the two animals are similar to those of the ancient Persians, who looked upon the dog as a sacred animal. Dr. de Visser has told us about the sacred dogs of a certain Japanese temple. The ancient Persians believed that the dog was invested with supernatural powers for counteracting the influence of evil spirits, and for guiding the souls of the dead. This belief even now finds favour with the modern orthodox Parsi and it is probably for this reason that a dog is always carried in front of a Parsi funeral procession. An orthodox Parsi considers it a meretricious act to feed a dog with milk, especially after a religious ceremony, just as a Japanese considers it a meretricious act to give it dainty food on the occasion of a funeral ceremony. An orthodox Parsi has a great abhorrence of the cat. He tries to avoid it as far as possible. If he sees it, especially early in the morning, he considers it an ill omen. If it crosses his path, he says prayers to ward off the evil spirits that might be lurking in the path. The ancient Aryans had a liking for the dog, as might be noticed from their early Scriptures. After the separation of the Hindus from the Persians, whilst the latter continued to have a liking for the animal, the former had a strong aversion to it, so much so that the great Hindu lawgiver Manu laid down the rule that the outcast tribes should keep only dogs and asses, and no other animals. The Mahomedans also disliked the dog, their favourite animal being the cat. This prejudice against the dog began to disappear in India in the reign of the great Mogul Emperor Akbar; but it did not die out completely, for even at the present day the houses of orthodox Mahomedans in India are overrun by cats. Dr. de Visser believes the Japanese superstitions regarding the dog and the cat to be of Chinese origin. I think the beliefs of the ancient Persians and Japanese regarding these two animals, instead of being of independent origin, may be traced to the same source. Central Asia is generally believed to be the cradle of the human race, and as man migrated to China and Japan in the East, to Europe in the West, and to India in the South, the domesticated dog, whose home is also believed to be Central Asia, followed him in his wanderings, and it is therefore not at all surprising that the beliefs of the ancient Persians and Japanese concerning the dog do not differ materially. The question may be asked why the beliefs of neighbouring nations such as Persians and Hindus are different. The probable explanation is that if there be three countries A, B, and C such that B is situated between A and C, and if the inhabitants of A migrate to B and C, the beliefs of the people of A, B, and C are at first more or less similar, and no sooner do the inhabitants of A and B begin quarrelling than their beliefs undergo a change, whilst the beliefs of A and C remain the same. Thus we find the gods of the Hindus become the devils of the Persians, and vice versa. In the same way the similarity or dissimilarity of beliefs even among European nations may to some extent be accounted for.

There is only one point more to which I would like to refer. Prof. Clement told us that the Geisha were called cats because they were supposed to be ungrateful. I think they are called cats because they have the power of bewitching males just as cats are supposed to have the power of bewitching males. The Japanese, however, say that the Geishas are called cats because they use catskins.

The Chairman said that the point at issue between Mr. Edalji and the writer of the paper concerning the first use of the dog and the cat in legendary superstition was one of fact, and that if this discussion might stimulate further investigation so as to establish the origin beyond doubt, the result would be a further contribution of value. Meanwhile it remained for him once more to thank Dr. de Visser for his interesting paper, and also Professor Clement and Mr. Edalji for their remarks. He then declared the meeting adjourned.



## THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 8 p.m., Wednesday, March 24. The chair was occupied by Prof. Arthur Lloyd, Librarian of the Society. The Recording Secretary announced that Bishop Sergius, of Tokyo, and Arthur J. Price, Esq., of Yokohama, had been elected members of the Society. The Chairman then introduced Mr. E. Bruce Mitford, F.R.G.S., who delivered a very interesting lecture on the subject, "The Active Volcanoes of Japan." The value of the lecture was much enhanced by the exhibition of about 70 lantern slides made from photographs taken by the lecturer. The lantern, a very fine one and of novel design, was kindly loaned by Rev. Arthur Lea, who was also kind enough to operate it.

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## ERRATA.

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On page 104 read *Unzen* for U'zen.

„ „ 105 „ Caldera of Palma for Caldera off Palma.  
„ „ 105 6° for 68°

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*The diagram referred to on p. 92 is reproduced at the end of this Paper, with an explanatory sketch and photograph.*



# THE ACTIVE VOLCANOES OF JAPAN.

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By E. BRUCE MITFORD, F.R.G.S.

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For previous accounts of the volcanic mountains of Japan in the Transactions of this Society it is necessary to go back some thirty years. With the exception of a brief description of the Volcano on Oshima in Professor Chamberlain's paper entitled "Vries Island, past and present," which was read before this Society in 1883, there has been, I believe, no reference to the Volcanoes of Japan in its records since 1878. In that year Mr. D. H. MARSHALL read a paper entitled "Notes on Some of the Volcanic Mountains of Japan." In 1886 the Seismological Society of Japan was favoured with a paper on the Volcanoes of Japan by a gentleman whose name is still held in the highest honour in scientific circles in Japan and, I may add, out of it. I refer to Professor John Milne. Not long afterwards, however, Professor Milne turned his attention from volcanoes to earthquakes—with results known to the world. Though great the gain to the study of seismology, the sister science which deals with volcanic phenomena undoubtedly lost by this transition. At the time when he read the paper referred to, *i.e.*, in 1886, Professor Milne had ascended personally six or seven of the volcanoes, and his impressions of these are of special interest; but by far the greater part of the paper, which runs to some 180 printed pages, consists of abstracts from more or less ancient

endeavour to deal more fully with two or three which possess special features of interest.

The volcanoes of Japan have sprung up along four well-defined lines of weakness:—First, the Kamschatka-Kurile line, terminating in northern Yezo; second, the Hondo anticline, which extends through Northern Japan to the vicinity of Volcano Bay, in the Hokkaido; thirdly, the Satsuma line which, following the chain of the Liu-kiu Is., terminates in the centre of Kyushū; and lastly, the Fuji-Oshima line, which intersects the main Hondo line in the neighbourhood of Asama. In several cases transverse or parallel fissures have been opened near the main lines of weakness, giving rise to the formation of groups of vents, and a consequent widening of the volcanic area. It is an interesting fact that it is in these broader zones that activity is still displayed.

The Fuji-Oshima line, running in a S.S.E.—N.N.W. direction, follows the edge of a submarine plateau which extends to the south of Japan and bounds, on the west and south-west, the great Tuscarora Deep. The edge of this plateau, forming as it does the landward wall of the profoundest hollow on the earth's crust, marks an area of enormous stress and pressure, to which the constituent strata have at length yielded. The great fault which runs across Central Japan near the upfold of the Iida-Etchu mountains, in the direction indicated, is one of the consequences of this yielding, and the Fuji-Oshima line of volcanic vents is another, and later, consequence. Incidentally it may be remarked that to this severely strained submarine bank we owe the great majority of earthquake shocks which visit this part of Japan, though by comparison with the shock which must have accompanied the formation of the great transverse fault, the one which startled us all a few days ago would be quite insignificant.

The island-volcano of Oshima, which constitutes the principal vent in the insular portion of this intersecting and younger line, lies longitudinally along the direction of the fault.

Japanese records, the scientific value of which is somewhat impaired by frequent appeals to the supernatural. According to these, four at least of the volcanoes of Japan, including Fuji itself, were formed, each of them, in a single night. As a typical sample of the old Japanese treatment of volcanic phenomena I will quote the following extract from the *Aso-sanjō nihen ki*, an account of the miraculous events which occurred on the top of Mount Aso, embodied in Professor Milne's paper :—

“ 1st February, 1239.—On the 26th day of the 12th month of the 1st year of Rekinin, about 30 snakes appeared in the miraculous pond (on Mount Aso) and black smoke was sent up and a great many stones fell down. In the next year, Emperor Gotoba died.”

Or again,—

“ In the 7th month of the 4th year of Koan, when the Mongolians came to attack us, a blue Dragon appeared in the sea of Takashima, and a divine wind destroyed them. On the day of the destruction of the Mongolian ships, the pond on Mt. Aso roared and two warships appeared in it. This was a miracle of Aso Myōjin.”

By the same authorities, the origin of the name “Neko-dake”—one of the five peaks of Aso-san—is thus explained :

“ The people say it is thus called because the king of cats lived there, and on the last day of every month all the cats in the district congregate there.”

This may of course be only a poetic and delicate way of indicating the inaccessibility of the peak to human beings, for Neko-dake is certainly the steepest and most rugged of all the five peaks of Aso-san, but I believe I am correct in saying that the word *Neko*, in this context, is written as two characters, *ne* and *ko*, meaning respectively “ root ” and “ boy ; ” though there are many here to-night, learned in the intricacies of the Japanese language, who are better qualified than myself to decide whether the popular derivation of the name should, or should not, be rejected.

To pass however from these quaint records to those of more modern times, it must be admitted that small justice has been done to a region as prolific in volcanic energy as any other of equal area in any part of the world. A good deal of misconception still exists with regard to the nature and extent of the volcanoes in Japan. In Professor Bonney's well-known textbook, one of the International Science Series, published within the last decade, the island-volcano of Oshima is located off the peninsula of Kii, and as lying south-west, instead of south-east, from Fujiyama; while the treatises of Hull and Judd contain no mention whatever of the volcanoes of Japan itself, though those of the Kuriles are briefly referred to. I trust, therefore, that no apology is needed for the few remarks on this subject which I have to offer.

As a necessary preface it must be pointed out that the definition of the term "active volcano" presents some little difficulty. In Japan more than one unforeseen outburst has taught us to hesitate before describing any volcano as extinct. The apparently wide gulf between such a mountain as Bandai-san was in the early part of 1888, and such an incessantly active cone as Mihara, is bridged by the dormant Fuji, the dying Komagatake, the simmering Shiranesan. Again, there are many volcanic mountains in Japan whose summits have ceased to show any sign of activity, while their flanks are riddled with solfataras, or their bases marked by the thermal spring.

Professor Milne in 1886 put the number of active volcanoes, including 16 in the Kuriles, at 51; but this estimate, whatever it may have been at that time, is considerably in excess of the facts. If we include only those displaying activity at their main or summit craters, there are on the main islands of Japan—exclusive of the Kurile and Satsuma chains—about a score of active vents. Of these I have personally visited 15, though not in every case under favourable conditions. Time will permit of no more than the briefest reference to the majority, but I shall

Built up as it has been from the ocean-floor to a height of 2,500 ft. above the sea-level, where it measures 10 miles by 6, Mihara—as it is called by the islanders—is comparable in bulk with any of the volcanoes of Japan after Fuji and Aso-san. Inasmuch as the steepness of a volcanic cone increases greatly towards the summit, and the truncated top of the island measures some two miles across, the height of the volcano in its prime was considerably in excess of what it is now. Black andesitic reefs and promontories fringe the shores of the island for the most part, while the slopes of the mountain up to 2,000 feet are prettily wooded, except on the eastern and south-western sides. Here comparatively recent lava and debris flows have turned the mountain side for miles into a trackless waste. After about an hour's climb from Motomura or Nomashi on the western coast, through groves of cryptomeria and camellia trees, along a path sunk in trachytic pumice deposits and embowered in foliage, the traveller reaches, somewhat suddenly, the brink of the ancient crater. A greater contrast could hardly be imagined. Luxuriance and verdure are left behind, and he finds himself looking down upon an amphitheatre of desolation, a wilderness of lava, sand and scorie. Before him in the midst, a mile away, rises the huge cone which still simmers with primeval force and heat. To the right, the cliffs of the ring-wall stretch in a curving line for a mile and a half; to the left, for at least another mile. Beyond and behind the cone, the wall extends a similar distance, precipitous and 200 feet in height. In two places the circuit of this vast crater has been broken—on the east and north-east, for a considerable distance, and also on the south-south-west. In the former case, the breach, probably effected by the paroxysmal outburst which formed the crater-ring, has been emphasized by a lava-flow from the present central cone. The peculiarly slaggy or Vesuvian character of the lava may be noted. The cone has a well-marked depression in its rim on this same side, over which the lava flowed. In the other case, on the opposite side, the exterior wall has apparently subsided down the seaward



slope of the cone in a torrent of debris, scamed with watercourses, which reaches to the level of the sea. Speaking of this ancient crater wall, Professor Milne, who made the ascent in 1878 from the south side, says :—

“ The rim of this old crater, though a serious obstacle on the side of our ascent, is not continuous round the mountain, and is only to be seen on the south and south-western side.”

The only explanation which suggests itself for this extraordinary statement is the wet and misty weather which prevailed at the time of the ascent. Under such conditions the opposite wall of the exterior crater, some two miles distant, would of course be totally obscured. Nevertheless, the assumption of its non-existence is little short of inexplicable. Dr. Naumann, who accompanied Professor Milne on this occasion, seems to have fallen into the same delusion, as his “ ideal section ” of the island, which I here reproduce, shows the exterior crater on one side only. This diagram suggests another point. Dr. Naumann’s theory is that the crater at Habu was the first or original crater ; a supposed crater (*b*), to the north of the present one, was the second in the history of the volcano ; and the present crater, the third. In other words, the imaginary cone *b* was parasitic to the cone *a*, at Habu, and the present central cone, with its enormous dimensions, was parasitic to the smaller and vanished cone *b*. But surely this is a perversion of the natural order of things. The very existence of a parasitic cone implies that the volcanic energies of the mountain, no longer able to break out at the summit, find exit at some weak place on the flank. Consequently, a parasitic cone rarely, if ever, attains to as great dimensions as the original cone. Dr. Naumann’s theory must be regarded as untenable. It is more probable that the present central cone was the original, and always the principal, channel of activity. There are a dozen parasitic cones on the flanks of Mihara, *e.g.*, Fugato-yama on the south, and two smaller ones near the sea level at the northern end of the island. Why should not the crater at Habu, into which the sea is said to have

broken in the year 1703, to the accompaniment of an earthquake and tidal wave, have been such a one as these? As for the cone *b*, there is so little even to suggest its existence, that one is led to wonder whether Dr. Naumann might not have mistaken the bold eminence called *Kigami-bata*—really part of the exterior crater wall on that side—for a separate peak.

The present central and incessantly active cone can be ascended—when the level crater floor has been crossed—in  $\frac{1}{4}$  hr. That being so, its height can hardly be 800 feet, as estimated by Professor Milne. In fact, the lowest part of the rim does not rise more than 400 feet, and the highest point, which is on the east side, 500 feet above the ancient crater floor. Professor Chamberlain, in his interesting paper “Vries Island, past and present” (1885), recommends making the ascent of the central cone by way of the Nomashi *torii*, which stands at the S.W. breach in the exterior wall and marks the threshold of the holy ground upon which the profane feet of woman, in former times, were not allowed to tread. The reason for this detour, however, is not easy to see. Most people coming up from the Motomura side, would content themselves with making directly for the cone and looking down upon the yellow speck of the *torii* from the summit.

The active crater of Mihara is an imposing abyss of true crateral shape, 300-400 feet deep and  $\frac{1}{4}$  m. wide. Its walls range from perpendicular cliffs to steep slopes strewn with volcanic bombs and other ejectamenta. From the central vent, about 80 feet in diameter, explosions of varying intensity issue with a thunderous noise at intervals of a few seconds. At times of low atmospheric pressure, prior to rain, the crater is apt to be filled with steam from hundreds of fumeroles and minor vents in the sides and floor. On such occasions it is impossible to see anything beyond the brink of the abyss. The last great outburst of this volcano was in 1878. Professor Milne, visiting the scene 16 days after the commencement of the eruption, thus graphically describes what he saw.—

"We came suddenly upon the precipice-like edge of a huge black cauldron, roaring, shaking the ground and ejecting a dense column of red-hot stones and ashes. . . . We were able on account of our position to look down into the crater. In the intervals between the ejections the interior could be well seen. Now and then large masses of the interior side, which were black, would slide down towards the throat of the crater and reveal a red-hot interior, showing that the cone itself was probably red-hot throughout. . . . One side of the cone had been blown away. . . . Looking down into the crater on this side, molten lava, approximately level with the base of the cone, could be seen. At each explosion it rose in waves and swayed about heavily like a huge basin of mercury, a little of it being apparently pushed forwards through the breach to add to a small black looking stream upon the outside. . . . The height to which the column of red hot ashes and volcanic bombs rose after some of the explosions must have been nearly 1000 feet."

A portion of the base of this small cone may still be seen on the south-west side of the crater level, but up it from this, and a confused mass of debris on the opposite side, where the breach above referred to must have been, no traces of this short-lived cone remain. It has been completely destroyed, probably by the same eruption as that which created it.

Vries Island is popularly supposed not to be troubled by earthquakes, and this belief has been adduced as confirmation of the theory that in the immediate neighbourhood of active volcanoes earthquakes are unknown. It will be remembered, however, that in the spring of 1875, when the Tokyo-Yokohama district was visited by a series of disquieting tremors, the head-man of Oslima reported that 100 shocks had been felt on the island in the course of one week. Evidences of subsidence are visible near the base of the cone on the south side, where there has been a drop of 6-9 feet. This may be connected with that period of disturbance, or may be due to the evisceration of

materials from beneath the cone. The latter explanation of this interesting feature is perhaps the more probable.

The highly volcanic peninsula of Izu, with its hot springs, its numerous extinct cones and lava flows—not to mention the intermittent geyser of Atami—indicates plainly the track of the intersecting line of weakness where it strikes the main island of Japan, and leads the way to Fuji.

The monarch of Japanese volcanoes has been already so much described, that there is no occasion for more than the briefest reference to it now. Fujiyama is a standing example of the truth that great height is unfavourable to continuance of activity, and the fact that the last eruption recorded (1707) resulted in the formation of a parasitic cone nearly 5,000 feet below the summit, is only further confirmation of the same principle. As the presence of Hōfuzan on the flank of the great volcano may be taken as indicating the decline of its energy, a summit eruption of Fuji may be ruled out of the sphere of probabilities; but the volcano's perfection of form is still liable to be affected by lateral outbursts, or by subsidence of the upper part of the cone. Some still distant age may see Fujiyama in form a second Takachiho—its summit crater denuded into a sharp peak, with such a huge lateral crater on its flank as that which now gives distinction to the terminal peak of the Kirishima range. However, the worshippers of Fuji, who are many, may take comfort in the fact that the mountain stands upon a foundation of granite, and that the cone itself is of unusual strength. While then such a catastrophe as would finally destroy the beauty of its logarithmic curves will be the longer delayed, we must not forget that even a Fujiyama is not forever proof against the levelling forces of Nature.

But if Fuji is now dormant, it has left its mark on the landscape of Eastern Japan in a series of lava streams—the most notable being that through which the Fujikawa has cut its way—and immense deposits of volcanic ash, which form the dainty coast scenery of the Sagami peninsula. The bedded tuffs of

Mississippi Bay were laid down on the sea-floor in Tertiary times, and the saecular upward movement which is still in progress in this part of Japan has brought them to the surface. Whether all these deposits should be put to the credit of Fujiyama is an open question. In travelling southward along the coast of the peninsula towards Misaki, the particles of tuff become coarser and the colour of the cliffs darker, till, on Jogashima island, at the southern extremity, there are more cinders than ash, and those often of considerable size. This circumstance, the lie of the deposits, and the fact that the prevailing wind for a great part of the year blows from the south, suggest that the volcano on Oshima should receive credit for much of this work.

The volcano of Asama-yama is only less famous than Fuji itself. Its position at the intersection of the two lines of volcanic activity may not be unconnected with its great bulk, the tremendous depth of its crater and its long-continued activity. Writing at the time of the last great eruption in 1783—a year signalized by volcanic outbursts in several distant parts of the world—a Japanese authority says: “The circumference of the crater is about half a *ri* ( $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles). It is of unknown depth and is filled with sulphur. About five years before the eruption, it closed itself up, and in consequence ceased to smoke.” These particulars are of interest as showing that the great eruption of 1783 did not affect the dimensions of the crater to any appreciable extent, and that in the popular mind volcanic outbursts were associated with the presence of sulphur. Whatever the quantity of that mineral the crater contained then—and it was probably insignificant—it contains no such deposits now. Mr. D. H. Marshall, who has given an account of the ascent of this mountain in 1878, says:—

“We had a good view down the crater. . . . But it was too deep, and we were too little acquainted with the nature of the edge to venture near enough to see to the bottom. . . . The irregular rocky walls had many holes belching out sulphur-

ous fumes, but the greatest quantity of vapour apparently came from the bottom."

In 1904, I subjected the crater-floor to a close examination and satisfied myself that the deposits of sulphur do not exist. Such an examination presents considerable difficulty, even under favourable conditions, owing to the absolute perpendicularity of the walls, the appalling rottenness of the crater's edge, and the great depth of the crater itself. Nevertheless, the sloping ash-bank which forms the rim of the crater is broken in one or two places by solid dykes traversing the bulk of the cone and projecting clear into the abyss. By lying prone on one of these unpleasant promontories, the whole of the crater floor may be seen. The process, of course, is not one that can be recommended to anyone subject to dizziness. The floor, as I saw it on that occasion, lying some 600 feet below me, appeared to be a broken, rocky expanse of ground, strewn with big boulders and steaming pools. While thus engaged, I was favoured with one of the volcano's periodical explosions. This fortunately took place from a fumarole on the opposite side of the floor, near its junction with the wall. The roaring noise which the crater always emits was suddenly intensified, while from the aperture on the floor dense volumes of black smoke poured in a series of rapid explosions which produced a whirring noise like that of a mighty electric fan. As the masses of smoke rose into the crater, they expanded and became white, showing that the blackness which marked the discharge from the vent was due simply to the vapours being charged with volcanic ash. As I was on the windward side of the cone, the vapours as they rose out of the crater were swept aside, so that I was able to watch the eruption to its conclusion, which followed in about two minutes. This then is the exegesis of the periodical "puffs" of the volcano, so admirable from a distance, though there are times, as the photographs of last year's eruption make clear, when to approach the crater, still less to attempt to study its depths, would be foolhardy in the extreme.

As to the diameter of the crater of Asama, considerable differences of opinion exist. Here are some of the estimates :—

The Japanese authority quoted above...	... 700 yds.
Mr. D. H. Marshall '... ..	... 600 feet
Sir E. Satow '... ..	... $\frac{3}{4}$ mile
Prof. Chamberlain '... ..	... $\frac{1}{3}$ m.
Von Drasche '... ..	... 3280 feet.

Sir Ernest Satow's estimate is therefore six times greater than that of Mr. Marshall, while the mean of the five calculations gives a diameter of 2360 feet, or nearly half a mile. My own observations in visiting and comparing the craters of a number of volcanoes have shown that a remarkable uniformity exists in the size of the regularly formed vents. So far as I am aware, there is not one that exceeds  $\frac{1}{3}$  of a mile, or that is less than  $\frac{1}{4}$ . I should be inclined to place Asama at a little above the average in this respect, and at nearly, if not quite, one-third of a mile. Similar discrepancies are revealed in estimates of the depth of the crater, which is hardly a matter for surprise when the difficulties of observation are taken into consideration. The various estimates range from 400 feet to a thousand, while Professor Milne's paper contains the following fanciful statement :—

“ Mr. Edwin Dun and others who have had opportunities of looking down the crater when comparatively little steam was escaping are of opinion that the crater is *at least several thousand feet in depth*, and perhaps as deep as the mountain is high above the surrounding plain.”

The colossal stream of andesite which accompanied the eruption of 1783 has been traced for a distance of 30 miles and is said to have flowed, after reaching the base of the cone, at the rate of  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile an hour. This is a high rate of motion for a stream of non-basic lava, and may be attributed to the high temperature at which it was ejected, as well as to the fact that the stream descended the northern and steepest side of the mountain, which

has an inclination of  $29^{\circ}$ . It will be observed that the lava of this steam is scoriaceous, like those of Etna, and presents a strong contrast to the slaggy Oshima lavas.

No one can complain that the volcanic mountains of Japan are lacking in variety, for the triple-cratered Shiranesan is of a type quite different from the normal Asama, from which it is only some 20 miles distant. Shiranesan is of the irregular type: a study in crater-lakes and blasted trees, in sulphur, ash and steam. Of the three lakes which occupy the main crater, the central one contains a geyser which becomes active when the volcano erupts, which it frequently does. Prior to 1882, the volcano was considered to be extinct, but in the eruption of that year the central lake assumed a geyser-like activity, discharging a column of boiling water, mud and stones to a height of 50 feet. The surface-levels of the lakes are subject to frequent and sudden changes in the varying phases of activity. When Mr. Marshall visited the scene in 1875, the water of the central lake lay 140 feet below the crater-lip: in 1882 it rose to within 20 feet of the top, and in 1907 had fallen to 100 feet. All the three lakes are now apparently shrinking in size, as the illustrations show.

Over the waters of these lakes the editors of Murray's Handbook to Japan make merry, for they say that it can easily be diluted and sweetened into an excellent lemonade. However, some water taken by myself from the southernmost of the three lakes (which drains by a small stream into the central lake) was found to contain free sulphuric, not hydrochloric, acid, and would hardly serve as a beverage. As is generally known, the hot mineral springs of Kusatsu, at the foot of the mountain, owe their efficacy to the presence of the same acid ( $H_2SO_4$ ).

Mr. Marshall likens Shiranesan to the sulphur-mud volcanoes of South America, but this description is derogatory to an ancient volcano which has by regular processes built itself up to a height of 7000 feet, and whose summit crater, beneath the superficial deposits of ash and sulphur, is walled with reddish



andesitic lava, like that composing the foundation strata of Bandaisan. I would rather say that Shirancsan is a true volcano which has seen many, and better, days, but has of late renewed its activity, only to fall into the solfatara stage and thereby signalize the conclusion of its long career.

The volcanoes of the main Hondo anticline extend from the vicinity of Volcano Bay, in the Hokkaido, to the peaks of the Nikko district. Of the still active vents in South-western Yezo, Komagatake is the chief. This is a comparatively ancient volcano within which a considerable degree of activity is still displayed. The ancient crater, which has a circumference of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles and an extreme depth of 600 feet, is distinguished from afar by the lofty peak in which its western wall culminates. On the south and east the crater wall has been worn into rounded ridges, and it has been breached, with every indication of violence, on the N.E. side. The three lakes (of which Onuma is the largest), formed by the blocking of their outlet by volcanic debris in comparatively recent times, lie at the base of the cone on the S.W., or opposite, side. Within the ancient crater, and near the breach on the seaward side, a new cone, broad and low, has been thrown up. Its slopes are whitened with incrustations of brine—conclusive evidence of the part played by the sea in the continued activity of this volcano. No mention of this new cone is made either by Captain Bridgford or Professor Milne, who visited the spot in 1872 and 1877 respectively. The former (*Transactions of the Asiatic Society* Vol. II, p. 80) speaks of six smaller craters, one of which was then active; the latter mentions only one small crater "with fissures running to it." The present configuration of the area within the low cone above mentioned is as follows:—(1) Circular pit-crater 40 yards in diameter and 30 to 40 feet deep, with low truncated cone in centre. The cone has no orifice, but is surrounded by a viscous mixture, apparently of mud and sulphur, from which a little steam issues. (2) A deep narrow rift running east (towards the breach) containing five small vents

discharging steam. (3) A smaller pit-crater, extinct. This rift lies between the two craters, and is joined further east by several (4) longer rifts which run parallel with the first on to the very flank of the cone, the last of the numerous fumaroles steaming most vigorously. All recent eruptions of Komagatake, including that which resulted in the breaching of the ancient crater, have taken place in an easterly direction. The centre of activity appears, therefore, to be moving gradually eastward along these lines of fissure. The "lie" of these lines, precisely between Onuma and the breach, may not be without significance.

The double-crater of Nobori-betsu, on the north side of Volcano Bay, presents further exemplification of the solfatara stage of volcanic activity. Both craters, which are separated by a narrow wooded ridge, have been breached, and in almost opposite directions. The northern crater is occupied by two steaming lakes, while the southern is filled with solfataras, boiling springs and geysers, all displaying considerable energy. At one end of the intervening ridge lies an oval cauldron of boiling mud; at the other a verdure-surrounded sister-lake of clear blue steaming water. Nobori-betsu, like Shiranesan, may be classed as a very old volcano which has renewed its youth on a smaller scale.

The volcano of Esan rises boldly from the north-east entrance of Tsugaru Strait to a height of nearly 2,000 feet. It is surrounded on three sides by the sea; and the crater, which is deep and finely formed, is breached on the side (west) away from the sea. By the gap thus made the crater can be entered. Steam and acid vapours issue from many crevices in the precipitous and rocky walls of the crater, especially on the east or sea-ward side, imparting varied colours to the cliffs. The principal vent is centrally situated in the crater floor. It consists of a sharp-edged oval aperture, some 20 feet in its longest diameter. In the centre rises a sharp lava cone, apparently trachytic, against whose side, from the eastern end of the vent a violent and continuous torrent of steam expends itself. The

water of the stream flowing out of the crater of the volcano past some sulphur-diggers' huts contains free sulphuric acid.

The volcanoes of Northern Hondo have displayed a recrudescence of activity in recent times, Azumayama, Bandai-san and Nasuyama breaking out more or less destructively within the space of a dozen years. All three peaks are of about the same height (6000 feet)—suggesting, *ceteris paribus*, equality of age; and, their summit craters effectually sealed, all have broken out laterally on their flanks. It is noteworthy that with Bandaisan and Azumayama, as well as the Komagatake of Yezo, the explosions have taken place on the side opposite to lakes formed at their respective bases. Lake Inawashiro was in all probability the predisposing circumstance of the great explosion on Bandaisan (1888). At that time three lakes came into being in the valley between it and Azumayama. In 1893 the latter, supposed to be extinct, burst into eruption on the north-east side.

The summit-crater of Azuma is occupied by a lake a quarter of a mile in diameter, with steep and beautifully wooded sides. The crater wall rises to its highest in a bare rounded peak on the north side. The present active crater stands at about the same elevation as the lake. The cliffs, terminating in a perpendicular rift on the upper side, have a height of 400 feet; the extreme width is about the same. The floor of the crater has two vents, now covered with mud. From the lower or eastern end a vigorous discharge of steam takes place. That the crater as a whole evolves a considerable degree of heat is evinced by the loud roaring which rises continually from it. The flank of the mountain on this side is seamed with solfataras, forming the termini of parallel fissures which extend for some distance down the mountain. Strongly sulphurous vapours issue incessantly in great volume. The orifices, from 1 to 2 feet in diameter, are half hidden by overhanging stalactites of sulphur, but the greater part collects below in vivid yellow masses. It was here that some 80 sulphur diggers were surprised and killed by the eruption of 1893.

The principal difficulty presented by the volcano of Bandai-san is the impossibility of ascertaining with any precision the configuration of the mountain-top prior to the cataclysm of 1888. Professor Milne in 1886 described the volcano as extinct, adding that "its shape showed no curvature or outline by which its volcanic origin could be inferred." The four peaks surrounding the level plain known as the *Numa-no-taira* seem to have formed part of an ancient crater ring which had been breached, and lay open to the north. The width of this ancient crater, from O-Bandai to the breach, was about a mile. Ko-Bandai, a lower peak, lay to the north of O-Bandai, and partly overlapping it. This suggests that the former was a parasitic cone of unusual dimensions, built up on the northern flank of O-Bandai after the great upheaval which resulted in the formation of the crater ring. The breaching resulted in a vast inclined plane leading from the edge of the ancient crater floor to the valley below, down which, in 1888, the broken fragments of Ko-Bandai, and the mud engendered by the immense quantities of steam, rushed with accelerated force. The photograph shows the aspect of the devastated area in April, 1907. The hollow at the lower lip of the fracture was filled with snow, while the steep slope leading up from it was steaming from numerous vents.

The volcano of Nasuyama is remarkable for the uncommon disposition of its craters. For 500 feet down from its sharply peaked summit, the whole western side of the cone is riddled with vents. Just below the summit lies the principal and original crater, some 200 feet in width, and emitting great quantities of steam. Immediately above the limit of vegetation (5700 feet), a cloud of sulphurous vapour indicates the position of the second large vent. This is a sombre pit, some 80 feet in depth, with abrupt perpendicular walls, which passes under an arch of grey acidic lava horizontally into the bowels of the mountain. The pungent vapours from this crater are discharged with a hot blast laterally.

Between the two main vents, a number of solfataras show

considerable vigour and give rise to large deposits of sulphur. Indeed, the whole upper part of the cone is so honeycombed that a subsidence of its structure would be no matter for surprise.

The terminus of the Hondo anticlinal fracture is marked by the volcanic group of the Nikko mountains, amongst which Shiranesan remains the only active peak through the traces of activity are now of the smallest. As the volcano rises nearly 4000 feet above the waters of Yumoto, and that lake is already 5000 feet above sea-level, the claim of Shiranesan to be the highest of the (at present) active volcanoes of Japan must be conceded. There was a violent eruption of this mountain in 1872, to which many charred and broken tree-trunks, and a great rent in the inner cone extending from the summit to the base, bear witness. The crater resembles that of Asama in its great depth and the rottenness of its sheer edges. The rugged eminence which has to be ascended and then descended before the present cone can be climbed, is the ruin of an immense *caldera* known as *Mae Shirane*. From a lake of remarkably green colour lying in the depression beyond this ridge, the active cone rises steeply to a height of 1200 feet.

The volcanoes of the southern or Satsuma line, as far as the mainland is concerned, bear all the marks of age. Summit craters have been denuded into depressionless peaks; craters have been breached or filled with lakes, and the slopes of once glowing cones have been covered with dense forest. But lively activity is still displayed in two recently formed craters on the main axis of Kyushu, and on several islands in the Satsuma sea, where new cones have risen above the waves within the last 120 years. But the first and chief of all is the vast and unique mountain which forms the nucleus of Kyushu, and whence subsidiary fractures branch east and west to the extinct cones of Bungo and Uzen respectively.

Aso-san, with an ancient crater 40 miles in circumference, may well claim to be one of the most remarkable of terrestrial volcanoes. The dimensions of other rival craters or crater-rings are :—

The Caldera, off Palma (Canary Is.)	..... 9 miles in diameter
Pantellaria, off Sicily	..... 8 x 6
Bolsena (Crater lake, Central Italy)	..... 10 x 7½
"Crater Lake," Oregon	..... 8 x 6
Papandayang (Java)	..... 15 x 6

A German explorer in East Africa has discovered, south of Kilimandjaro, an ancient crater with a circumference of 35 miles, for which a claim of superiority has been set up; but Aso-san still remains unequalled, with its dimensions of 14 miles by 10, the longer diameter running north and south.

The slopes leading up to the brink of the exterior wall are gentle, with an average inclination of 68°, but their origin—apart from their contour—is clear. They are composed of a succession of lava flows, several of which are of great thickness, and show the characteristic columnar structure. Where they end abruptly in the edge of the old crater, their height above sea-level is from 2,000 to 2,500 feet. Indeed, the whole girdle of cliff and escarpment, considering its extent, is wonderfully uniform in height. The crater is entered by the only gap in its circuit—a rocky gorge 600 feet deep, which forms an outlet for the river Shirakawa. Once within the crater—the lower portions of whose floor are cultivated and hold a score of good-sized villages—the gentle upward slope begins again, and culminates in a rugged group of peaks in the centre. At the base of this central mass, in a comparatively low and small cone, the life of this ancient monarch among volcanic mountains is still preserved.

The problem of Aso-san—of the forces that produced the present form of the mountain and the process of that formation—is as interesting as it is profound. Three theories have been put forward to account for the great crater-ring—first, what may be called the lunar theory; second, the eruptive theory, and thirdly, the theory of subsidence. According to the first, the central mass represents the summit of the original volcano from which, in a series of eruptions of approximately equal force, quantities

of debris were discharged in all directions, and their accumulations gave rise to the crater-ring. This theory, however, is demolished by the presence, in the ring, of solid lava which has cooled *in situ*, as an examination of the strata in the breach already mentioned shows. The gently inclined slopes which rise from all directions to the rim of the exterior crater are the remains of the great original cone from whose crater the lava flowed. What then has become of the original cone? Either it has been blown away by some cataclysmic explosion, or it has been engulfed in the vast hollows produced by the evisceration of materials from beneath the base of the mountain. As the bulk of the part of the cone removed must have been enormous—it is estimated to have been at least 28 cubic miles in volume, a mass equal to two and a half mountains like Vesuvius—it should be possible to find irregular fragmental masses, or deposits of agglomerate, in the vicinity of the mountain. None have as yet been found—and, on the strength of this circumstance, there is certainly a *prima facie* case against the “explosion” theory. But an explosion may be so violent as to blow a mountain into the finest dust. This actually happened in the case of the destruction of Krakatoa in 1883, when the minute particles resulting from the explosion were sent all round the world, affecting the colouring of sunsets in Europe for two or three years afterwards. Since an explosion sufficient to remove so great a mass as the upper part of Aso-san must have been immeasurably greater than even the Krakatoa outburst, is it inconceivable that a similar result was produced in the case of the great Japanese volcano, or that some of the finer bedded tuffs in the central portion of Kyushu owe their origin to such an event? Be that as it may, it only remains for some one to find, on or near the outer slopes of the ancient crater of Aso-san, a lump or two of volcanic agglomerate—as Dr. Tempest Anderson did on the edge of Crater Lake, Oregon—to establish the theory that the great crater-ring of Aso owes its existence to one colossal explosion.

One of the principal advocates of the subsidence theory, Mr. Robert Anderson, of Washington, D.C., who visited the volcano in 1905, presupposes "the escape of vast quantities of lava from points far below the summit of the cone, leaving a cavity large enough to engulf the whole of the unsupported mountain mass. . . . The completed work probably left the whole of the sunken mountain melted in a level lake within the great cauldron." If it be granted that the explosion theory as yet lacks proof, it may still be maintained that the rugged peaks which occupy the centre of the ancient crater represent a part of the original cone. They are disposed, not in a straight line, but in a curve about the present active cone, which is situated at their base. From the open side of the curve—that on which the modern cone lies—a series of mounds and ridges extend in the direction of the boiling geyser Yuno-tani, and of the distant breach. These mounds are suggestive in their form of two things: (1) irregular heaps of debris, such as might have resulted from the breaching of the original cone; and (2) subsidiary cones and craters, now overgrown. Further, all this accords with the trend of the transverse line of weakness, which passes under the gap westward towards the Shimabara peninsula and the ancient volcano of Unzen.

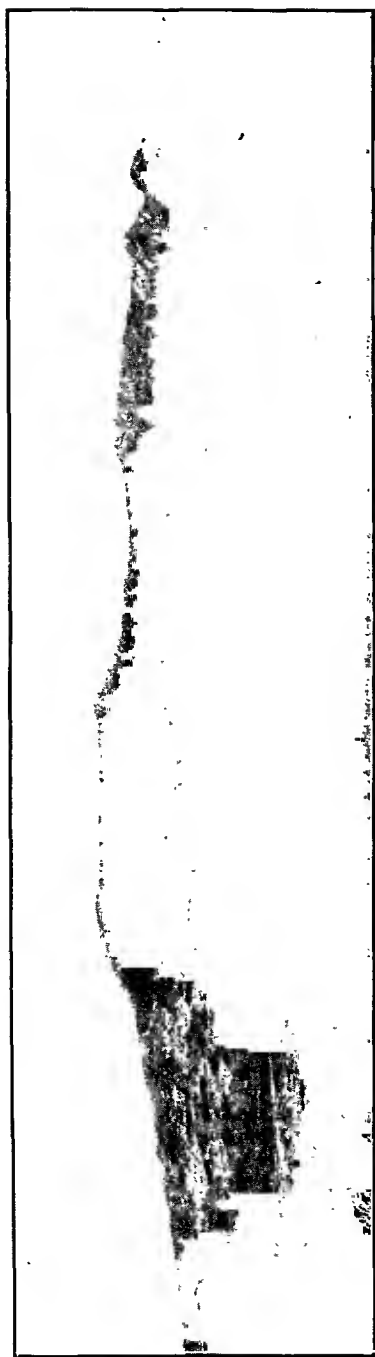
The modern cone of Aso san, whose height does not exceed 300 feet, contains five craters, divided by ash and mud walls, like those of Shiranesan (Kusatsu). Of these, the two northern only are active. The average depth of the craters is 200 feet. At the base of the cone on the opposite (south) side, a new vent was opened in 1907. This is an oval pit some 25 feet in diameter, and wholly at a red heat. From it dense volumes of smoke are discharged, laterally and incessantly, with a thunderous noise. The lower folds of smoke, or rather steam, are rendered dark by innumerable particles of black ash like grains of gunpowder, and appear to contain tongues of flame. However, this is merely the reflection from the incandescent walls of the vent. Flames are unknown in volcanic phenomena, except in the rare



cases when lava charged with steam at a high temperature has been known to effect the chemical decomposition of the latter, when the liberated hydrogen, as it escapes, takes fire. The heat from this newly opened vent is hardly bearable at a distance of 20 yards, and the roar, which can be heard two miles away, is like that of a mighty blast furnace. This place has already acquired an evil reputation as the scene of suicide, several Kumamoto students, in particular, having passed to the great beyond through its red-hot depths. Scientifically, the new vent possesses interest as illustrating the initial stage in the formation of a parasitic cone, but the blast is at present too violent to allow of the deposition of materials near the vent.

Passing to the island-volcano of Sakurajima in Kagoshima Bay—this is one of the volcanoes said to have been formed in a single night. The precise date is given by Dr. Naumann as 718 A.D. Nevertheless, the cone shows many signs of extreme old age. Two craters, north and south, occupy the summit at a height of 3800 feet above the sea, the southern one still emitting steam, while the northern is extinct. Sakurajima doubtless owes its length of life to its insular position, and while activity at the summit is all but gone, it is not by any means improbable that an outbreak may take place lower down the mountain, especially on the southern flank, where hot springs still issue, even on the shore. Parasitic cones have sprung up on the north and east sides, but not on the south. The villages on this coast, delightfully situated as they are now, occupy a potentially dangerous position—for Sakurajima is an island, and is not dead.

This brings us to the Kirishima Range and the volcano of Higashi-Kirishima, or Takachiho, which has the reputation of being one of the most active volcanoes in Japan. A fine temple at the foot of the mountain, embowered in a shadowy grove of giant cryptomerias, indicates the sacred character of the mountain in the eyes of the Japanese, as does also the "Heavenly Spear" stuck among the stones at the summit, where tradition says Ninigi, of Sun Goddess descent, landed from Heaven to



### THE VOLCANO OF AMILARA, OSHIMA.

*This panorama, taken from the north-west, shows the Somma, or old crater wall, the non-existence of which on this side was assumed by Professors Althe and Naumann. The south-western breach can be seen in the distance, to the right. The great eastern breach lies a mile to the east of the portion shown in the foreground of the picture. The entire length of the wall on this side is about three miles. The south-eastern portion of the Somma (hidden by the intervening bulk of the central cone) does not extend for more than one mile. The base of this cone, which contains the present active crater, is distant about  $\frac{1}{2}$  m. from the Somma on the north-west. The curve of the main lava flow can be seen on the left.*



the deliverance of Japan. As a volcano, Takachiho, though abnormal in structure, is magnificent in outline. The unbroken sweep of its northern flank, from the sharp peak to the plain at its base, is not excelled on Fuji itself. No finer sight could be desired by the vulcanologist than on a clear day to look down from the commanding summit-peak—which once carried a crater of its own—into the huge modern crater, and there watch the awe-inspiring manifestations of volcanic energy. The steepness and regularity of the cone, the clean-cut edges of the crater, and its mighty fumaroles are the characteristic features of this volcano. To the north, the Kirishima range, in which this is the only remaining active vent, is dotted with extinct lake-filled craters, of which that on the flank of Nishi-Kirishima deserves for its beauty and extent to be better known; but these now silent craters have left their stamp upon the country-side in all directions. Between the Kirishima range and the Kagoshima Gulf lies a land of tuff and lava, and nothing more; while the hills as far as Kagoshima itself are topped with level sheets of rock and lined with basaltic columns.

In Japan, as all over the world, the volcanoes of to-day are performing their natural function of terrestrial respiration, giving back to space quantities of steam which would otherwise create disaster. Water is the cause of that condition of a volcano, intermittent and paroxysmal, which we call an eruption. Water is always present in the magma of molten rock, and any marked local increase gives rise to an eruption. Similarly, the withdrawal of the water will in most cases put an end to the life of the volcano. Thus it comes that the still active cones in Yezo are those near the sea, or near lakes; that Bandaisan and Azumayama and Shiranesan have once again assumed the paroxysmal state; and that the insular or coastal volcanoes of Japan, as a whole, show the most marked activity. But the sum total of volcanic energy as now displayed is a small fraction of that which formerly perturbed these islands. The very fine volcanic stump in the neighbourhood of Kagoshima, which I here show,

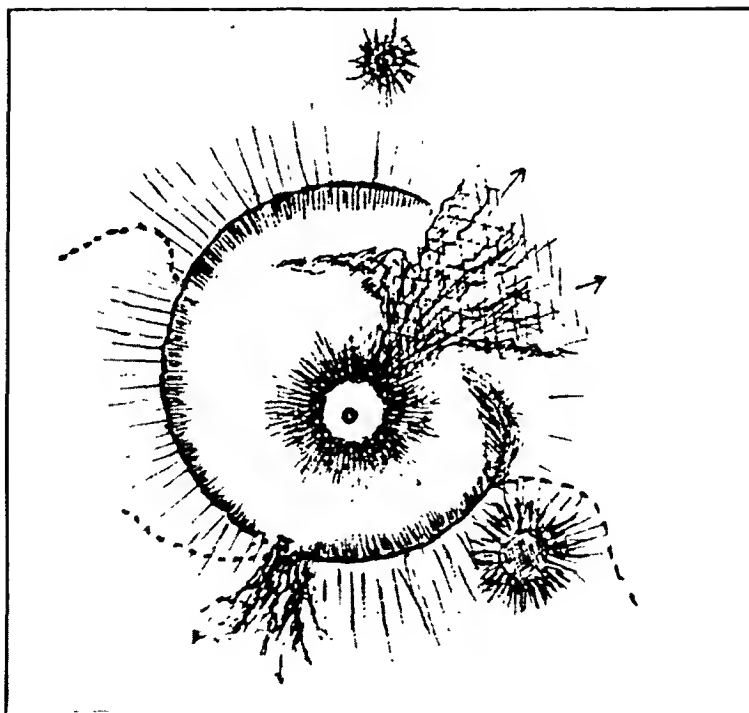
tells its own tale of the past—that prolific as Japan still is in volcanic force, and wonderful as are the phenomena of her volcanoes of to-day, all these are but a relic of the mighty forces which ran riot in this land in primæval days.



#### CONSTRUCTION OF THE VOLCANO ON OSHIMA (Naumann).

The crater at Haba (*a*), at the sea-level, is considered by Dr. Naumann to be the original crater, and the later ones (*b*, *c*), parasitic. The diagram shows the crater-ring of the present cone (*b*) on the south side, but not on the north.

[North]



#### PLAN OF THE CRATER OF MIHARA (*diagrammatic*).

Showing the ancient crater-ring, and the breaches therein, with the directions of the principal lava and debris flows.



After the Chairman had expressed the gratitude of the society and the audience to Mr. Mitford for his instructive and interesting lecture, the meeting adjourned.

- Transactions received* Dec. 1, 1908 to Jan. 15 1909.  
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*Books presented.*

- The *Gentil on the Ganges*, by Ign. Dollinger 2, vols. A. I. l.  
*History of the Rise, Progress, and Downfall of Buddhism in India.* Tibetan Text, with Contents, and Analytical Index in English, Calcutta, 1908, by Sarat Chandra Das. The Author.  
*Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Sinaiic Peninsula*, by Dr. Karl Ritter 4, vols. A. I. l.  
*The Wheat amen, etc. Tur s.* A. I. l.  
*Mélanges Japonais* &c. Vols. 1, 3, 4, 5, vol. 2 is coming shortly, completing the set.  
*Pamphlets Etc.* Extract from *D. Gids.* Paper on Lafcadio Hearn, by Dr. Ten Kate.  
*Munké's Comment*, Catalogue of Chinese, Korean, and Japanese books in the National Library, Paris, vol. V.

*Book purchased, 2nd Instalment.*

- History of Java, by Sir Thos. S. Raffles, 2 vols.  
 Ottoman Empire, by Aaron Hill, 1733.  
 Ecrits de Messieurs des Mission Etrangères sur l'Afrique de Chine.  
 Persia, the Land of the Mauns, by James Bassett, 1887.  
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- Leicographische Beiträge, von E. von Zach, 4 vols.  
 Lafcadio Hearn, Stray Leaves from Strange Literature.  
 Lafcadio Hearn. A Japanese Miscellany.

2. *Books purchased.*

- Lafcadio Hearn, Romance of the Milky way.  
 Do. Letters from the Raven.  
 Scherer, Young Japan.  
 Strange, Colour Prints of Japan.  
 Salmon, Gnosticism and Agnosticism.  
 Okakura, The Awakening of Japan.  
 E. E. Oliver, Across the Border, or Pathan and Bilooch.  
 Dahlke E., Buddhist Essays.

A third Instalment of Books, comprising several volumes of Sacred Books of the East, is now on its way.

There are 32 numbers of the John Hopkins Series of Political Science Monographs bound separately, so as to be easily accessible. They will be found on Shelf, J. iv. (behind the wire netting).

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## THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms, No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. Wednesday, April 21. In the absence of H. E. Sir Claude Macdonald the President of the Society, Prof. E. H. Vickers, Vice President for Tokyo, occupied the Chair. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced that Mr. Carl Van Fallet, of the Naval College, Etajima, and Rev. S. L. Gulick, D.D., of the Doshisha, Kyoto, had been elected members of the Society. The Chairman then introduced Prof. Arthur Lloyd, who delivered a most suggestive lecture on "The study of Things Japanese: Scope, Aim, Methods." The following is a summary of the lecture:—

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# The Study of Things Japanese: Scope, Aims, Methods.

BY

PROF. ARTHUR LLOYD.

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"I am a Man," said the Roman poet, "nothing that is human fails to interest me." Restrict a little the application of this sentiment, and how admirably it describes the purposes and aims of a Society like ours! "We are an Asiatic Society, with Japan as our special field of activity. Nothing that is Asiatic in general and, in particular, nothing that is Japanese, fails to interest us."

The study of Japan comprises two main divisions: the study of the Japanese language, and the study of the thoughts, manners, people, history, resources, religions of Japan and her inhabitants. We, as a Society, are in a sense concerned with both these main divisions of our field of interest. The study of the Japanese language is not, however, a pressing call for us. Materials for language study have been abundantly provided and prepared for the student: there are grammars, readers, dictionaries, schools, and teachers, both here and in the home countries, and for us, whose fortunes or whose fate it is to become permanent residents in these islands, the daily necessities of life make some study, at least, imperatively necessary. There are some I know who make shift to get along without the knowledge of a single word of Japanese,—I met a

man only last week who had been three years in the country and did not know what a *shoji* was,—but such people cannot be said to live in Japan. They merely exist here in corporeal presence, imprisoned as it were, for sentences of longer and shorter duration, as the result, possibly, of some evil *karma* of the past. Their spirits are not here, they linger in the lands whose languages they learned from their mothers and kinsmen, and their bodies yearn to join their spirits in a homeward flight. To such persons it is vain to talk of the study of the Japanese language.

I have said before that the study of the Japanese language, for practical purposes, is not a call to our Society. We are concerned with the higher flights of the language, with the Japanese language of literature, poetry, and the drama, with the study of the language as the vehicle for expressing the highest aspirations and the deepest thoughts. We are concerned, as a Society, in the work of interpreting between East and West, of exposing and expounding to the Anglo-Saxon and English-reading world what are the thoughts and the hopes that animate this people, of enabling our kinsmen to penetrate into the true heart of Japan. We are concerned, therefore, with the ethical side of language study, and in proportion as we succeed in this kind of undertaking shall we be filling a useful place in the world of Japan, which is ceasing to be Asiatic, and is becoming cosmopolitan.

Now let me pass on to the study of Things Japanese,—my proper theme,—which I want to divide into three main heads,—scope, aim, methods.

I. *Scope*.—There is a book about which I have long desired to speak. It is a truly stupendous work, and one which deserves to be better known than it is, in two volumes, both in our library,—von Wenckstern's *Bibliography of Japan*,—the first comprising literature published about Japan previous to 1894, and the second containing practically everything that has been published on the same subject from 1894 to 1906. This

work, a monument of thorough-going industry, and a gold-mine of information, is indispensable for any student who sets himself to work up any single one of the many and various topics which come within the scope of the study of "Things Japanese," and I shall be very happy if any words that I speak here to-day serve to make Mr. von Wenckstern's work better known and appreciated, both here and abroad. If I read to you a summary of the Table of Contents, it will show you not only what an immense amount of information there is in Mr. von Wenckstern's book, but also how wide is the field of activity lying before a Society like ours, which claims to be a "Japanese" Society, and for which nothing that is Japanese fails to be interesting.

Mr. von Wenckstern has collected (to take only, vol. ii.) all the books and papers published during twelve eventful years, in any European language, on Japan. He also tells us where these books and papers are to be found, so that the task of the student is assisted and lightened. He has arranged his materials under the following heads.

I. *General and Miscellaneous Works*, (13 pages), II. *Bibliography* III. *Periodicals and Newspapers*. IV. *Travels* to or from Japan, *Travels in Japan*, in *Times Modern* and *Times Ancient*, V. *Religion and Philosophy*, Buddhism, Shintoism, Psychology and Ethics, Roman Catholic Missions past and present, the Russian Missions, the Protestant Missions, Reports, Year-books, etc. VI. *Philology*, comprising Dictionaries, Grammars, Phrase-books, Books on Phonetics, Dialogues. VII. *Literature*, Japanese Texts, translations of *Historics and Dramas*, and treatises on *Dramatic Art*, *European Fiction in Japanese Dress*, and vice versâ, VIII. *History*, Chronology, Mythology, History of Old and Mediæval Japan, Modern History to the end of the War with Russia, IX. *Law*, Laws of Old Japan, Modern Law, Constitutional, Civil, Commercial, Criminal, Copyright, International, War-time, Consular. X. *Economics*. Banking, Insurance, Currency, Customs, Labour Questions and Socialism, Statistics, History of Japanese Commerce. XI.

*Numismatics*. XII. *Military and Naval* (omitted to avoid indiscretions). XIII. *Medicine*, XIV. *Education*, XV. *Fine Arts and Art Industries*, XVI. *Industrial Arts*, XVII. *Ethnography and History of Civilization*, XVIII. *Natural History and Exact Sciences*. XIX. *Topography and Hydrography*, XX. *Physiography*, and lastly, Works on the *Ainus*, *Formosa* and the *Pescadores*. Not including the Supplement to Mons. Leon Pagès' Bibliography, or the twenty-one pages devoted to Swedish Literature on Japan, or numerous books and papers written and published since the close of the Russian war, there are, in the second volume alone of Mr. von Wenckstern's work, 440 closely printed pages, containing on an average twenty entries to a page, which means 8,800 articles, papers and books connected with Japan during the 12 eventful years from 1894 to 1906, a little more than 2 publications *per diem*!

If we wanted to preach a sermon on the stupidity of the human race, what a text have we here! 8,800 books, pamphlets and papers on Japan during twelve years, and in spite of it all, people at home and here remain so wonderfully ignorant about this country and information seems so hard to gather. There is still an immense amount of work to be done before Japan can be adequately known by the people in our home lands, the friends and sometimes the allies of the Japanese, and our society, for which let us desire a future brighter and more useful even than its past, seems to be especially called and fitted for the task of dispelling the ignorance which still lurks in many minds about many things connected with Japan.

This brings me to the consideration of Ains in the Study of Things Japanese.

Our aim should be threefold; to *collect* information, to *digest* it, and finally to *disseminate* knowledge,—and our motto might well be *quidquid manifestatum est, lumen est*, “whatever is made manifest is light.” Our aim as a Society is so self-obvious that I can pass at once to the consideration of *methods*.

Our first aim is the Collection of Information.

If you will take the trouble to look through the list of Papers published by our Society during the last thirty five years, you will find that almost everything that has appeared has come from the pens of persons mainly resident in Tokyo. Yokohama has contributed a little, the rest of Japan almost nothing. This is perhaps natural. We in Tokyo have the advantage of living in the centre of the national life, we are within reach and access of Libraries, and we have our periodical meetings at which "iron sharpeneth iron."

But Tokyo is not the whole of Japan, and our country members have opportunities for collecting information which we have not. There is no country town, with its samurai houses clustering round the moats of its ruined feudal castle but has its little contribution to yield to our store of historical knowledge : there is no village, whether on the flat plains of Musashi, or the mountains of Iwashiro, or the rocky shores of Bōshu, but has its local customs, traditions, folk-lore ; no temple, Buddhist or Shinto, that has not its legend or its hero. There is a mass of neglected matter awaiting the collector, which we foreigners who have our interests in this country are in a better position to pick out than most Japanese. For the Japanese, born and bred among his surroundings, takes everything as a matter of course. The foreigner comes fresh to the place, and if he has his eyes and ears open, can gather what the Japanese necessarily passes by, and by gathering preserves it. Think how much there is in Japan that deserves to be preserved from oblivion—the industrial methods, the social customs, the religious beliefs, the ceremonies, sports, and pastimes. And think how pressing is the need for such preservation. We live in the midst of a vanishing civilization. Every year sees some time-honoured custom being abandoned for something which is only a western usage dressed up in an ill-fitting Japanese *kimono* the reverse of picturesque, some ancient landmark removed to make room for a tram-car line or railway. Before these things vanish, let us give them a permanent record and save them from being forgotten. If we



can accomplish this, we shall be doing a great service to the student of "Things Japanese," both present and future. This is of especial importance in view of the fresh light on Japanese origins which may be expected to come from the recent discoveries in Central Asia.

Let me go into particulars.

1. Nearly every *kumi*, and nearly every town of any importance throughout the country has a local guide-book or book of description. These books are often most wretchedly printed, and vilely illustrated, but they have in many cases been written by good scholars, and contain valuable information. If our country members, or missionaries in general, would co-operate with us in making a collection of these guide-books, which rarely cost more than a few *sen*, it would very much add to the wealth and interest of our Library.

2. This is essentially an age in which the photographer is abroad with his camera. I believe that the Kodak might be pressed into the service of the collector of information. The tourist, or traveller, missionary or otheswise, sees many things which are of interest—a Buddhist prayer wheel, one of those peculiar rice-pounders worked by water, which are to be found in many parts of the country, some peculiar custom connected with fisheries, or agriculture, a memorial stone in honour of some local celebrity. If he is armed with his camera, it would not cost him much trouble to take an interesting snapshot. When he has developed his film, he might perhaps be willing to send us a copy of the photograph with a note—a few lines would suffice—stating the nature of the object photographed and the locality in which it was found.

3. We have many members who read Japanese for business or study, and, whose studies lead them to peruse Japanese papers and journals. There are from time to time published in these journals valuable articles illustrating the Life and thought of Japan. If, instead of throwing away the magazine, they would send it to our Library, with the article marked, it would

help to furnish us with the material required. I may say that, for myself personally, I should be very glad of such contributions, on my own particular subject, for a small dictionary of Things Buddhist which is among the literary schemes ahead of me.

You will ask me, what is to be done with these things when they are collected? I will tell you.

If God should give me health and strength for a few years longer, and more especially if, at some future time, I should have more leisure hours at my disposal than I have now, I would slowly work through the books and pamphlets, and digest the information. I would make rough notes in English of what I read, and store them in alphabetical order, rejecting of course whatever I found to be of no use, so that my notes might serve as a basis for others as well as myself, and become generally accessible to students.

With the photographs I would make an album, appending where necessary little explanatory notes respecting customs &c., and the album could be kept here for consultation whenever necessary. I should probably get some co-workers in this field.

There used to be in Tokyo a very serviceable Magazine, concerning itself with the explanation of Buddhist questions and beliefs. It was conducted on the Question Box principle. Readers sent questions to the Editors, and the whole paper was devoted to the elucidation of the difficulties thus propounded. The same idea might be adopted in our own case. Many of our members may feel themselves unqualified to do research work of their own, yet they may have sufficient interest in things Japanese to ask questions—I do not mean silly questions, asked for the purpose of asking, but intelligent questions, the elucidation of which would really add to our stock of knowledge. I feel sure that the Council would welcome such questions. We might not be in a position to answer them straight off, but we might know sufficient to indicate the quarter where the explanation could be found, or we might know some one in a position

to make the necessary research. Such questions would serve to add definiteness to our work, and definiteness is one of the constituent elements of utility.

For the distribution of the knowledge thus stored and arranged, we should have our Transactions as we have them now. Only there would be this difference, that whereas in some years we have found it difficult to find readers of papers, and have been obliged to content ourselves with publishing little or nothing, such a dearth would be very largely obviated, by the storehouse of ready-made notes upon which we could fall back in case of emergency. We should be in the happy position of the provident housewife who is at all times ready to admit guests to pot-luck, because she knows that there is a ham in the larder. Besides, with our Album, we could at any time illustrate our paper with photographs.

Further, the Album would lend itself to the formation of sets of magic lantern slides, and if we had a lantern of our own, and an abundance of pictures, there would be no dearth of lecturers and lectures, and we should thus in an agreeable way extend the usefulness of our Society by helping our fellow exiles in Japan to enter into and appreciate the life and work of the nation amongst whom it is our good fortune to live. And it goes without saying that when a Society like ours is really useful, it will also be prosperous.

I fear, ladies and gentlemen, that I have sketched a somewhat ambitious programme for you. I hope it is not an Utopian one. I do not think it will be very burdensome in the carrying out, unless haply it should prove so to the individual whom you have for so long a time honoured with the care of the Society's books.

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The Chairman said that Professor Lloyd had in the past served the Society ably and in many ways. Not merely had he entertained the members with lectures, and enriched the Transactions with many contributions, but he had also given great services of less obvious, but not less valuable, kinds as councillor, officer and especially as Librarian. This afternoon he had added much to the debt which all present must owe to Prof. Lloyd for his entertaining and suggestive lecture. The Chairman felt sure that all would agree with him in expressing gratitude to Professor Lloyd for the entertainment afforded by his lecture.

Professor Lloyd showed by his lecture and by his unflagging interest in the country and in all his surroundings that he does not regard himself as an exile. On the contrary, he is keenly interested in the country, in the people and in every aspect of their civilisation. With every sense quickened by keen interest in all things about him, he finds, not only pleasure for himself and interest in the people, but also opportunity to serve others by giving much information about "Things Japanese" in which many are interested.

BOOKS, &c. RECEIVED SINCE 15TH FEB., 1909.

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- do Philol. Assoc., Vol. 38.
- do Philosophical Society, Vol. xlvii.
- Royal Socy. of London, B. 544, Evolution Committee, No. 4.
- Geographical Journal, 1909, Feb.
- Chinese Recorder, 1909, Feb.
- Mélanges Japonais, 1909, Jan.
- Batavian Socy. of Science, Dagb Register 1679.
- Japan Times, 1908. 2 Vols. (bound).
- Lisbon Geographical Society, 1908, Nov. Dec.
- Société d'Anthropologie de Paris, viii 5, 6. ix 1, 2.
- Annales du Musée Guimet, Vol. xxxi. pts. 1 and 2.
- Annales Bibliothèque d'Etudes, Vol. xix, pt. 3, xxiv pt. 1.
- Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, lvi. 2, 3, lvii, 1, 2, 3.
- Journal Asiatique, xi, 2, 3.
- Royal As. Socy. of Gr. Britain, Jan. 1909.
- Wa-doku Kai (Berlin), Aug. Dec. 1908.
- Science of Man, Oct. and Nov. Dec. 1908.
- Bulletin, Ecole Française de l'Extrême Orient, Vol. viii parts 3 and 4.
- Zeitschrift d. morg. Gesellschaft, lxi 4.
- Proceedings R. S. Edinburgh, xxix pt. 2.
- Vienna Anthropol. Soc., xxviii 5 and 6.
- Russian Ac. Sc., 1909, 4.
- Jahrbuch d. Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Leipzig.
- Kern Saddharmapundarika, (Vol. xxi S. B. E.) (purchase).
- Proceedings Oxford Congress of Religions, 2 Vols. (purchase).

## THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF JAPAN.

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A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms at No. 1, Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p m., Wednesday, May 19. In the absence of Sir Claude MacDonald, the President, Prof. E. H. Vickers, Vice-President for Tokyo, occupied the chair. The minutes of the previous meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced that the following persons had been elected members of the Society; Rev. W. G. Seiple, Ph.D., Sendai; Rev. E. H. Van Dyke, 15 Tsukiji, Tokyo; Miss M. F. Denton, Doshisha Jo Gakko, Kyoto; and Mr. C. K. Marshall Martin, No. 107, Yokohama. He also announced that, as the Hon. Treasurer, Prof. J. T. Swift, was to be absent a few months, Mr. J. McD. Gardiner had been elected Treasurer *pro tem*.

The Chairman said it was his good fortune to present as lecturer a gentleman who needed no introduction to members of the Asiatic Society. Notwithstanding the duties of an exceptionally exacting profession, Dr. Munro had found time to go deeply into a subject seemingly remote from his own and to become an authority on certain phases of prehistoric life in Japan. Valuable work of his in that field was embodied in the Transactions of the Society. He was happy to ask Dr. N. Gordon Munro to give his lecture on "European Palaeoliths and Japanese Survivals."

The Chairman wished on behalf of those present to express thanks to Dr. Munro for his suggestive, interesting, indeed brilliant lecture. He was sure that all present had, like himself, been made to feel that the lecture was too short. It showed what brilliant imagination, guided by trained judgment, could do with a subject which most persons are predisposed to regard as necessarily dry, and of but remote interest. He was also sure that Dr. Munro would be glad to answer any questions which awakened interest in the subject might elicit from members individually. Again thanking Dr. Munro for his excellent and instructive lecture, he declared the meeting adjourned.

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REFLECTIONS  
ON  
SOME EUROPEAN PALÆOLITHS AND  
JAPANESE SURVIVALS.

BY  
N. GORDON MUNRO, M.D.

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THE OLDER PHASE.

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The material which forms the subject of this paper belongs to the "Stone Age," to that phase of human progress which preceded the working of metal. Although stone is employed on an increasingly great scale, either cut in the block or prepared as concrete ; although it will continue on a small scale to play the part of a tool, or an adjunct thereto, its employment as a weapon or implement is virtually ended throughout the greater portion of the earth's surface. In regions where it still performs an essential part in the primitive life, the ethnologist is fortunately able, by observation of the living culture, to appreciate its rôle as a fashioner of other material, or as a means of taking life. It has become clear to him that while the worship of stone had a reasonable basis in the substratum of the primitive mind, its virtue was mainly directed to the acquisition or preparation of other substances, such as food, bone, skin, wood, and textile fibre, which had an intimate relation to the preservation of man.

Surviving from time immemorial the utter decay of organic matter, the objects of stone found in the drift gravel, the cave,<sup>1</sup> the shellmound or the soil, are so isolated from their former associations that this material is apt to distract attention from the

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I. Exceptions, in arid situations, will occur to the reader.

claims of others which were no less essential to the primitive life. For this reason the writer is of opinion that the prehistoric archaeologist should be equipped by ethnological study and observation for the correct appreciation of primitive relics.<sup>1</sup> The proper study of archaeology is ethnology.

Usually more resistant to decay than metal, stone has become the criterion of the primitive phase by reason of its failure to compete with the more tough, yet more facile, material. So hastily, indeed, has it succumbed to contact with metal that, where the latter has been available, three generations have sufficed to obliterate the memory of primitive stone-craft from the mind of illiterate man.<sup>2</sup> But for at least 5,000 generations stone has ministered to human needs. The writer will raise the question whether it was actually the first substance to be utilised for the cutting tool. He will presently give his reasons for the belief that the sea shell was a companion and probably a progenitor of the stone knife and hatchet. But there is indubitable evidence that weapons and implements of stone were in use 150,000 years ago, and much probability that double that interval would not suffice to carry us back to the original use of stone as a missile or smasher.

The element of choice enters into this elementary purpose, for some stones would be too heavy, others too light, while in the course of time, form would demand consideration. A stone, for instance, with a handy grip and other qualities, would be gradually appreciated, and come to be a possession and an example for the choice of others. So would a stick, which increasing intelligence would trim and ultimately manufacture by means of

1. The work done by ethnologists in capturing the living culture, is scarcely appreciated yet, but the records of a phase which is rapidly passing away will prove the greatest boon to future anthropology. The writer is specially impressed by the splendid work accomplished, in the face of much difficulty, by the Bureau of American Ethnology. The material amassed by Cushing, Holmes, and other observers, and which is so generously distributed to scientific inquirers, supplies a key to the interpretation of the primitive life in its paleolithic, scarcely less than in its neolithic, phase.

2. e. g. The Karle Aina and some American Indians.

shell and split stone. Between the spontaneous smashing motive and the preparation of a club, or artificial cleavage of stone, there is a wide stretch of unknown endeavour which may have occupied nearly a geological era. On the other hand it might possibly have had a less remote origin, propagated by the faculty of imitation which has too readily been regarded as a simian trait.

Just as mutations arise in plants, or a Newton, or a Wagner in modern civilization, so, in that hoary antiquity, man's first deliberate step towards the higher life might conceivably have been the inspiration of a primitive genius, whose identity is lost forever in the mists of time. The question of duration is not to be settled by surmise; but it may be remarked that, just as for mutations, some uniformity of development as well as certain environing conditions are essential. In all probability therefore, pre-man used pebbles and cobbles long before his descendants made sharp stones from round ones.

In the split stone, or sharpened shell, we have a truly primitive artifact, the initial modification of things external to a purpose other than nutrition. Back, incalculably back in the Night of Time, in the Pliocene of the Tertiary, or earlier, lay this germ of purposive endeavour, whose growth we dimly trace through the Pleistocene to the neolithic culture, which has left its remains over nearly the whole of this planet.

At the extremities of the Eurasiatic continent, viz, Great Britain and Japan, so exact a resemblance prevails among the relics of the Stone Age that one can hardly doubt that culture has been propagated by the spread and intercourse of humanity. The writer has already given instances of this similarity in the *Transactions of this Society*,<sup>1</sup> and it is his immediate object to give further instances of a correspondence so close that he has been tempted to remark that "everything has been everywhere."<sup>2</sup>

1. T. J. A. S. Vol. XXXIV: Part 2, where also (P. 64) illustrations are given of bone objects, e.g. peculiar harpoon heads, closely resembling those of the Cave deposits.

2. British Association Meeting. Paper on Japanese Archaeology Sept. 5th, 1908.



In the autumn of last year, he had the good fortune to visit the drift gravel of the River Thames, in the company of Mr. Cross F.G.S., who gave much kind information and assistance in making a small collection. Some of the specimens so closely resembled certain Japanese neolithic implements that the writer immediately set them down as prototypes. But it has recently occurred to him that both may have had a common origin in use of the shell as a cutting implement. Before proceeding with this demonstration it may not be out of place to give a general resumé of the technique employed in the making of a palæolith.

First of all one has to meet the suggestion that some of the relics are not the handiwork of human beings. The question of accidental fracture may be brought up, supported by the fact that pieces of flint, of which these objects are made, might have been chipped by pressure-friction in a glacier, or by concussion in a river bed. Some resemble the eoliths about which there has been much discussion, some have little or no recognisable form. But nearly all ethnological collections exhibit specimens, as rough as the rudest palæolith, taken from the living culture of surviving savagery. The question of form is largely one of identification. Doubtless many of the rude palæoliths were simple or trimmed flakes, not intentional copies of any model. But the writer has identified unquestionable forms that at first sight appeared inchoate and which, like the figure in the picture puzzle, now seem to invite recognition.

About the classical forms there cannot be a doubt. They are transparently artificial, and if one finds exactly the same signs of technique on indeterminate forms, these are entitled to the same consideration. It is most fortunate that flint was available to Pleistocene man. Not only was it a material capable of being worked with comparative ease; not only did it possess high qualities as a material for instruments of penetration and incision; but its durability has preserved it as a record of human culture which has defied all the agencies of decay. Invaluable as

Page 129, line 5, *read* No. 1, Pls. V and VI, in place of No. 2 &c.

Page 142, footnote 2, *read* Tokyo Anthropological Journal, in place of *ibid.*

Page 144, footnote 1, *read* 155, in place of 115.

EUROPEAN PALÆOLITHS AND JAPANESE SURVIVALS. 129

scientific evidence, its discovery by primitive man must have been hailed as a veritable godsend.

Flint freshly excavated from the chalk is less resistant to manipulation than it afterwards becomes. A nodule, removed, perhaps by an implement like No. 2, Pls. XXII and XXIII, was broken by a transverse blow to make a flat surface. At right angles to this surface another blow was struck with a round pebble (perhaps hafted as a hammer) or it may be that an intermediary was sometimes employed, such as a piece of prepared horn, or bone. As the result of the blow, a flake or layer of flint was detached from the parent block. The under surface of a flake so detached exhibits a bulbous projection with a cone-like apex, the bulb or cone of percussion. The apex of the cone corresponds to the point of impact on the flat surface, while the base represents the widening area of compression and elastic recoil of the flint molecules. Just as concentric wavelets pass outward from the spot where a falling stone meets the water, so one may frequently see, on and around the cone of percussion, the wave markings which announced the violent disturbance of the flint mass. Near the periphery of the area is a deeper and wider groove, the "run-off," which must sometimes have exercised the patience of the primitive artizan in his effort to obtain a cutting edge.

The disposal of the cone and run-off add materially to the impression of intentional technique. It is unusual for the cone to be left intact, and there are too many instances of total or incomplete removal, to the obvious advantage of the object as an implement, for the assumption that accident was the invariable cause. On the other hand, unquestionable implements sometimes show more or less chipping of the cone without apparent motive, but this might have become conventional, or might, with less probability, have been accidental.<sup>1</sup> Where one finds in the same specimen a cone of percussion partly flaked off, and the cutting edge (more liable to accidental injury) intact, there is a reasonable

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1. The writer does not consider the rebound of a blow to be an efficient explanation.

assumption that the former is the result of intentional manipulation.

Further considerations, such as the chipping of concave (less exposed) edges, while others are free, or less affected, plainly testify to the human manufacture of many specimens which are apparently destitute of form. But as this matter has been much discussed, the writer merely states that flint objects found in close association with others of unquestionable origin must be judged in the light of that association and deserve to rank as human expedients if they bear appreciable signs, however limited, of adaptive modification, or use.

There is no reason to suppose that the process of shaping and trimming was different from that of later times, viz, by pressure with a piece of horn, or bone, supplemented occasionally by a napping hammer of stone. Professor Henry Balfour, of Oxford, whose skill in working flint is remarkable, in a recent letter to the writer, put the essence of this technique in one sentence:—"In pressure flaking it is essential always to work upon an edge, for should this be lost, by becoming too rounded, it is impossible to continue the finer flaking."

Even now in England, when flint is found on the surface, it is occasionally used as a provisional knife, and doubtless, as we see in the neolithic culture, flakes were employed with little or no modification by men who possessed a highly advanced technique. Large numbers of such flakes are found in gravels containing a sprinkling of shaped weapons and tools. Some of them may simply be "rejects," refuse of the primitive factory, some are fragments of formed objects, many bear signs of use while others await recognition as shell, or other types. The recognised forms prove beyond all doubt that a definite purpose adapted them to special needs. When we scrutinise them closely we become aware that we are dealing with no opening chapter of human activity, no essay of a prentice hand, but the result of a well matured technique, which has hardly been excelled in neolithic times. Although



PLATE I.



PALÆOLITHIC OBJECTS FROM THE RIVER DRIFT.  
Half Size.

PLATE II.



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE I.  
Half Size.



we do not see the elaborate arrowheads that characterise the later culture, we note various kinds of spear and javelin heads (some of the latter *possible* arrow heads) ; the hatchet, adze and knife in a variety of designs, the scraper, awl and saw. A few examples are given from the upper gravels of the Thames, about 100 feet above the present level of the river.

Plates I and II show both surfaces of several flakes and non-descript objects. No. 1, Plate I, is the outer surface of a nodule of flint trimmed away on the left. The corresponding number in Plate II, presents the inner surface of the flake, with the bulb of percussion and run-off, seen also in 6<sup>1</sup> L. 8 R. 10 R, and in Pl. 1, Nos. 7 T, and 9 L.

Clearer photographs of the cone are seen in Pl. VII. No. 4, in Pl. V, No. 2, (double cone) and Pl. VI, 4 T., where its partial removal is seen. Nos. 2, 3, and 9 of Pls. I and II, are simple flakes with signs, however, of a "functional edge." No. 3, an interesting specimen, exhibits hollow depressions, due, as Mr. Cross remarked, to thermal changes and not to technique. No. 4 is a dressed specimen which illustrates the difficulty of judging the function by the form. It might have been either a knife or spear (javelin) head. No. 5 has obviously been broken and the symmetry destroyed. But it was originally a fine specimen of the ovate-lanceolate palæolith, the head of a spear, in the writer's opinion, and not an implement. Nos. 7, 8 and 10 probably belong to a common type, though No. 7 is the most representative. In each of the three the cutting edge is below. Mr. Cross calls this the shoe type, and inclines to the opinion that these were hafted for right and left-handed use ; but they may be knives or planes (wood scrapers.) No. 10 is possibly a saw. The form may be shell derived.

Pls. III and IV exhibit also, as do most of the following, both sides of the stone objects presented. Nos. 1 and 4 might have been used for lethal purposes, but both appear to be celts,

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1. R.=right side : L.=left side. Pl.=plate. T=top : B=bottom.



(chisels or hatchets). Nos. 2 and 7 were surely spearheads. It has been customary to designate these classical types as implements, but the writer has no doubt that they are weapons, of the heavy type required to slay the huge animals of the time, e.g. elephant (*elephas antiquus*), mammoth, (*elephas primigenius*), hippopotamus, rhinoceros, cave lion, hyæna and bear.

When the writer was in Germany last year, Professor von Baelz, who has done so much to elucidate Japanese anthropology, made the remark that perhaps poison was utilised by palæolithic man in his struggle with other mammalia. The writer, while of opinion that these heavy spearheads, if hafted to long poles, might be effective enough at close quarters, thought that the suggestion would help to explain the complete disappearance of animals, which cannot well be accounted for by the use of hand weapons, or change of climate. On later reflection, it seemed that aconite might be the agent in question. This poison is used, not only by the Ainu of Yezo and Saghalin, but by various tribes in Asia, and seems to be, outside of the tropics, the poison *par excellence* of the primitive hunter. The Ainu prepare it (*Aconitum ferox*) in a paste, of which it is the chief ingredient,<sup>1</sup> and apply it to a bamboo arrowhead. On going into the derivation of the word aconite, the writer was rejoiced to find that the active brain of Pliny (Plinius Secundus) had dealt with it, in the first century of the present era. Pliny thought that it derived its name from growing on, or near, sharp, or steep, rocks. This suggestion of 1800 years ago is highly interesting, and a closer knowledge of primitive culture would have given Pliny what is probably the correct explanation, viz, that the juice of aconite was smeared on the head of the javelin. (Aconite, Greek ἀκούριον, ακ,<sup>2</sup> to pierce, to be sharp, ἀκονή, a sharpening stone, κόνυχος, conch, κωνος, cone, ἀκόντιον a dart, ἄκων, a javelin.) This derivation carries us into the Stone age of Europe, but

1. According to Batchelor (Ainu and their Folk Lore, P. 454) the root of the *Arisama* is an active ingredient in this poison.

2. With the Ainu, *ak* means to shoot with an arrow, *ai* is an arrow and also a thorn, the idea of piercing being the same.



PLATE III.



PALEOLITHIC OBJECTS FROM THE RIVER DRIFT.  
Half Size.

PLATE IV.



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE III.  
Half Size.



whether palæolithic man employed aconite for such a purpose must remain, for the present at least, an open question. We can say, that he probably had experience of its baneful effects; that it was at hand, and that the variety of his contrivances, as witnessed by the relics from the drift and cave, indicate a stage of culture sufficiently advanced for the employment of this deadly expedient.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. 3 and 5 of the same plate are probably also heads of the javelin, or spear. The number and varied size of the spear-head are noteworthy. No. 6 might be a spear-head, though it has the appearance of an awl. It is highly probable that the awl was known before the fire drill, but whether it preceded the production of fire by linear friction is beyond our present knowledge. No. 5, Pls. V and VI, closely resembles an arrow-head, but it might well have been the head of a light javelin, or possibly fishing spear. No. 6 has a similar appearance, but it lacks the convincing evidence of design so apparent in No. 5, the finely crenated border, the central ridge, partly shorn at the base to enter the shaft, and the removal, on the reverse side, of the bulb of percussion. Nos. 3 and 9 present themselves to the writer as shell-derived knives, though possibly the latter was a javelin head. The signs of use on the border of No. 1 T, suggest that it was a cutting implement, perhaps an adze. Mr. Cross, who has many like specimens, mostly of larger size, pointed out their general similarity, i.e. somewhat round, bevelled on one side, with a tendency to concavity on the other. They might, however, have been mace-heads. The writer is inclined to surmise that they were used in excavating the chalk to get at the flint. This specimen weighs but 10 ounces, but of two others in the writer's collection, one weighs 3lbs and the other upwards of 4½ lbs.

There can be no difference of opinion about No. 4, Pls. V and VI, unless we credit palæolithic man with a penchant for

1. The association of aconite with the Javelin, more primitive than the arrow, may suggest a palæolithic origin.

gardening ! It is an adze and a fine example of the tool-maker's craft. On one side the edge is carefully bevelled, while on the other the cone of percussion has been partly removed, to permit insertion in a handle, yet leaving a shoulder for counter resistance. No more effective implement ever left the hands of the neolithic artizan. No. 2, of Pls. V and VI, is highly interesting as the prototype of certain objects found in America and nearly everywhere in Japan, and which, unless we are prepared to admit that palæolithic man had reached the stage of "hoe cultivation," is adverse to the supposition favoured by the writer, that such things were agricultural implements.

Nos. 7 and 8 of the same plate are knives ; they are surely conventionalised shell forms. The writer has come to the conclusion that many of the knives are so derived. But it will be sufficient for the present to exhibit a small number concerning which, he ventures to think, there can be no doubt. In fact, the derivation is so obvious, that it is now to him a revelation. This provisional statement does not attempt to do more than suggest generic types. Some of the specimens bear specific characters and the writer is trying to get together a sufficient number to carry the differentiation a stage further. So varied however, are the species of some genera such as the *Tellina*, that they are sometimes a puzzle to the conchologist himself. Notwithstanding, therefore, our appreciation of the aptitude of palæolithic man to faithfully reproduce familiar objects, such as animals, or his fellows, it not yet established that this exactitude of reproduction enables us to distinguish the species in more than a small proportion of his flint knives. Many of these, as previously remarked, appear to have no recognisable shape and others seem to be conventionalised by repeated copying.

No. 1, Pls. VII and VIII, seems to be the copy of an *Avicula*,<sup>1</sup> probably the left valve. In this and the following specimens, the cutting edge corresponds to the free edge of the

1. It has also some resemblance to *Pecten varius*. See Plate XXVI. for shell outlines.





PLATE V.



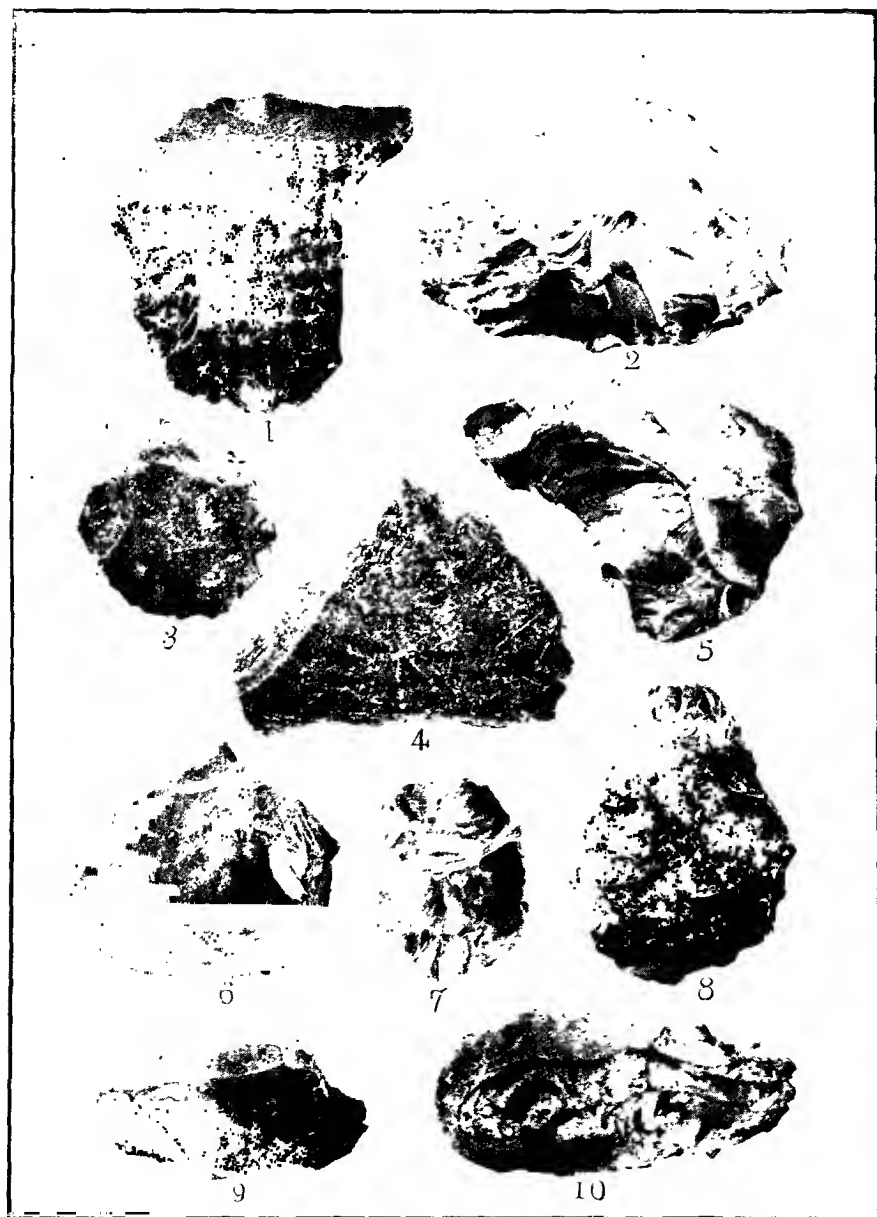
PALEOLITHIC OBJECTS FROM THE RIVER DRIFT.  
Half Size.

PLATE VI



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE V.  
Half Size.

PLATE VII.



PALEOLITHIC SHELL CONCEPTS FROM THE RIVER DRIFT.  
Half Size.

PLATE VIII.



PALEOLITHIC SHELL CONCEPTS. REVERSE OF PLATE VII.  
Half Size.



shell, a point of some importance in recognising their shell origin. The shell hinge is usually straight but occasionally slightly curved. The anterior and posterior incurvations below the dorsum are faithfully reproduced. No. 5 might have been taken from one of the 300 fossil species of this genus, or possibly conventionalised from the above. No. 2 is reproduced from the right valve of the *Macra*. Nos. 7 and 8 are apparently species of *Ostrea*. No. 3 is a striking likeness of the left valve of the *Cyprina*.<sup>1</sup> No. 6 is an excellent reproduction of the right valve of an *Astarte*. No. 9 resembles *Arca*, or *Lutraria*, or *Tellina*, and No. 10 might well be fashioned after a *Modiola*. No. 4 is interesting, because the apex of the percussion cone coincides with the beak, (umbo) of certain bivalves, while the concentric wave markings enhance the shell-like appearance. This obvious coincidence may have led archaeologists to overlook intentional design in these objects. Such at least, was the case with the writer, until it dawned upon him that on the seashore primitive man had within reach an armamentarium of ready-made weapons and tools, which aided him in the conquest of his surroundings, and probably gave him models for his later culture. Not only did pre-man find a constant supply of food on the shore ; but cobbles on the beach, and the *Fusus*, or other shell, furnished him with weapons, and the bivalves with cutting tools.

It is practically certain that the use of the shell knife had not lapsed when these specimens were made. It has lasted late into the neolithic culture in some regions. Since the writer first exhibited these survivals, and similar ones of the Ainu,<sup>2</sup> he has been informed<sup>3</sup> that the late F.H. Cushing, whose genius did so much to elucidate the culture of the American Indian, arranged, shortly before his death, a series of modern shell and

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1. Also not unlike *Venercardia*.

2. Tokyo Archaeological Society, July 6th.

3. By Mr. Stewart Culin, whose works on primitive games and their survivals are highly instructive.

stone implements, showing the derivation of the latter from the former. This has not yet been published, but it is to be hoped that it will soon see the light.

When we consider the material of which these copies are made, the resemblance is all the more remarkable and forces upon us the conclusion that shells were used contemporaneously with flint knives. They were still acting as knives when these specimens were made. Had the employment of shells lapsed for any considerable time ere these were fashioned, it is extremely unlikely that they would have continued as original models. Indeed, such an idea may be summarily rejected.

We may infer function from form or sometimes regard it as a corollary. But to primitive ideation, (not yet extinct in modern "civilisation") function was an inherent property of form, and the shell was copied because it was able to do a certain thing, and was still doing it. The writer believes that some of the knives are conventionalised; that is to say, are copies of copies and not of the original shell. But he is confident that most of the specimens illustrated were modelled from the original shell and not after a copy in flint. He will presently show that conventionalisation went further in the knives of the Japanese stone age. Enough has been said to prove that the shell played a conspicuous part in the culture of an age so remote that it is a geological quantity. Primitive culture clung to the sea and river mouth and, except for a necessary hunt, left the hinterland to the wild beast and the goblin. When dissociated from the cradle of his culture, man took with him his models, his rituals and his myths. As he carries in his blood the salt which permeated the primal forms of ocean life, so he carries in his culture the reminiscence of the sea-shell. The shell-derived implement and utensil, the shell amulet, shell ornament, shell trumpet, shell money, shell deity and the sea legend, reveal lingering traces of this association.

We cannot doubt the vast antiquity of these weapons and implements. The surface change in the flint, and the staining

extending deeply through its substance, prove that these stones have been for ages deposited in one situation, or have been transported by flood to another, to lie for an incalculable period. But the evidence for their age rests, not only on their appearance, nor on the technique involved. As the writer formerly remarked, this is clearly a question of geology, of the age of the stratum in which they are found. These objects come from Galley-hill and its neighbourhood, where the drift gravel of the Thames was deposited 100 feet above the present bed. Their age cannot well be less than 100,000 years, perhaps considerably more. What does this imply? We are not quite 2,000 years removed from the beginnings of the Christian Era; we are about 7,000 years from the earliest records of Egypt and Chaldea, and perhaps 10,000 years from their origins. If we allow 20,000 years further back as the incubation period of these civilisations, we are still confronted by an interval of 70,000 years between the deposition of the relics in question and the immigration of neolithic man from regions where flint was not so accessible. Language fails in the attempt to carry our thought across this prodigious void.

Time is for us a sequence of happenings. Otherwise it is an empty phrase, an unreal abstraction, inappreciable by any intellectual effort. To the geologist, this interval of 100,000 years, or more, is not quite a void, for he sees in the alteration of the earth's crust, in the crumbling of mountains by glacier and torrent, and in the deposit of debris elsewhere, some indication of happenings necessarily great and prolonged.

The precession of the equinoxes enables the archæologist to tell, with some degree of certainty, the age of ancient temples, originally oriented to the rising of a heliacal star, heralding the coming sun on its festival, or holy, day. Beyond that grey dawn, when the cromlech and the dolmen were the cloisters of advancing religion, lies the night of human time, lighted only by the starlight of inference from carved bone and wrought stone. Considerations from the precession of the equinoxes, the



apsides, and the changing shape of the elliptical orbit in which the planets move, reinforce the conclusions of geology as to the antiquity of these specimens.

How little did the primitive artizan conceive the interest which his technique would excite! He had long passed the stage when his consciousness might be reckoned in terms of that "dim, dreaming life" which builds the chamber of the nautilus, the cell of the bee and the web of the spider. We shall see instances of "survivals" which, as previously stated, suggest that, in the all but inconceivable flight of human time, "everything has been everywhere." A distinguished ethnologist remarked to the writer that an instinctive human tendency to repeat the same expedient under the same circumstances, might account for the very remarkable coincidences of form in remote centres of the stone phase.<sup>1</sup> The conditions would be met if we could extend the analogy of the artizan insect, bird, or mammal. It is a large question, but as extensive migrations have occurred, the writer thinks that "propagation" may have played a greater part than repeated invention.

We know that the brain operations of palæolithic man were resourceful in relation to his environment. Perhaps we have lost something by our expansive culture, which has specialised certain traits at the expense of others. But it is certain that the brain which worked in the Galley-hill cranium,<sup>2</sup> 100,000 years ago, was not on a level with our own. From what we know of relations between culture and cranial development, we may take it that Galley-hill man could count no more than the fingers of one hand and it is almost certain that he

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1. Examples from the bronze and early iron cultures are equally interesting. In October of last year the writer exhibited to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, illustrations connecting the prehistoric iron culture of Japan with ancient Greece. The Greek finds in Chinese Turkestan may be a bond of association.

2. Found at a depth of 8 feet in the same gravel, whence these specimens came. It belongs to the type of Neanderthal and Spy, with its simian features, low capacity and height, and supra-orbital form and projection.

was incapable of looking beyond his familiar place and time. Such an estimate might seem at variance with the dexterity evinced in the implements of the drift and the bone pictures of the cave. This, however, need only be taken as illustrating the adaptability of organisms to a slowly changing environment. This adaptability may be regarded as "instinctive", whether or no we admit it as the prime factor in the similarity of culture relics, remotely situated.

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## THE NEWER PHASE.

### II.

In a former publication of this Society,<sup>1</sup> the writer described in detail the neolithic sites and their contents, the survivals of habitations, weapons, implements, pottery, and the human remains, which rewarded his excavations. These were carried on altogether for over one year at Mitsusawa, and at intervals elsewhere. By sinking trenches, down to the red clay, of from 20 to 40 feet in length, about 12 feet in breadth and varying in depth from 4 to 12 feet, he traversed a large shellmound, beneath which was unquestionable evidence of human habitation. This consisted in the occurrence of holes sunk in the red clay and having the characters of larders, water holes and house-post holes. Ashes, charcoal and burned earth, surrounded by stones, showed the site of the primitive hearths. On such a spot, and covered by inhumated earth (proved by its admixture with disintegrating shells) above which was an undisturbed shellheap, the writer found two nearly complete skeletons and two detached crania, while the cranium of a child (minus the occipital bone) was excavated from among the shells. By means of this material, and a cranium which Dr. Takashima kindly sent to him for investigation, the writer established the identity of the shellmound people with the Ainu. He was careful to con-

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1. T.A.J.S. Vol. XXXIV: Part 2. Also, the writer's "Prehistoric Japan."

fine his verdict to the localities whence the crania came and, while pointing out that no trace of bones differing from the Ainu had been found, it was not impossible that another race, or races, had co-existed with them. He made this reservation on anthropological grounds which still hold good. Up to the time of his discovery, no crania were available for examination, in fact excavations were not deep enough for the recovery of skeletons which are usually found beneath, and not among, the shells. No definite verdict, therefore, could be passed, but Professor Koganei<sup>1</sup> had compared the long bones of the Ainu with a few detached ones from the shellmounds and had stated that the indices and other characters did not negative an Ainu origin. Professor Tsuboi, in the absence of anthropological data, had turned his attention to the culture material in the shellmounds and had deduced therefrom a similarity to the culture of the Eskimo. He adopted an Ainu myth, the well known world wide pygmy myth, which attributes the forsaken relics of culture to a race of elves, or little folk. He succeeded in giving it quite a serious aspect by reason of his continued exposition of culture analogies to the Eskimo, some of which were more fancied than real. His strenuous advocacy and personal influence gave him a large following in a country where archæology is more advanced than anthropology, and few raised a dissentient voice. In fact this *ipse dixit* was regarded as the final word on the subject and the temerity of Professor Koganei in questioning the dogma evoked sarcastic comment and reproof.<sup>3</sup> The result of the writer's examination, first made public in these Transactions, embodied a statement of the special and primitive characters which unite the Japanese shell-mound cranium with that of the Ainu. Such an ensemble of remarkable coincidences without a single feature peculiar to the

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1. Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society Vol. 6. No. 56.

2. The Ainu name was also adopted via — *Korofokuzuru*, which stands for "Pit-dwellers."

3. Journal of the Tokyo Anthropological Society Vol. 6. No. 61

one group which is not possessed by the other, would elsewhere either carry conviction to the unbiassed mind, or require refutation.

Without attempting to rebut the evidence, Professor Adachi, in the *Tokyo Anthropological Journal*,<sup>1</sup> denied that the remains were Ainu, solely on account of an assumed discrepancy in the average cephalic index<sup>2</sup> of the shellmound crania. An ensemble of cognate characters,<sup>3</sup> distinct and eminently determinate, was disregarded in favour of a criterion, to wit, the cephalic index, which suddenly assumed a status unique in the history of anthropology. Two groups of crania, e. g. the writer's 6 shellmound specimens and the 156 Ainu crania of Professor Koganei, could not possibly belong to the same race because the two average indices are not exactly the same! This decision involves the postulate that all crania belonging to the same race have nearly the same cephalic index, which is entirely contrary to experience. The writer ventured to say so,<sup>4</sup> proving at the same time that the actual discrepancy was a mere trifle (0.9). Yet Professor Tsuboi, who teaches anthropology, followed this protest and explanation with the oracular utterance:—"Professor Adachi teaches us that so far as the cephalic index goes, they are neither Eskimo nor Ainu."<sup>5</sup>

This question, important to Japanese anthropology, had been decided by the writer's material (deposited by him in the

1. Vol. 22. No. 253

2. Obtained by including two incomplete crania for which the writer had suggested indices, but which he had expressly stated to be unreliable for the purpose of comparison. Every anthropologist knows that crania of the same race vary considerably in the cranial index. For instance, of the 156 crania investigated by Professor Koganei, 25.6 per cent were dolichocephalic (index up to 75), while 64.7 per cent were mesaticephalic (76 to 80). Of 101 crania belonging to the latter group, 44 had indices of 79 to 80. Nearly one tenth per cent (9.6) were brachycephalic. Of the total number, one half (79 crania) had indices of 78 to 84, so that the probability of a series of 6 crania tending towards brachycephaly (or the reverse) has to be reckoned with.

3. e. g. general head form, projection of glabella and superciliary arches, moderate occipital protuberance, flatness of infraorbital fossa, regularity of alveolar margin and persistence of malar fissure.

4. Ibid. Vol. 22, No. 255.

5. Ibid. Vol. 23, No. 259.

University) and his investigation, which proved that the crania were *not* Eskimo *but* Ainu.<sup>1</sup> Apart from their adroit reticence toward foreign investigation, it is not quite clear why certain Japanese anthropologists should deprecate the former occupancy of the country by the Ainu. Physically, the Ainu are not inferior to the Japanese. True, they carry "primitive" characters (flattened tibia, perforated humerus, &c.) similar to those of the Ain mountaineers of 5th century France; characters still found occasionally in Europe. There can be no question that the Japanese are mixed with Ainu stock and that the admixture has not been to their disadvantage. The courage and endurance of the Ainu were well recognised in ancient Japan. At the time of the Yamato invasion the Ainu had a very advanced neolithic culture and were quite capable of assimilating a higher civilisation, had it been offered. It is no longer denied them, and it is to be hoped that the recognition of their birthright will encourage local officials to treat them as fit citizens of the empire.

While taking the opportunity of establishing his position,<sup>2</sup> the writer reviewed the culture material of Professor Tsuboi, which teaches us the impracticability of deciding questions of physical anthropology by the paraphernalia of a culture phase. Professors von Baelz and Koganei have examined the writer's crania and are satisfied that they are Ainu. Professor Koganei has recently received 23 specimens which, so far as they have been repaired and investigated, prove to be Ainu.

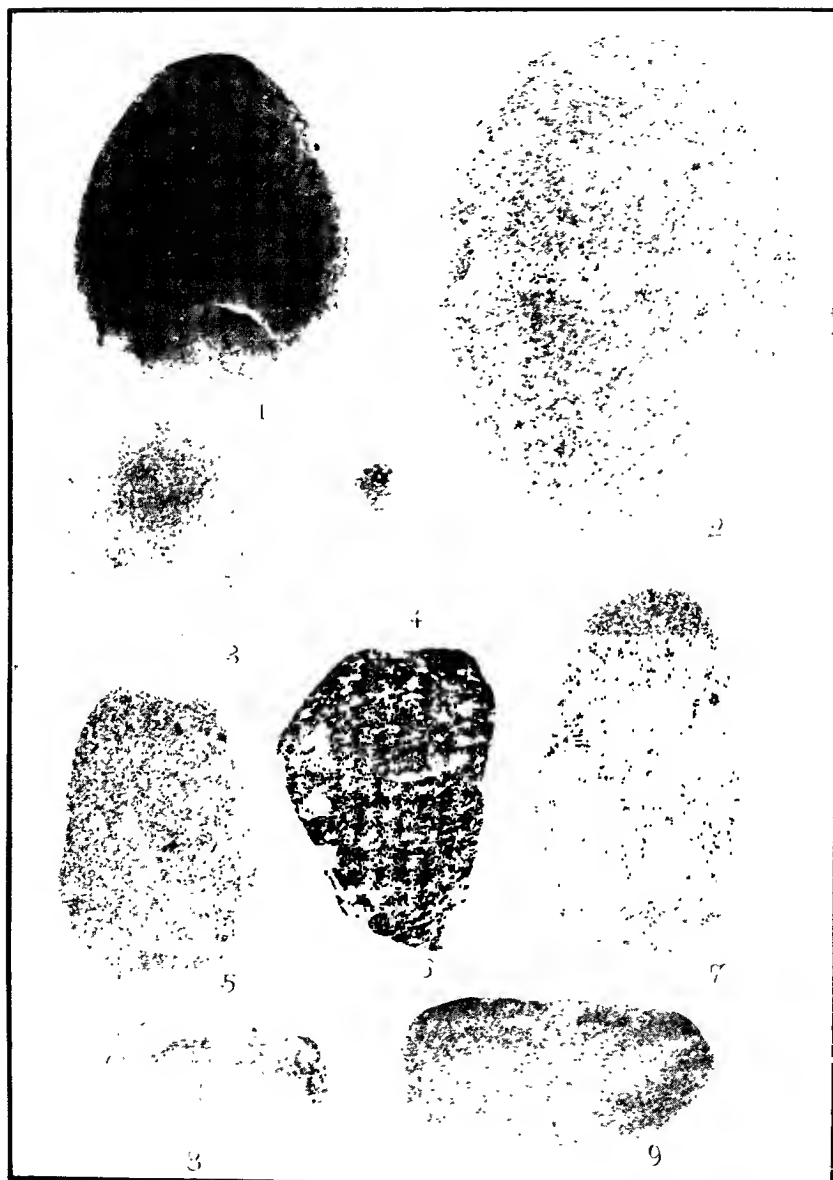
Reference to the Japanese stone age cranium has been made, not alone on account of its first announcement and description in these Transactions, but also because one sees in its inherent dolichocephaly, low frontal region, projecting glabella and superciliary arches, and other characters, some features which, notwithstanding advanced development and Mongolian traits, recall the crania of Neanderthal, Galley-hill, and La Chapelle-aux-saints.

1. T.J.A.S. Vol. XXXIV. Part 2. Pp. 182-195.

2. Ibid. Vol. 23, No. 268. "The *Koropokguru*."



PLATE IX.



STONES FROM THE AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.  
Half Size.

The Ainu type has been called Palasiatic, but we may as well term it Palanthropic. It will now be shown that certain features of palæolithic culture existed, or persisted, in the neolithic phase of the Ainu<sup>1</sup> and from their association with palanthropic characters there is a reasonable assumption that some of them have survived together. Yet this does not disprove an inherent tendency to meet similar exigencies by similar devices. Implements or weapons which bear characters peculiar to the two phases, or which are of an intricate kind, would reasonably be accepted as survivals, while simple expedients would more likely arise independently.

The simplest of all is the pebble or cobble, which was nature's early contribution to the higher culture. By its aid the nut and shellfish were easily availed of, while as a missile or hand weapon it was formidable in its day. Through the whole neolithic, and far into the bronze and even early iron cultures, the pounding and rubbing stone, the sling stone and stone mace head persisted as effective implements in peace and war.

No. 1, Plate IX, is a quartz pebble which has been used for breaking or crushing; No. 2 is polished by friction while a milling stone. No. 8 bears signs of function as a shell crusher, or such like. Pebbles like Nos. 3 and 4 are very common in the neolithic sites and are usually regarded as sling stones. But they probably served also as implements for moulding clay in pottery-making, as napping hammers, and for other purposes. Nos. 6 and 9 are files or hones, the first of pumice stone and the latter of lava. Both exhibit evidence of their former employment, in areas ground and smoothed by friction. No. 7 is shown merely on account of its form, which in the opinion of the writer, is an original model of the neolithic celt. This is one of the commonest shapes to be found on the beach and a little rubbing or chipping at the broad end would convert it into an effective tool. Many of the ruder neolithic celts are simply split stones of

1. With the exceptions mentioned at the end of this paper all the neolithic specimens are illustrated from the writer's excavations and collections.



this form, slightly trimmed. The writer has obtained from the Japanese gravels, stones of this form, with something like signs of treatment of the broad end, but he is not yet prepared to present them as prototypes of the neolithic axe.<sup>1</sup> He has, however, illustrated some corresponding specimens from the Japanese neolithic phase. No. 5 has received the minimum of treatment necessary to enable it to act as a fishing weight. It has been slightly rubbed at the sides, so as to leave a shallow groove for the cord by which it was attached to the net.

In Plates X and XI, No. 4, is seen a fishing weight prepared by a few blows struck so as to leave a waist for attaching it to the net. Sometimes a single blow on either side sufficed.<sup>2</sup> Nos. 5, 7 and 8, Plates X and XI, are flakes found in the writer's Mitsusawa excavations; Nos. 1, 3 and 6 are from his gravel explorations near Yokohama, and No. 2 from the upper gravels of the Sakawa river. He is not prepared to say that these might not all be the result of accident. If so, nature sometimes provided excellent ready-made tools for the use of man. The appearance of No. 1. L, No. 3. R, No. 5 T and No. 7 B, strongly suggests the "functional edge." No. 9 might be the result of unintentional violence. This explanation is not applicable to Nos. 10 and 11, which are also stones of natural form, but which have been purposely edged. This matter is difficult to decide, as grained stone does not flake so cleanly as flint and, generally speaking, does not preserve the evidence of its technique so well. The question of accidental or purposive fracture of stone can be settled in specimens on the border-line only by long study of various forms found in gravel. Rarely indeed, do we meet with stones on the sea-shore, or in the river-bed, with edges sharp enough for cutting. The process of attrition which, by a "survival of the fittest," leaves the harder stone in the lower reaches of the river, has rounded its edges, imparted sometimes an ovate-conical form and fitted it for the grip rather than

1. See P. 115, Fig. B. for possible ancestor of the axe form.

2. "Primitive culture in Japan" T.J.A.S. Vol. XXXIV: Part 2. Page 68.



PLATE X.



OBJECTS FROM JAPANESE GRAVELS AND AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.  
Half Size.

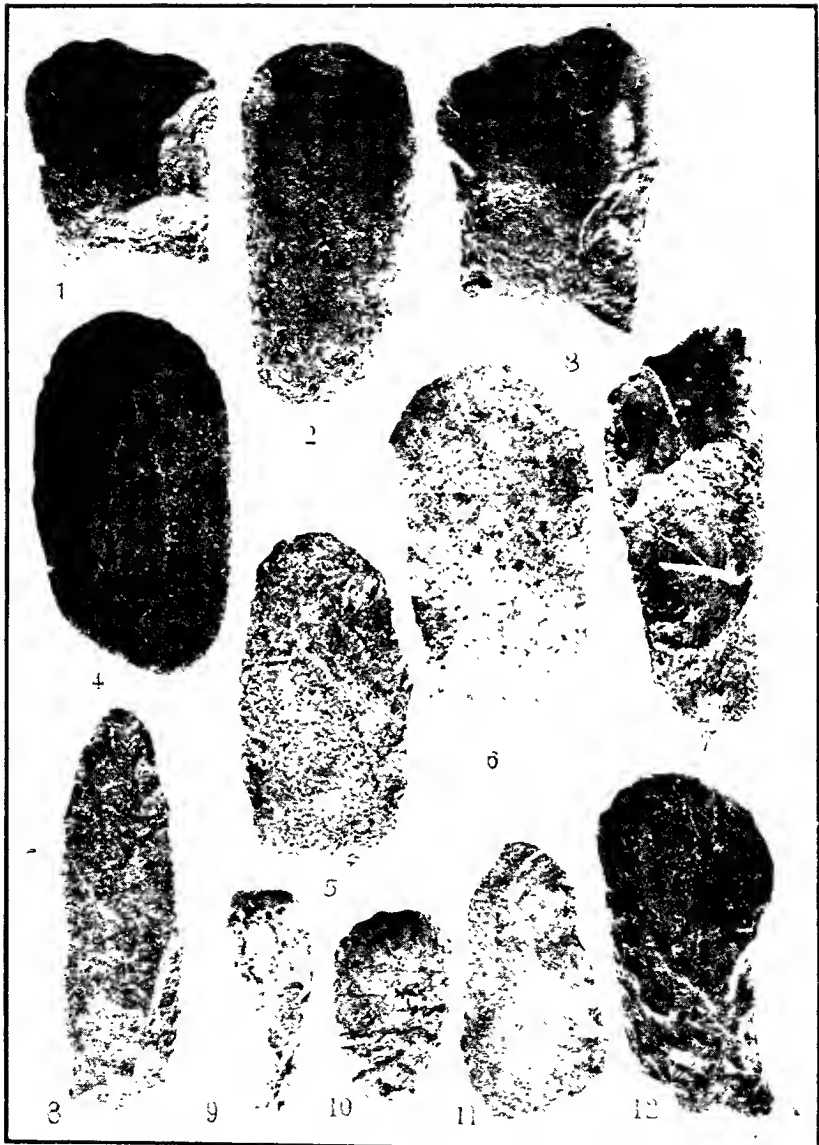
PLATE XI.



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE X.

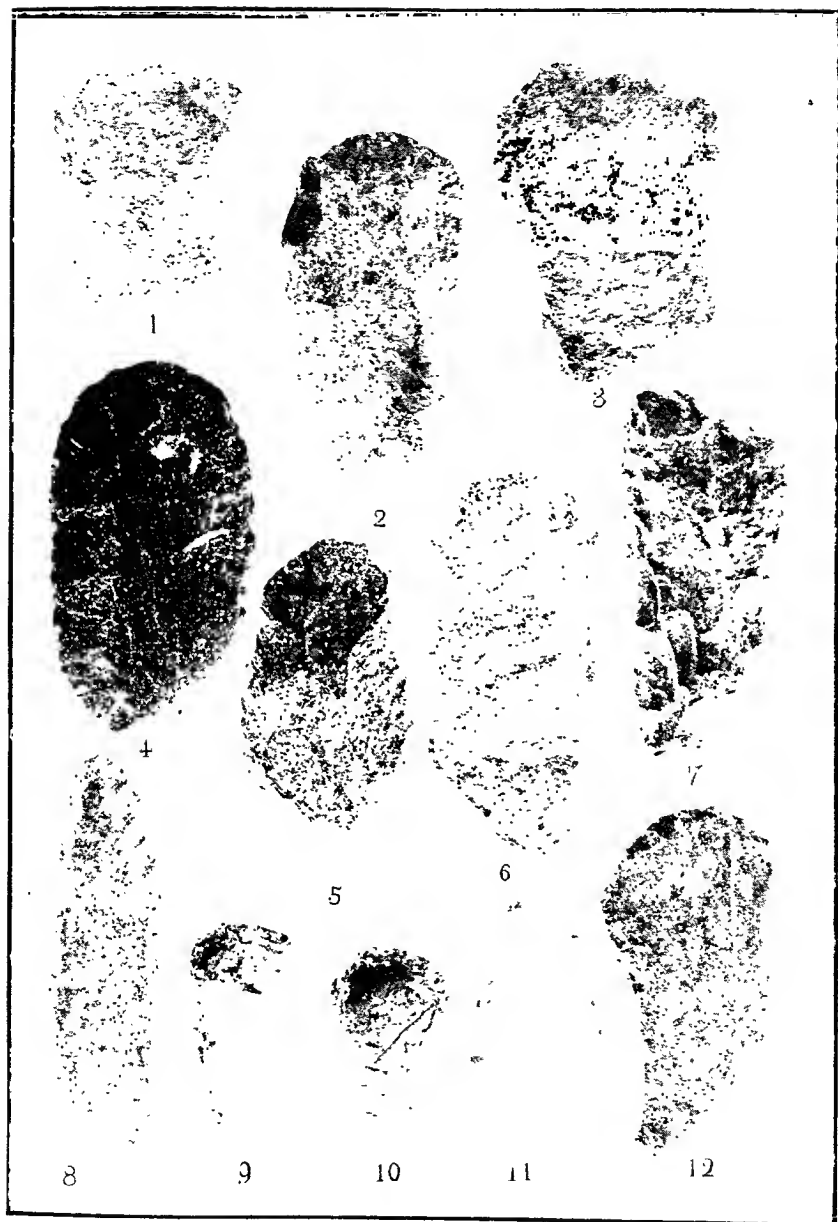
Half Size.

PLATE XII.



OBJECTS FROM AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.  
Half Size.

PLATE XIII



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE XII.  
Half Size.



for cutting. If, however, forms so suitable for the grip, forms which closely resemble the polished neolithic axe, occur comparatively frequently in gravel at the present day, they could scarcely have escaped the eye of primitive man, and it will probably transpire that, as the sea-shell gave rise to certain forms of stone tools, the elongated cobble is an ancestor of the neolithic axe. The difference between the weapon or implement formed by friction and by percussion is one of material yielding to suitable technique. The writer is not convinced that the so-called palæolithic type is the oldest. It is little over half a century since attention was called to the relics of the drift, and we have yet to learn what excavation has to reveal about material other than flint.

Some interesting specimens are seen in Plates XII and XIII. No. 1, a very rough looking object, has been hafted as a cutting implement. No. 2 is a polished axe of the usual ovate-conical form so admirably adapted to prevent slipping in the haft or hand. But its interest for us lies in the fact that it has been broken and has been re-dressed by chipping the broad end. No. 3 has been split from a formerly hafted celt. Although a suitable knife, it does not bear sufficient signs of wear and tear on the edge for us to be positive that it was used as such. The same remarks apply to Nos. 6 and 7. Work is seen round the edges of Nos. 4 and 8, which, despite an unfinished appearance, are effective cutting implements. The process of flaking off has been carried all round the edge in No. 5, which is perhaps an unfinished product. Indications of technique are also found on Nos. 9 and 10, both of which are stones of natural form. Nos. 11 and 12 have been split from other implements and perhaps used as knives.

Of Plates XIV and XV, Nos. 1 and 2 are interesting, for they illustrate what has been said regarding the modification of natural stone occurring as pebbles on the river-bank or sea-shore. No. 1 has received a little dressing on one side (R), but the form has otherwise been unaltered; the expanding



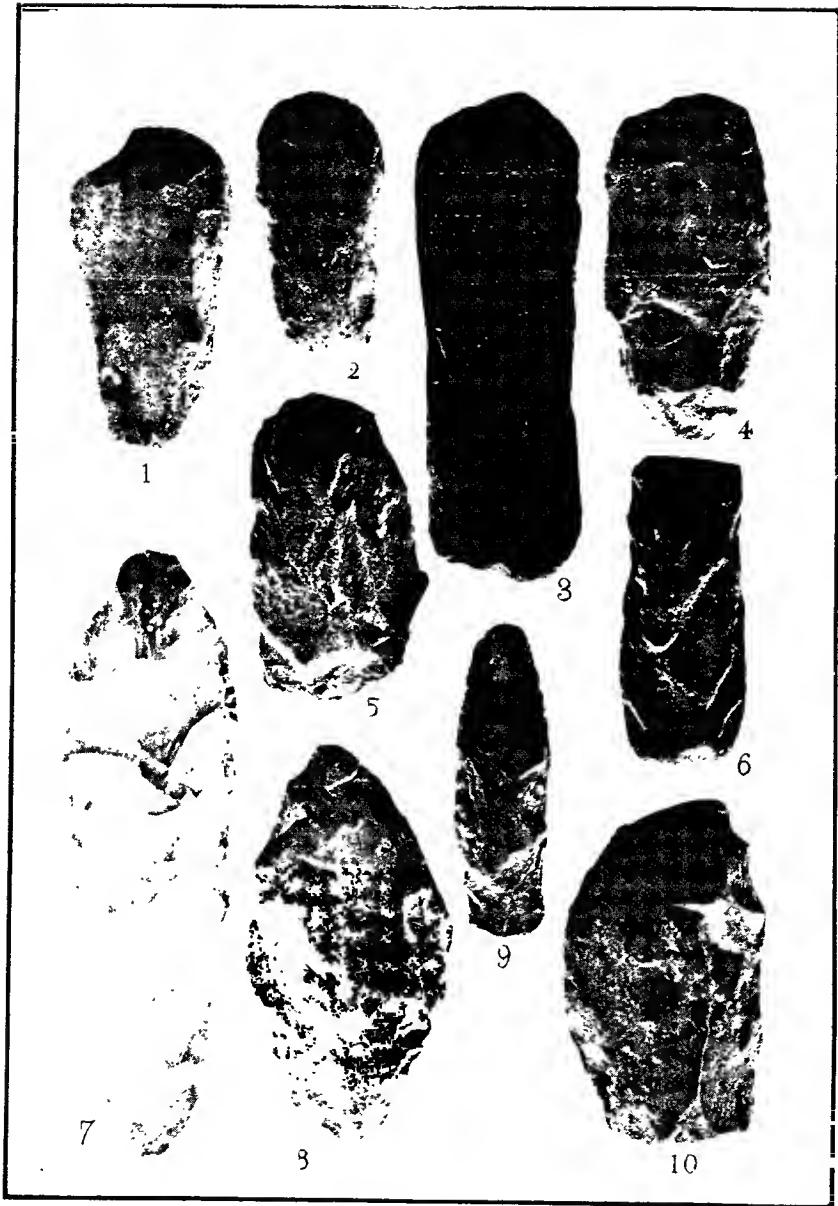
end has been roughly chipped, then ground to an edge. This has also been the case with No. 2, which apparently has received slight treatment on both of the side edges. Both appear to have been hafted. The writer believes that rough hewn implements, when designed for hafting, were often finished at the waist by friction to prevent the retaining cord being cut.

Thus far we have been dealing with neolithic objects of natural form, or roughly modified from the natural pebble, split stone, or the broken tool. If found in gravel, or otherwise dissociated from the neolithic culture, some would probably fail to attract attention, for the technique would be insufficient to attest an artificial origin, as against accidental chipping. In some cases, as we have seen, the signs of technique are hardly, if at all, to be differentiated from adventitious chipping, incident to concussion in the river drift. Here we hesitate to say where nature ends and art begins. Precisely at the point where it would be most interesting to trace the rudimentary stone-craft to its origin, the evidence of art dwindles down to nothing. There, as with the rude flakes and pebbles of the neolithic phase, we must be guided partly by association and the knowledge of their utility in that culture. It would be far from astonishing if implements, like Nos. 1 and 2 of Plates XIV and XV, were discovered in the gravels, now regarded as sacred to the chipped palæolith. These might be expected to be rare, for the brittle, though hard and resistant, flint was easier to work than softer stone, which was finally dressed by grinding. The latter too, was more liable to lose its form and finish in the drift.

Most of the objects which remain to be illustrated are of recognisable shape: in the case of a few the form is unfamiliar, but sufficiently elaborated to give the impression of intentional design. Some have been referred to by Japanese and foreign observers, before the writer described them, and the impression got abroad that they are palæolithic. While this might be taken as testimony to the similarity of palæolithic and



PLATE XIV.



OBJECTS FROM AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.

Half Size.

PLATE XV.



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE XIV.

Half Size.



neolithic forms, it is traceable to the widespread notion that palæoliths are made by chipping and neoliths by grinding. The fact is that most of the stone contrivances of both phases were made by chipping or flaking. Even the neolithic axe was often shaped by flaking, the edge and finish only being due to friction. The error has arisen partly through comparison of the neolithic axe with the huge spear-head of the gravel. The latter has been described by Sir John Evans as an implement, and it is commonly regarded as such. Outside of the polished axe, the similarity of palæolithic and neolithic implements and weapons is so striking that the prevalence of the former might depend on the localisation of flint more than on a fundamental difference in culture. The chief formal distinction between the old and the new cultures seems to lie in the considerably greater number of broad-edged celts associated with the latter. Perhaps this indicates a corresponding utilisation of wood for house construction and other purposes or, it may be, hoe cultivation. It accords also, with the diminished necessity for hand weapons consequent on the use of the bow and arrow and the disappearance of the great mammalia. The distinction between weapon and implement appears to be more sharply drawn, yet it is not easy to discriminate the functions of various implements. In the modern neolithic culture the axe, adze, chisel, knife, scraper and even hoe, overlap more or less, as regards function.

No. 3 of Pls. XIV and XV was probably a scraper, as the edges are rounded by friction. No. 4 is a chisel, knife, or hoe. Similar forms (known to have been used as hoes) are found in America. No. 5 is probably a knife. No. 9 is perhaps a chisel, and No. 6 almost certainly one. No. 7 is a fine spear-head, the lower end of which exhibits some discolouration, as if resin had been employed to assist fixation to the shaft. No. 8 is to all appearance a spear-head and No. 10, which like some of the foregoing has been hafted, might have been a cutting implement or a weapon. Although broken, it is of some

interest on account of its curved edge. Pls. XVI and XVII show further examples of the chipped neolithic celt, all of which appear to have been hafted, and all of which, despite some difference in form, might have been chisels. Most could have served as adzes or hoes. A neolithic culture so advanced as that of the prehistoric Ainu should have included hoe cultivation in its repertoire. The Ainu of the Japanese stone phase lived in villages, employed wood in house construction and in the arts of life, were proficient in the textile art and in the essentially sedentary art of pottery making, which attained a high degree of excellence in form and ornamental motive. Such a people, living in latitudes of 30 degrees north and upwards, where nature is less prolific in vegetal life than in the tropics, ought to have had some cereal cultivation, though it may have formed but a background to fishing and hunting. Since the writer presented the evidence available at the time,<sup>1</sup> his friend Dr. Takashima has obtained rice from a shellmound jar. This bears out the opinion that the Ainu were at least acquainted with rice and possibly indulged in its cultivation. He formerly suggested that the fiddle-shaped implements, seen in Pls. XVIII and XIX, might have been as usefully employed in agriculture as in hewing wood. He has examined over one hundred of these and is satisfied that nearly all might have been effective hoes, while they were indifferent adzes, except for charred wood. They were hafted at the constricted waist, which served to retain and protect the binding cord. As a rule, they are finished only on one side, the hardened surface of the parent cobble, or boulder, often forming the bevel, or enhancing by a slight curve, the efficiency of the implement. Specimens, however, dressed on both sides are not uncommon and occasionally the functional edges are bevelled in contrary directions on the same implement, No. 6, Pls. XVIII and XIX.

The long neck, with its fairly smoothed ridges, of No. 2, Pls. XX and XXI, suggests the trowel, or short hoe, handled

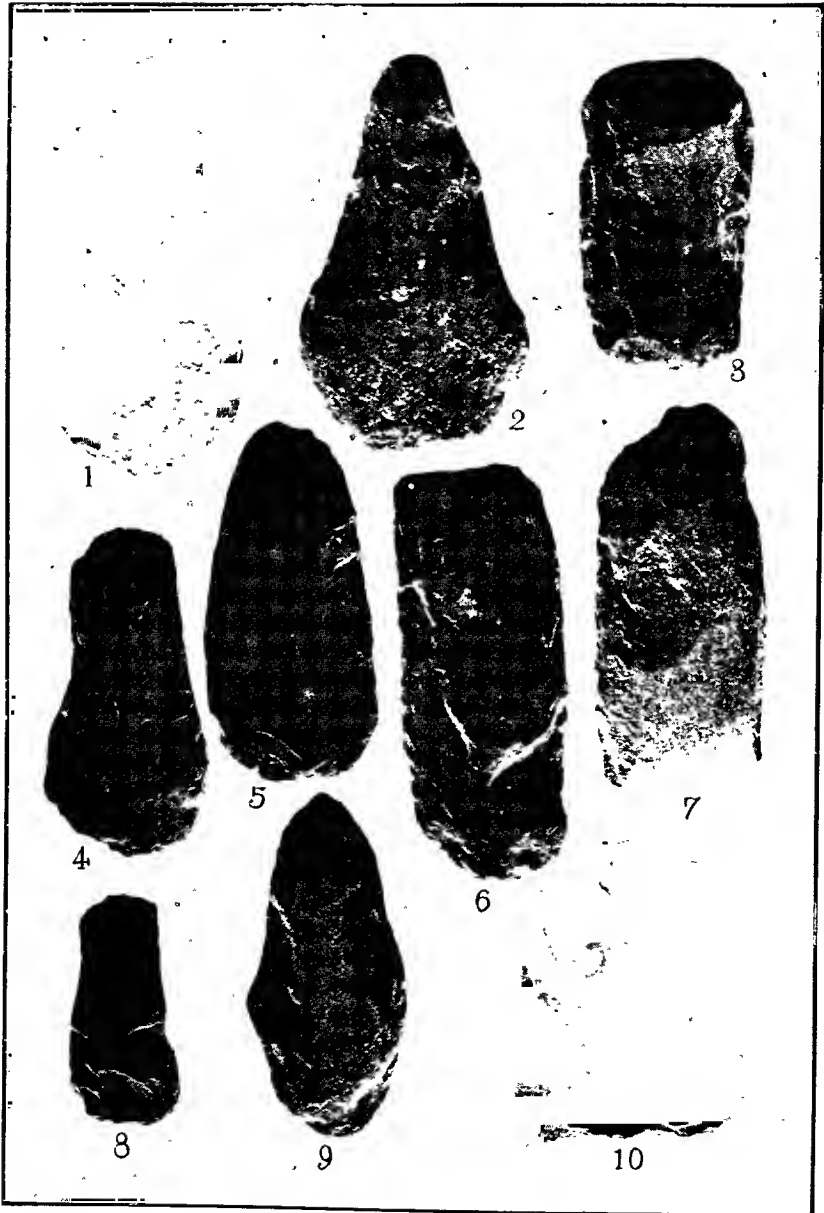
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1. T.J.A.S. Vol. XXXIV. Part 2. P. 47-50.



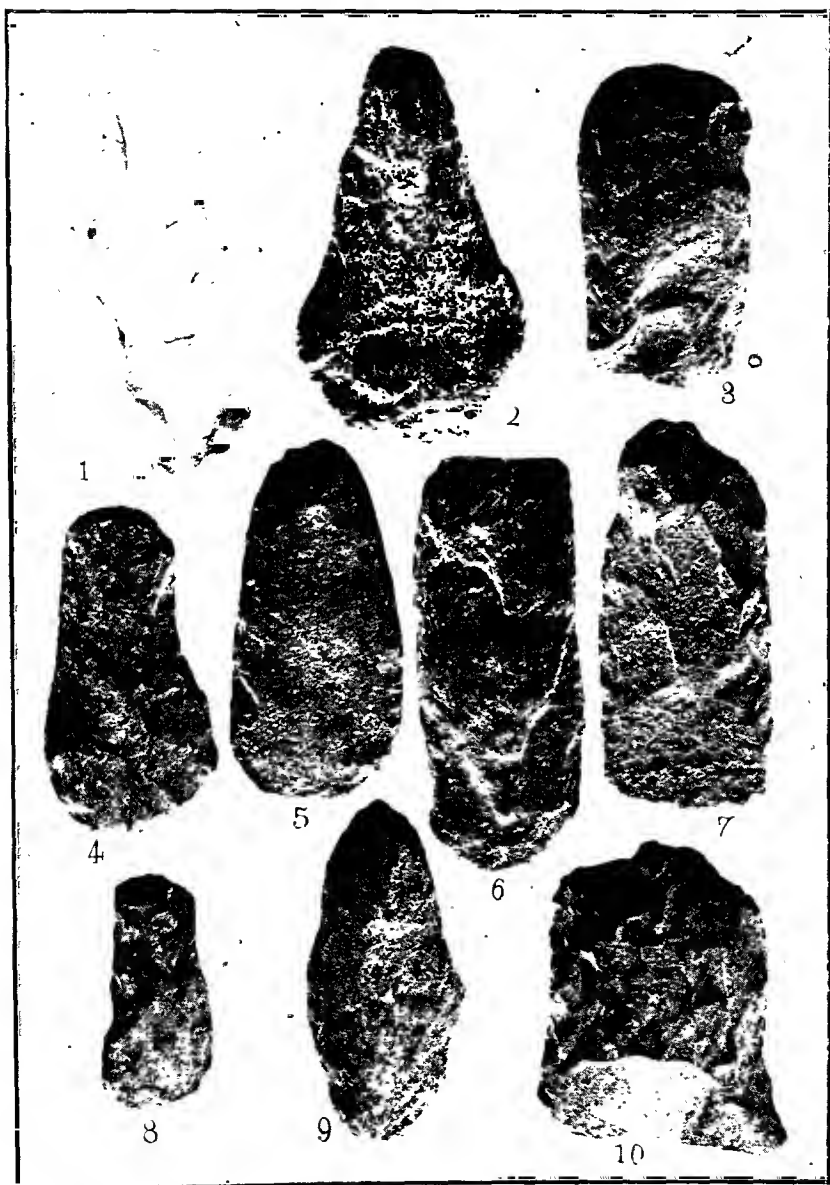


PLATE XVI.



OBJECTS FROM AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.  
Half Size.

PLATE XVII.



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE XVI.

Half Size.

PLATE XVIII.



OBJECTS FROM AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.

Half Size.

PLATE XIX.



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE XVIII.

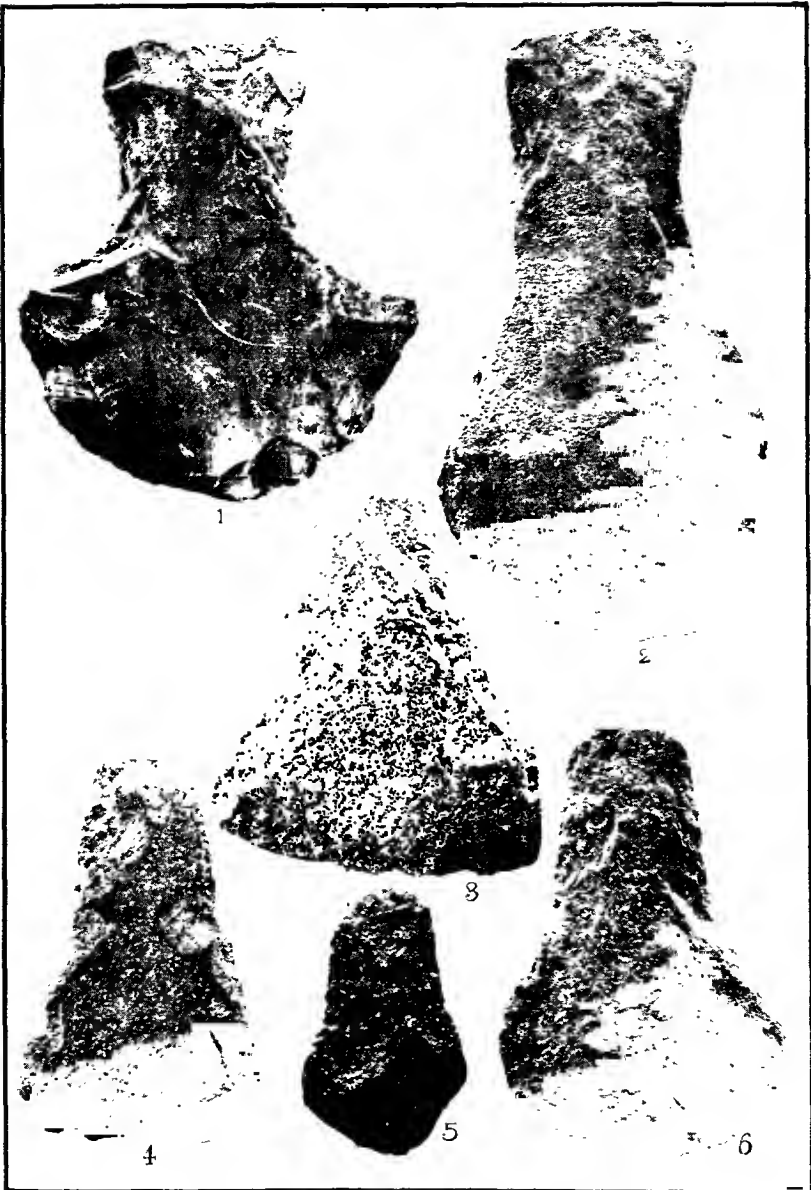
Half Size.

PLATE XX.



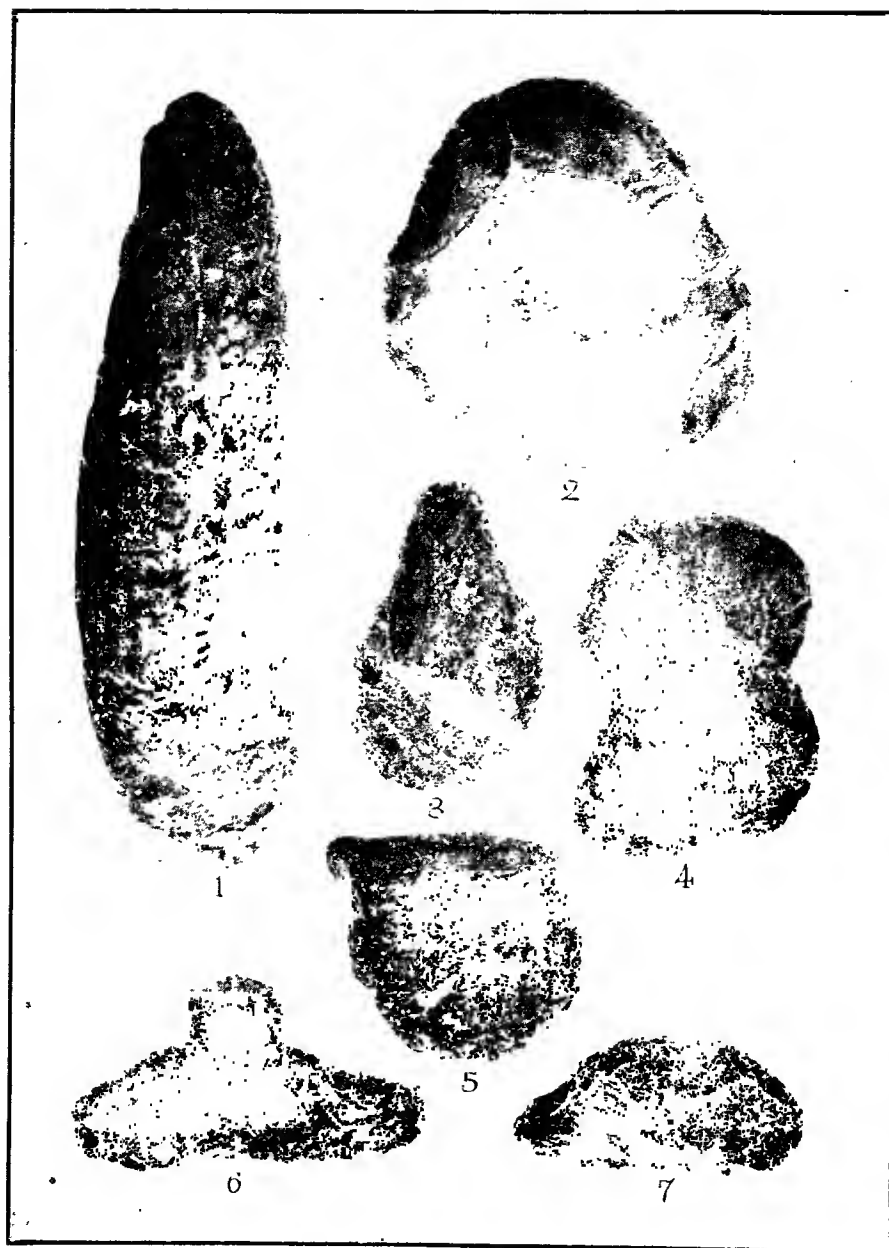
OBJECTS FROM AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.  
Half Size.

PLATE XXI.



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE XX.  
Half Size.

PLATE XXII.



OBJECTS FROM AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.  
Half Size.

PLATE XXIII.



REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE XXII.

Half Size.





while the primitive gardener squatted at her work. With the possible exception of No. 5, all the samples given on these plates, seem, however, to have been hafted, and any one of them might have been an adze. No. 4 has been trimmed from a flat pebble. The primitive artizan took advantage of the form and proportions of the pebble, or cobble. He doubtless "cut his coat according to his cloth," viz. he designed his implement according to the shape of his cobble or flake. His intention was to get the best result compatible with the least trouble, and it is quite entertaining to observe how this principle is illustrated by the finished product. Nature's gift of form as well as of material was utilised, and trimming to the shape regarded as favourable to utility was, *ceteris paribus*, conducted on these lines.

It is difficult to say what was the purpose of No. 1, Pls. XXII and XXIII. Its slight curvature does not favour the supposition that it is a preparatory phase in the formation of a polished celt. A round object produced entirely by chipping, it is perhaps worthy of illustration as a neolithic *tour de force*. The undoubted signs of function on No. 2 would differentiate it from a mere core, did not the direction of the dressing assure us that it was a device and not a reject. No. 3 was a knife, No. 4 is a rough specimen of the fiddle shaped type above referred to, No. 5 was a knife or small hatchet, and Nos. 6 and 7 were knives. In Pls. XXIV and XXV are seen variations of the form shown in No. 6, Pls. XXII and XXIII, together with small chisel, drill, and arrow points.

The reader cannot have failed to notice the resemblance between many of the objects belonging to the Japanese neolithic phase and the palæolithic relics of Europe. Obviously, there is a general similarity of technique, although the material is, for the most part, very different. The Japanese neolithic phase produced the polished celt in a variety of form and finish, which vies with that of Europe; but it seemingly included a greater output of stone implements and weapons wrought by

flaking and chipping. Similar finds have been made in Europe, but it may be taken for granted that, during centuries of agriculture, most of these objects lying in the soil have disappeared without recognition as the handiwork of man. This has been the case in Japan, where, as the writer formerly showed,<sup>1</sup> the number of sites known to furnish relics of the stone age are six times more numerous to a given area in the northern than in the southern half of the country. As the latter is believed to have been settled by the Yamato agricultural invaders long before the former, the disappearance of sites in this region may be assumed to be the result of tilling the soil and the establishment of large towns. A rough estimate by the writer, based on the relative numbers of ground and chipped celts from his Mitsusawa excavation, gives a proportion of 1 of the former to about 50 of the latter.<sup>2</sup> This does not necessarily indicate an impoverished or backward site. On the contrary it might imply a comparatively advanced degree of primitive agriculture. But whether this be admitted, or no, it should be taken as a provision of special tools for special purposes. The polished axe, in the neolithic culture of Japan, and it may be, in that of Europe, was, in number and variety, less important than the chipped celt. It wears the appearance of a finishing tool, or even (for instance in the case of the small, beautifully polished serpentine axes), of an *objet de luxe*.

The writer dissents from the view that the neolithic culture is characterised by a preponderance of ground or polished tools. It was not the case with the Ainu in Japan. It has not been the case with the Indians of America and there is no evidence that it was the case in Europe.

The significance of the polished implement is not, however, to be gainsaid. Like stone itself, which played a considerably less part in the primitive culture than organic material, it serves

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1. T. J. A. S. Vol. XXXIV: Part 2. Page 14.

2. In the northern half of Japan, these rough looking celts are found in the fields and in the heaps of stone thrown aside by the farmer.

to differentiate phases of culture. It does so, by its association with a culture which usually includes the art of pottery-making and advanced textiles and which we therefore take to be higher than that of the cave and drift. But its chief significance lies in its indication of an origin from natural stone softer than flint, the form and consistence of which was first selected, not by man, but by rock detrition and by running water. This material was transported straight to the lower reaches of the river, or shore, to the spot where the fruit trees grew, the animals great and small came to feed and drink, and where perhaps a changing climate spurred on the pre-man to seek nutriment more and more by digging for shellfish, by trap, net and other fishing, and by hunting. Stone which is fairly soft lends itself to grinding but is not very durable. Stone which is easily chipped is usually too hard for grinding. Not that either material could not have been treated by the method least suited to it. It was so treated. We have polished celts made of flint and we have chipped celts of material soft enough for grinding. But as a rule the polished celt is of a special consistence and is a special product. It is none the less interesting as a survival, as a product which has evolved from most primitive forms to become the emblem of an advanced culture phase. It is equally interesting as an indication of the rise of human culture, in regions where flint was less accessible than in the habitat of the palæolithic phase. To what extent shell form contributed to the design of the polished celt, is a matter for further investigation (Page 155, Fig. B.). The cut shell celts of the Pacific appear to follow stone forms, but that some interaction of form has occurred at some time and place is not unlikely. Ainu pottery has certainly been influenced by shell cups or bowls.<sup>1</sup>

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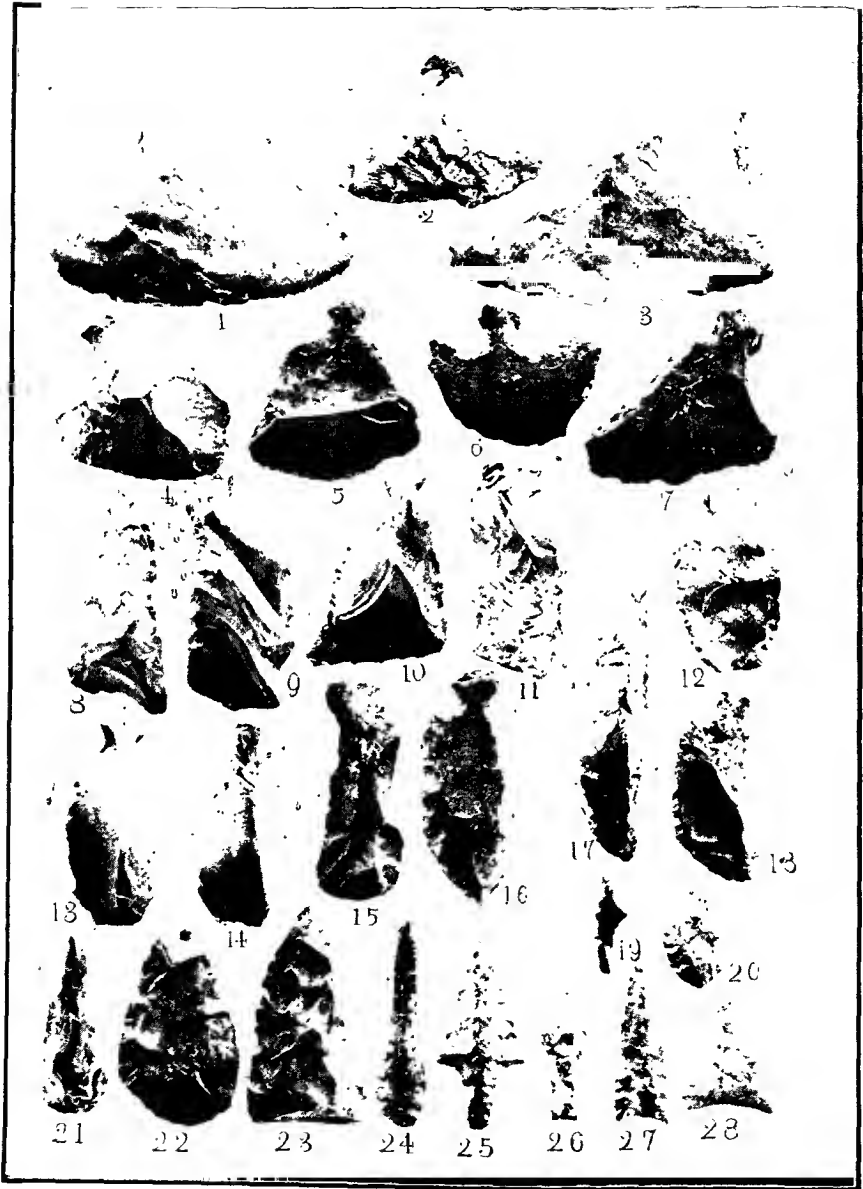
1. While this paper is going through the press the writer has received from Mr. Clarence B. Moore one of his beautifully illustrated monographs relating to his shellmound explorations in Florida, where examples of stone, and even of copper, survivals of shell ornaments (of artificial design, however,) are given. "Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Central Florida West-coasts." Reprinted from the "Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences" of Philadelphia.

Again, in the former neolithic culture of the Ainu we see examples of every stage of stone-craft, including specimens more primitive than would be likely to win recognition, were they found in the gravel. In the cave or neolithic site, where we find positive evidence of human habitation with an aggregation of material which cannot be regarded as accidental, comparatively faint signs of use assure us that we are dealing with objects of human manufacture or, at least, human use. In the gravel, such slight signs may have been more or less obliterated, or may have escaped recognition, by reason of looser association with relics of undeniable character. A search however, ought to be made in the gravels, for signs of use on natural stones, or on those which appear to be slightly modified. Where signs of abrasion, for instance, are found only on such definite parts of a pebble as are seen in a neolithic specimen, we should have little hesitation in describing it as a crusher, or milling stone. Knowing that all grades survive in the neolithic culture, the inference is certain that equally crude kinds were utilised in palæolithic times. It may be possible to read such signs as the foregoing in the light of association with specimens of undeniable antecedents.

Each phase of culture carries with it, not only actual expedients of the most primitive kind in stone and other material, but survivals of *types* which have undergone modification as occasion and material demanded. This is seen not only in the neolithic, but in the palæolithic phases, so that in the former we get not only "survivals" of original palæolithic types, but also of palæolithic objects which had already been conventionalised from original types. Instances of this kind are given in Pls. XXIV and XXV, where Nos. 1 to 18 depict more or less conventionalised survivals of shell forms. These objects are found mainly in the northern districts of Japan, where they are known to the peasantry as "Tengu-no-meshi-kai", or rice spoons of the gnomes.



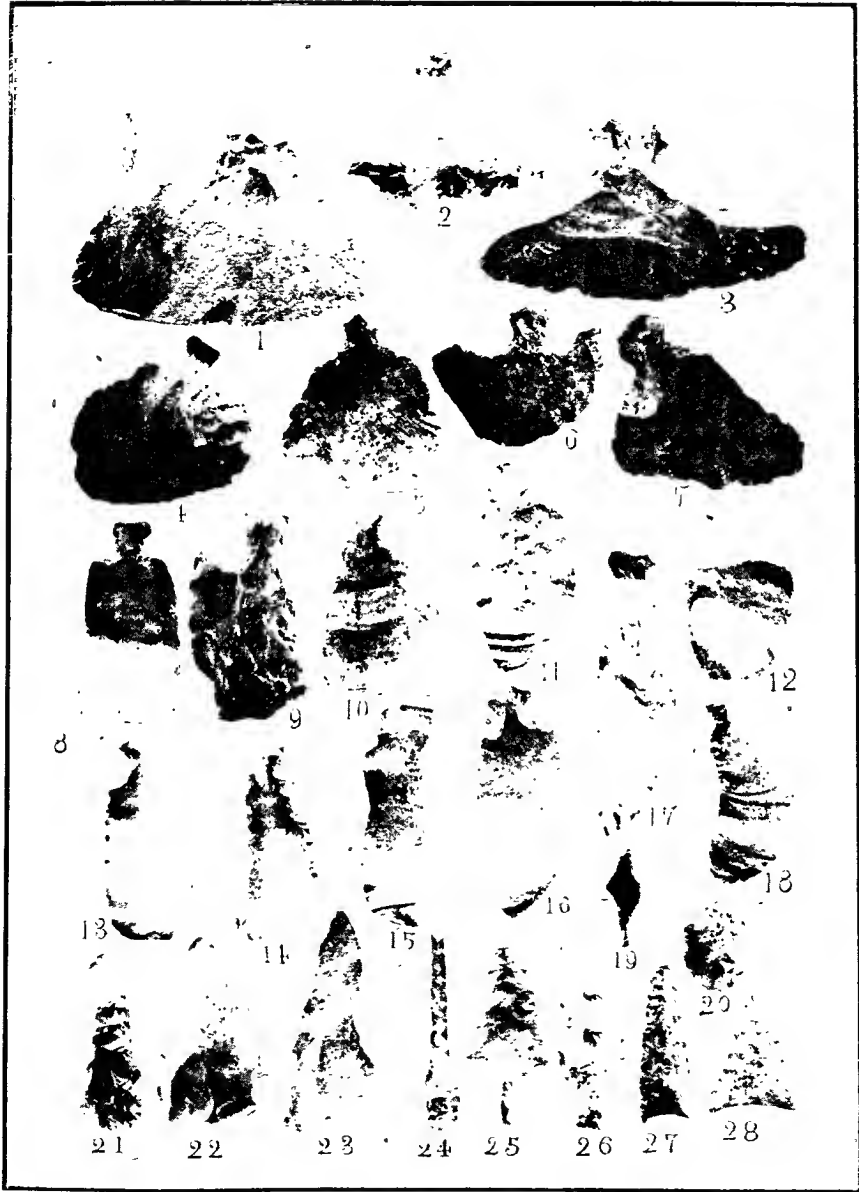
PLATE XXIV.



OBJECTS FROM AINU NEOLITHIC SITES.

Half Size.

PLATE XXV.







REVERSE OF OBJECTS IN PLATE XXIV.

Half Size.





The word "Kai" stands for both shell and spoon and the homonymy is paralleled by, if not actually the result of, the use to which a shell is sometimes applied. The peasants of Japan, as in some other countries, occasionally use a shell pan and find an excellent kitchen spoon in a shell valve fixed to a handle of bamboo or wood. (Plate XXVI No. 15). The similarity of sound may be accidental. The critical philologist, who does not always ransack the primitive culture for his "roots", regards many coincidences of sound as fortuitous. But if one finds homonymy linked to associated function it may be assumed that it is conditioned by that function, and here, perhaps, we have a principle sufficiently reliable for the investigation of word origins. We know that the Ainu used a shell cup in their neolithic stage, and deduce, from various considerations, a similar use of the shell as knife and spoon. In the Chinese ideograph too, the writer has traced the origin of the spoon from the employment of a shell. The word "spoon," anciently written  was evidently copied from a shell like a pecten, one of the shells commonly used at the present day as a spoon. It is possible that the character for knife was shell derived. The word "ladle," at an early period of its evolution was , that is to say, the delineation of a Fusus, Siphonaria, or other spiral shell. The stroke represents something in  an archaic form of "receiving" and in , "blood" (in a chalice, *grail*) in a similar pictorial stage. It is evident that our "ladle" is no longer posing as a fluid receptacle. Like a good many Chinese characters, its position has been altered from horizontal to vertical, and the contained stroke which must originally have been parallel with the long axis of the shell is now at right angles to it. Is this a concession to caligraphy or a reminiscence of the propriety of its original disposition persisting after its pictorial character had been forgotten? It may also be, although enquiries have as yet failed to elicit such a source,

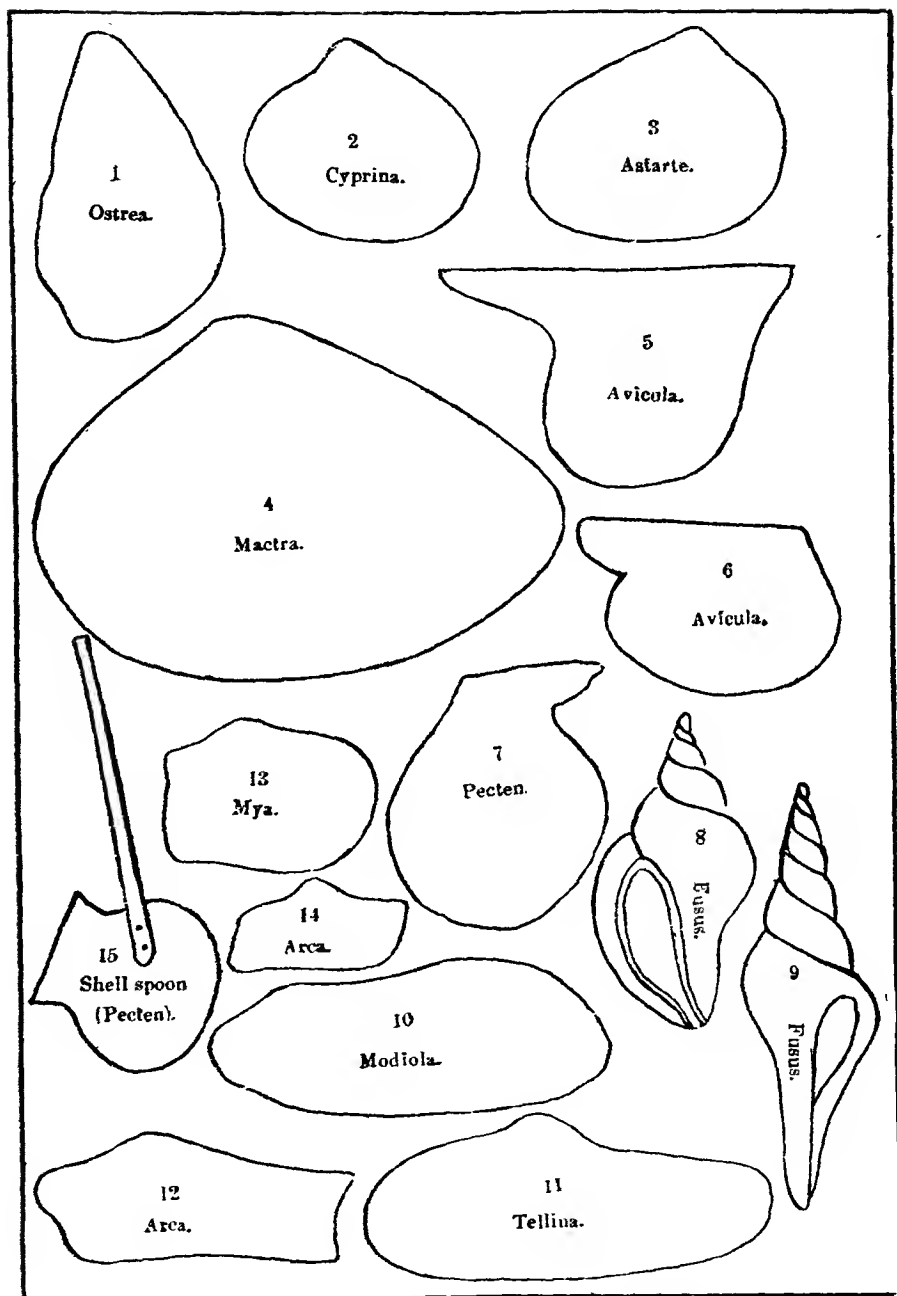
that the long-spouted libation cup of the Chinese is a survival of a shell vessel. The desire to placate the spirits of the dead or those possessed of elemental, or wider, attributes, which forms the motive of religious ritual, ranks next to utility as a preservative of form. Sometimes, indeed, it surpasses or overrides utility. But, "it is human to err," and no motive can withstand the increment of variability, the sum of perhaps scarcely perceptible departures from the original concept, which ultimately determines a "new" design.<sup>1</sup> In the case of such a vessel, conventionalisation would be hastened by the transference of the shell form to clay, and then to metal.

The specimens in plates XXIV and XXV are comparatively modern, probably less than two thousand years old. Some of them were doubtless fashioned within the past few centuries. Nos. 5, 6 and 7 of plates XXII and XXIII may possibly date back to 3,000 years ago. But the forms represented in plates V, VI, VII, VIII, XXVII and XXVIII, are at least 100,000 years old and the similarity is considerable. There can, indeed, be no question that Nos. 1 and 3 of plates XXIV and XXV, and No. 6 of plates XXII and XXIII, are derived from a form of shell similar to No. 9 of plates VII and VIII. The elongated contour, the aspect of the cutting edge opposite to the dorsum, and the disposition of the umbo to one side, proclaim the shell derived implement and the type from which it sprang. The writer still hesitates to assign a single generic title to the palæolithic specimen, for although it is evidently not conventionalised to anything like the same extent as later specimens, many elongated shells are too much alike as regards the position of the umbo and other features, such as the curve of an edge, or its angle with another, for us to take them as a safe guide, until a comparative study of many specimens proves that such is not the result of accident, refractory material, or the personal

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1. Various factors in the conventionalisation of designs are treated in the writer's "Prehistoric Japan," pp 282-90, but the best of several monographs which have appeared, is Prof. Henry Balfour's "The Evolution of Decorative Art."

# PLATE XXVI.



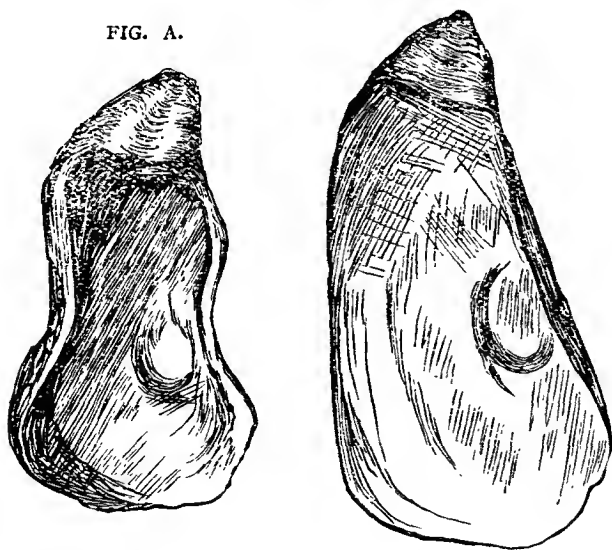
SHELL OUTLINES  
(FROM VARIOUS SOURCES).



factor in the artizan. Nearly every picture is more or less a caricature, that is to say, it emphasises at least one feature at the expense of others. The umbo seems to be exaggerated in both the palæolithic and in the neolithic specimens. In plate XXVI, the writer has, for the sake of comparison, given a few rough outlines from the very limited number of illustrations within reach. Granting that Nos. 1, 2 and 3 of plates XXIV and XXV, and No. 6 of pls. XXII and XXIII, are modelled after a *Tellina* (No. 11 pl. 26) or similar form, it is evident that they must have been derived from intermediate models and not from an actual shell. Still more would this seem to be the case with others in plates XXIV and XXV, where some exhibit conventionality to such a degree as to make derivation mere guess work.<sup>1</sup>

FIG. B.

FIG. A.



1. The writer wrote to Mr. Cross, F.G.S., enquiring as to forms resembling shells. He immediately sent many palæoliths, some of exquisite finish, gathered by himself, and, through the kindness of Mr. Powell, a number of flakes. Owing to an error on the part of the Steamship Co., these were delivered nearly 3 months after arrival, when this paper was nearly all in print. A few specimens are shewn in Pls. XXVII and XXVIII. The writer thanks these gentlemen for their most kind response.

It is evident that the palæolithic specimens, Nos. 7 and 8<sup>1</sup> of Pls. V and VI, are also conventionalised. Almost exactly similar shapes are found in Japan<sup>2</sup> and it may be that the form has been transferred from an oyster shell. It is not impossible that this and the fiddle-shaped type were taken from varieties of the shell seen in Fig. A. If so, they may be less conventionalised than they appear. The writer has too little material to pronounce definitely on such matters. No. 9 of Pls. VII and VIII, may well have been copied directly from the shell. The difficulty of shaping an exact copy in flint must have been considerable, with the tools at the disposal of palæolithic man, and this effort is highly creditable. Probably the prominent survival of the umbo in the neolithic culture was due to the method of hafting; the knoblike character being gradually emphasised to hold the binding (or suspending) thong or cord.

In the opinion of the writer, Nos. 3 to 7 of plates XXII and XXIII, are shell derived forms. No. 5 is surely copied from an *Avicula* (plate XXVI, No. 6). But it may seem to most like stretching analogy to an absurd degree to attribute a like origin to No. 2. Yet similar forms are found in the palæolithic phase, No. 1, plates V and VI, and here, be it observed, the base is usually, if not invariably, hollow. This suggests a shell origin, though it might be simply the result of choice. The upper surface of the heavy flake, being naturally convex, needs the minimum of treatment, while the under is usually concave. On the other hand, this very factor may, as in some of the foregoing forms, have determined the concept and conserved it. In plates XXVII and XXVIII, Nos. 1 to 11 are clearly, to the writer's vision, shell derived, and thus we may get, in Nos. 9, 10 and 11, for instance, forms which seem to be prototypes of the chipped neolithic celt including knife, chisel, scraper and perhaps even axe. Even

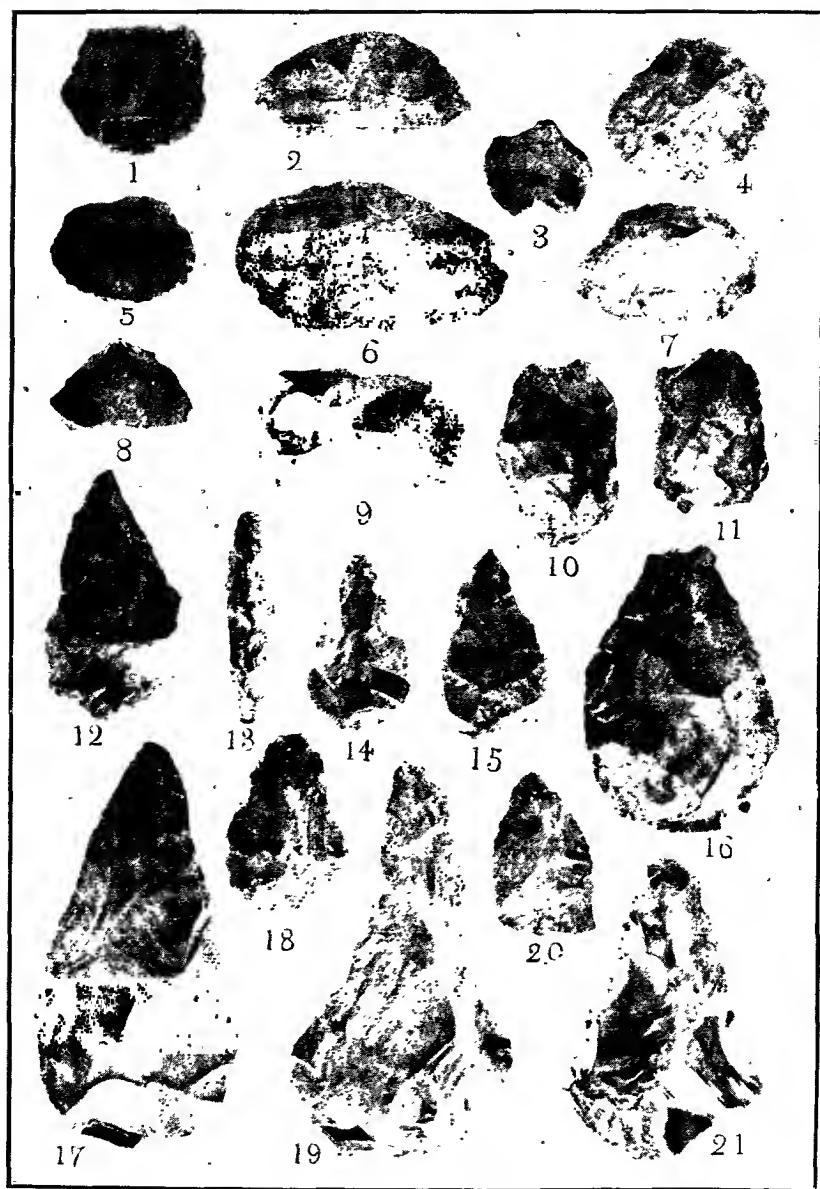
1. The form of No. 8 is better seen in Pl. VI, the other being too much in shadow. These photos being the work of the writer, assisted by his secretary Mr. Minakami, are not up to the standard of professional work, but illustrate fairly well the points which are under discussion.

2. e. g. "Prehistoric Japan" P. 93.





# PLATE XXVII.

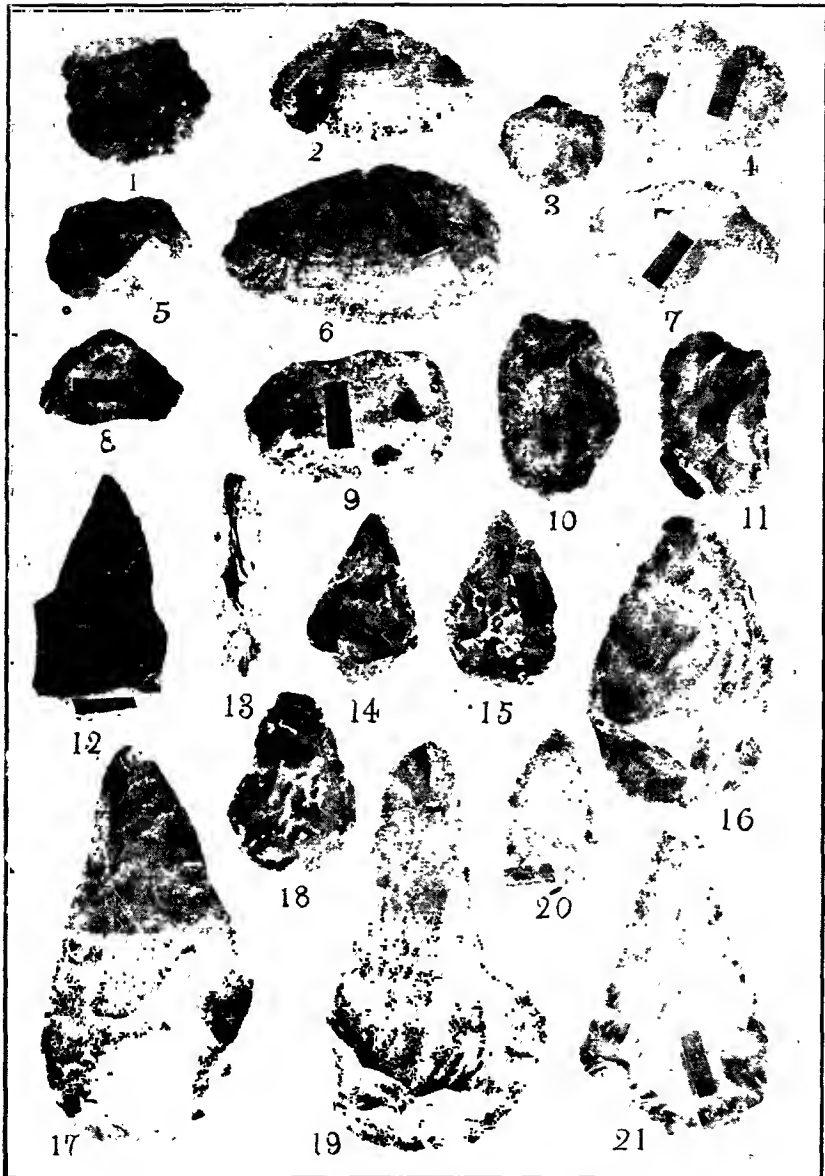


## PAI FOLITIC OBJECTS FROM THE RIVER DRIFT.

Nos. 1 to 11, Shell derived Implements— No. 13, Probably an Awl. Nos. 12 and 14 to 21, Javelin and Spear heads.

One Third Size.

PLATE XXVIII.



REVERSE OF PLATE XXVII.

One Third Size.



the spearhead of the gravel might perhaps be traced to the prior use of a pointed shell such as the *Fusus* or *Siphonaria*, Pl. XXVI, No. 9, but the reader is probably sated with such analogies.

Enough has been said to prove that the resemblance to shells of some palæolithic and neolithic implements is based on an actual derivation and not on an accidental coincidence. How far this common origin may explain the similarity of palæolithic and neolithic tools, to the exclusion of mere propagation, is a question that cannot be fully considered here. It certainly suggests an innate tendency to utilise the same material under the same circumstances, but this is tantamount to saying that when the organism and its environment are similar, in other words when all factors are alike, the result is identical! The difficulty is to know how far the premises correspond. But without penetrating this maze, we may derive from the foregoing considerations the assurance that man is not primarily an inventive animal. He took what he found and applied it to his needs. For an age, undetermined, probably only to be dimly conceived as a geological term, the natural or broken stone, and particularly the shell, served the purposes of his simple life. Driven by outward and inward conditions to change and adapt his relations to the survival of himself and of his progeny, the use of stone gradually supplanted the shell, which, however, continued with diminishing range of utility to play a part in his culture. Thus is it found in historic times as a survival with an instructive past.

The "stroke of genius" which transferred the shell concept to flint, followed, in all human probability, the accidental revelation of the percussion cone, which simulates so closely the umbo of a shell,<sup>1</sup> Pl. VII, No. 4 and Pl. XXVII, No. 8. Thus arose the formal concept from the split flint pebble on the shore. But the persistence of the concept is unquestionably rooted in the association of form with function. Were the association an invariable sequence, we ourselves would be bound to

1. The expression "conchoidal fracture" exemplifies this similarity.

regard the former as the cause of the latter. Such is the groove from which our limited dimensional thought may not depart. When modern "civilisation" smiles at the "superstitions" of primitive man it is apt to forget that it is experience alone that enables one concept to displace another. To imagine that our mentality is *essentially* different from that of the simian beings from whom we are descended, is to be hypnotised by suggestions that have no basis in reality. The difference between the cerebration of a highly educated European and the comparatively primitive man of the gravels is considerable; but the divergence seems insignificant when viewed in the vista of stupendous time, which isolates us from these relics and their makers.

The writer has emphasised the overwhelming antiquity of the drift relics, for we see, in their survival, or persistence of type, throughout untold millennia, something of a common origin behind a common purpose. The palæolithic implement is the enduring representative of a human concept more graphic than any written description. The material which we have had under consideration constitutes a sermon in stone, from which we learn something, not only of the sources of human culture, but of the permanence of ideas upon which experience has set the seal of approval. Fleeting be the individual life. But art is long.

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NOTE.—No. 1 of Pl. IX, No. 7 of Pl. XIV, No. 2 of Pl. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2 of Pl. XX, No. 1 of Pl. XXII, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 8, of Pl. XXIV have been kindly lent by Dr. Takashima, and No. 8 of Pl. XIV by Captain Simmonds. A few are, through the courtesy of the officials, photographed from specimens in the collection formerly presented by the writer to the Imperial Tokyo Museum. He wishes to thank these gentlemen and also his friend H. A. Croker for kind help with proofs and photographs.

A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the American Embassy, Tokyo, at 4 p.m., Wednesday, June 16. In the absence of the President, H. E. Sir Claude MacDonald, the Chair was taken by Prof. E. H. Vickers, Vice-President for Tokyo. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced that a catalogue of the books in the Library of the Society had been published; and that the following persons had been elected members of the Society: Dr. Will Wrchowsky, Vienna, Austria; Post Wheeler, Esq., American Embassy, Tokyo, and John Reilly, Esq., Salem, N.J., U.S.A. He also made the following announcement:—

Mr. Wilfred Bertram Cunningham, Assistant in the British Consular Service in Japan, has presented to the Society a translation made by him of the Table of Contents of the Imperial Household Department's History of the Opening of the Country (*Kaikoku Kigen*). This work, in three volumes, numbering 2943 pages and embracing over 700 official documents, was presented to the Society last year through Dr. D. C. Greene, as announced at the time. The table of contents occupies 44 pages of small Japanese type. The English translation will greatly facilitate reference to the work by foreigners engaged in historical research.

The Chairman then informed the audience how, by the kindness of Prof. F. Wells Williams, of Yale University, his father's "Journal of the Perry Expedition to Japan (1853, 1854)" had been placed at the disposal of the Asiatic Society of Japan. He also expressed the pleasure and honour felt by the Society in being able to include such a valuable document among its Transactions. He then called on the Recording Secretary, who read selections from the Journal.

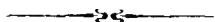


A JOURNAL  
OF THE  
PERRY EXPEDITION TO JAPAN  
(1853-1854)

BY  
S. WELLS WILLIAMS  
FIRST INTERPRETER OF THE EXPEDITION

EDITED BY HIS SON

F. W. WILLIAMS



1910





## PREFATORY NOTE.

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Samuel Wells Williams, the author of this Journal, was born in the town of Utica, New York State, September 23, 1813, the eldest child of a publisher and man of affairs of some note in a flourishing settlement on the great highway of early immigration along the Mohawk valley to the West. The son of New England ancestry, he was brought up in the wholesome but rigorous fashion of the Puritans. He manifested at an early age the strong religious feeling that characterized him throughout life, but he seems at no time to have contemplated a career in the church, his chief ambition being to become a scientist. It was while preparing himself in Troy for a position as teacher of botany that an offer came to him from the American Board to take charge of the Mission Press that had been set up in Canton. After some months of hasty preparation for his new task, he set sail for China, arriving at the anchorage off Whampoa a few weeks after he had completed his twenty-first year. His life as a missionary during twenty-three years, with the exception of one visit home, was spent as superintendent of the press in editing the monthly periodical, the "Chinese Repository," and in the preparation of a dictionary and grammar of the Cantonese dialect. During his stay in America between 1845 and 1848, he wrote and published the "Middle Kingdom," a work which for more than sixty years has remained the chief source of reference and of information upon the country and people of China.

Mr. Williams' busy but uneventful life in the Factory in Canton was interrupted in the summer of 1837 by an invitation

to join the attempt on the part of a generous American merchant to return seven shipwrecked Japanese sailors to the Bay of Yedo in the ship "Morrison." The experiment ended, as is well known, in utter failure so far as its immediate object was concerned, but the experience both broadened the mind of the young missionary and stimulated him to a study of the Japanese language and people which aroused an interest that never left him. It is difficult for us to-day to understand the indifference and ignorance of the Western world concerning Japan in the early nineteenth century. Despite the information which was accessible through the works of Dutch authors, there seems to have been a popular notion that the island empire was a semi-civilized derelict among the nations of the East that might at any time succumb to the power willing to undertake the expense of conquering it. Its remote position and a sense of the cost and difficulties of the task probably saved the country from the hazard of such an attempt. Through his acquaintance with these Japanese sailors and with the available literature upon their country, Mr. Williams was disposed to rate Japan and its people rather above the Chinese in both strength and culture. He apprehended most seriously the fatal influences of a warlike attempt upon the nation, and after his return to China set himself to the task of studying Japanese with two of the sailors who were employed in his printing office, desirous at once of giving them a means to earn their livelihood and of acquiring a fuller knowledge of their country. His account of the trip of the "Morrison" appears in the September and December numbers of the "Chinese Repository" for 1837. As the periodical is not easily consulted now, it may be of interest to quote some of his reflections upon the failure of one of the finest bits of altruism that marks the intercourse of West and East :—

"In summing up the circumstances attendant upon both attempts, and comparing them with what we could learn of previous trials, it was instructive to observe how gradually the Japanese Government has gone on in perfecting its system of

seclusion, and how the mere lapse of time has indurated, instead of disintegrating, the wall of prejudice and misanthropy which surrounds their policy. These circumstances also indicated their present feelings, for we could refer the greater part of what had happened alone to the Government. . . . A people who show the decision of character of the Japanese, silently erecting their batteries to drive away their enemies by force of arms, and bringing their cannon several miles to plant in a favourable position, are not to be lightly despised or insulted with impunity. If the immediate aggressor escapes, vengeance usually lights upon some unwary and innocent straggler, and the mutual hatred is thus increased. At Satsuma a pilot is sent to bring the ship into an anchorage, and the officers are made acquainted with our object, which they apparently approve. It would seem that here, too, great distrust of foreigners existed, from the report that the people took us for pirates: and a rumor of such marauders in these regions must have reached their ears. The men (the shipwrecked Japanese on board) repeatedly told the officers that they need only tell us to depart and we would go; but that before dismissing us, we requested to be supplied with fresh provisions. Yet a hundred or more men are commissioned to drive out a defenceless vessel with cannon and musquetry, and commence their attack, too, at a time when we should be in great jeopardy as soon as the anchor was off the ground. What course of conduct would have been pursued by the Japanese if ours had been an armed vessel, it is impossible to say; but I am more than ever rejoiced, now the experiment has been made, that no cannon were carried. However, towards a people who thus manifest decision of counsels and reliance upon their own resources, although exerted in a barbarous and savage manner, and on occasion when kindness was meant, a degree of respect and deference is paid. . . . They now regard foreigners as ready to pounce upon their country the moment it should be opened, and before they consent to receive them they must be assured that those who

seek their ports are peaceable friends. They can derive no just idea of other nations, or of their enterprise, commerce, and philanthropy from what they see of foreign trade, cabined and reduced as it is by their laws; and who expects them to come with open arms and request free intercourse before they are acquainted with the benefits they would derive from it? . . . Because one attempt has failed, shall all future endeavours cease? We learn wisdom from experience. The rejection of the men, though painful to them and to us, may be the very best thing that could have happened: for if they had been received and we quietly dismissed, our means for doing them and their countrymen further good would have been taken out of our hands. In this view of the case, and it appears reasonable, let us not abandon this nation; but by making the best use of the men whom we have, get better prepared to do them permanent good; and, 'By and bye,' if God permits, and as Otokichi says, 'we will try again.' "

The hopes revealed in this expression of a youth of twenty-five remained in the man of one and forty when invited by Commodore Perry to serve as Interpreter on his expedition to Japan. He was well aware of his unfitness to take a position of this responsibility, but there were grounds, sufficiently justified in the event, to suppose that the Japanese would provide interpreters of their own with enough knowledge of Dutch to carry on negotiations. His familiarity with Chinese would render him a useful check (if nothing more) in the discussions to be expected. But the convincing reason that decided him to suspend, at a time when he could be ill spared, his professional duties in the printing office, was the opportunity thus afforded to plead for moderation with the sole arbiter of the expedition, and to explain whenever possible to the Japanese the justice of the American demands. It is evident from the journal that he experienced some disappointment in both of these expected opportunities for usefulness. The Commodore was a man of determination, accustomed to the unquestioned obedience

demanding on ship-board and seeking no suggestion from subordinates. Happily he had some of the best qualities of a statesman, if not of a diplomatist, and his plans had been carefully prepared beforehand. He was sincerely desirous of securing every available item of information about Japan, but shrewdly resolved to assess and sift each one for himself. The missionary, though not without some experience of men, was a man of books rather than of affairs. He chafed a little under the unaccustomed rigour of naval discipline and resented the seeming godlessness. Intercourse between the two men so widely separated by their antecedents, at first only formal and professional, eventually became more cordial, as they understood one another better, and ripened at length into mutual respect. There are several passages in the pages which follow that show signs of passing irritation at Perry's lack of frankness, or his indifference to things which his Interpreter held as sacred, and these are not without their value as side lights upon the Commodore's character, but in the end the verdict of a careful and exacting observer was favourable. The best friend the Japanese had in the squadron became convinced that they would suffer no evil from a man of Perry's principles, and he maintained through his life a feeling of profound gratitude that such a man had been providentially designed to perform this difficult mission. If he was one who admitted none to his councils, he at least needed no prompting to be just.

So far as his personal intercourse with the Japanese was concerned, Mr. Williams' hopes were not fulfilled. He anticipated opportunities of frank discussion with minor officials by which he might explain to them the peaceful objects of the expedition and incidentally inform them of the world outside their empire, but the thralldom of the Tokugawa tyranny was too severe to make this possible. While the political situation is clear to us to-day, it was by no means so at that time. He felt, though he could not comprehend, the pressure of a system which pervaded the very atmosphere and pressed upon the

meanest subject. Yet while deploring their mysterious reticence, he sympathised with the wistful attitude of the only Asiatic people that appeared to possess a feeling of patriotism, as the West understands the word ; and he would have counselled them gladly had they been willing. " You must give us more time," he quoted Moriyama as saying : " It is all very plain to you, but we are like people coming out of a dark room into the glare of sunshine, and we do not yet see the bearing of things clearly." To coerce a high-spirited people like this with another Opium War would be to set back the cause of Christian civilization in the Orient for centuries : for " their soldiers," he wrote a few years later in reviewing the opening of Japan, " once formed the body-guard of the King of Siam ; their consuls once examined Spanish ships in Acapulco ; their sailors once took a Dutch governor out of his house in Formosa and carried him prisoner to their rulers ; their princes once sent an embassy to the Pope ; their Emperor once defied the vengeance of Portugal by executing her ambassadors. The knowledge of these historical events remains among them." To one so well informed and keenly appreciative it was an anxious experience to both watch and participate in a political *coup d'essai* the fearful possibilities in which were but dimly understood by either side.

The outspoken manner in which certain traits and actions of the Commodore are criticised in the journal herewith printed is quite remarkable, when it is remembered that every writing of the sort kept by members of the expedition was requisitioned at its end by the Commander-in-Chief. So far as is known, this is the only diary kept on board a ship of the squadron which he did not personally examine, though this cannot, of course, be proven. From allusions contained in some of his letters to the author it would appear that the Commodore desired him to write a book on Japan after the Narrative of his Expedition should be published ; it may be that, in consequence of this wish, it was intimated from the first that the manuscript would not be

demand. Whatever the cause, the result has produced, probably, the frankest estimate of the man that exists. But while some of this is unflattering, and the Commodore might have winced a little had he read it, the judgment is eminently favourable when summed up. There are certain pages of the manuscript which the author revised and condensed at a later date, presumably with a view to its publication in part; but the project, if ever seriously entertained, was evidently abandoned. For his own part he was under no illusions as to his personal qualifications for compiling a popular account of the Japanese Empire. He possessed no especial felicity in style and had no fondness for writing as an exercise or occupation; nor was there much opportunity in his busy life to greatly extend the range of his interests and study the culture of Japan as he had that of China. Upon the recommendation of friends in America, endorsed by Commodore Perry, he was appointed in 1855, without his own knowledge, to the post of Secretary to the United States Legation in China, and in this position remained twenty-two years. During this second half of his long residence in Asia his professional and linguistic duties left him no time for serious interests outside of the land wherein his life-work seemed to lie.

Two points may be briefly considered before concluding this prefatory note. The author of the *Journal* makes no claim to having influenced by his suggestions any part of Perry's diplomacy. Yet the various points in the treaty proposed to the Japanese were discussed before him, and it was owing to his representations that the Most Favoured Nation clause was inserted in the document, and one providing extra-territoriality omitted. The former provision was doubtless prompted by his experience as Interpreter in the Wanghia Treaty negotiations under Caleb Cushing in 1844, and its omission in this compact might well have made the task of Townsend Harris, surrounded as he was with unexpected obstacles, one of superhuman difficulty. The latter had been proposed by Perry, but Mr. Williams during his residence in China had been so deeply



impressed with the hardship involved upon a civilized nation in requiring an abrogation of its judicial authority, that he persuaded the Commodore to withdraw it from his draft. It may be contended, indeed, that such an attitude was sentimental—that the lives of foreigners throughout the *Strum und Drang* period of the Restoration in Japan would hardly have been worth a rush without its provision; yet the fact that he seriously wished to see another principle tried proves the sincerity of his high opinion of Japanese policy. It had no practical result, for the claim was exacted by other Western nations and its provisions accrued to all; but he was gratified when the Commodore considered his reasoning cogent, and the clause did not remain.

The other point referred to concerns a discussion in Dr. Nitobe's "Intercourse between the United States and Japan" (1891) involving Commodore Perry's indebtedness in constructing his treaty to the draft of a compact presented by Donker Curtius to the Governor of Nagasaki in November, 1852. It is expressly stated in the Introduction to the official Narrative of the Expedition that "this draft was unknown to the Americans;" nor is much reliance to be placed upon the quotations Dr. Nitobe makes in support of the bellicose attitude of Perry based upon Siebold's mendacious "Eröffnung Japans." It is fairly logical to surmise that, if there had been any knowledge of a Dutch treaty in the American fleet, the Interpreter would have heard of it and mentioned it in his journal.

Some interest may attach here to the few words of generous commendation contained in the parting letter from Commodore Perry to Mr. Williams, written in September, 1845, as he was leaving Hongkong:—"In taking my departure from China I feel myself called upon by every sense of propriety and justice to bear the most ample testimony to the talents, zeal, and fidelity with which you conducted the important duties entrusted to your management as Chief Interpreter of the Mission to Japan. I say little when I declare that your services were almost indispensable to me in the successful progress of the

delicate business which had been entrusted to my charge. With high abilities, untiring industry, and a conciliating disposition, you are the very man to be employed in such business."\* And to this personal tribute may fitly be added the author's own declaration, pronounced before the foreign residents of Shanghai soon after the news reached them that Townsend Harris had practically completed Perry's work, that "it is a triumph, in this time of the world's history, to know that intercourse with Japan has been reopened by Christian nations without injury to a single individual in the empire, without browbeating or threatening its government, and I believe with the general consent of the people. Treaties signed at its capital successively with the Ministers of the United States, Holland, Great Britain and France, attest the success of the policy commenced by Commodore Perry. Though their compacts supersede his, and that of Admiral Stirling of 1855, I wish to place his negotiations as their basis, and it is a gratification to learn that the Japanese officials remember him with respect."

F. W. WILLIAMS.

New Haven, Conn., April, 1909.

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\* Quoted in the *Life and Letters of S. Wells Williams* (1889), I, 229.





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DR. S. WELLS WILLIAMS.  
(From a Japanese print of the period.)

# A JOURNAL OF THE PERRY EXPEDITION TO JAPAN.

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(1853-1854)

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By S. WELLS WILLIAMS.

On the 9th of April, 1853, I received a request from Commodore Perry to accompany him to Japan as interpreter, he wishing to have me ready by the 21st, on which day he intended to sail. On his reaching Canton, I had an interview with him, and learned that he had made no application to the Secretaries at Boston respecting assistance of this sort, nor informed them of his intentions; he said that this never occurred to him, for he had repeatedly heard in the United States that I wished to join the expedition, and would be ready on his arrival in China to leave. Dr. Bridgman was with me at this interview, and we spoke of various topics connected with the enterprise taken in hand to improve the intercourse with Japan, from which we inferred that this first visit this year was intended to chiefly ascertain the temper of the Japanese in respect to the propositions which would be submitted to them. At any rate, no hostilities were determined on except, indeed, to repel an attack or actual aggression, for many vessels of the squadron had not

reached China yet, and he wished to make an experimental visit first. He added that he had refused to employ Von Siebold as interpreter, because he wished to keep the place for me—doubtless a compliment to me, but not very wise in him, so far as efficient intercourse with the Japanese went.

In conclusion, I told him that unless I could get some person to take charge of my printing office I could not possibly leave Canton. At the next meeting of the mission, held April 20th, it was concluded that Mr. Bonney leave his station at New Town and find somebody to take the house, if possible, and take charge of my printing office while I was absent; he intended, if possible, to get Mr. Beach or Mr. Cox, if not both, to occupy the house, but in this he failed.

I went to see Commodore Perry the next day and told him that I would go with him till October, and could not be ready to leave before the 5th to 10th of May in consequence of the various matters necessary to be attended to. It was recommended to him to get a lithographic press in order to assist in promulgating the wishes of the American people and let the people know what we had come for; to this he agreed, and I purchased an iron press of Mr. Lucas for \$120, which I hope will be a good outlay. I stipulated, too, that I should not be called on to work on the Sabbath, and should have comfortable accommodations on board ship. Moreover, I stated to the Commodore that I had never learned much more than to speak with ignorant Japanese sailors, who were unable to read even their own books, and practice in even this imperfect medium had been suspended for nearly nine years, during which time I had no one to talk with; he therefore must not expect great proficiency in me, but I would do the best I could. In my own mind I was almost decided not to go at any rate, on account of the little knowledge I had of Japanese literature and speech, and am now not sure that I have been rightly persuaded by friends to go. It is strange to me how attention has been directed to me as the interlocutor and interpreter for the commander of the

Japanese expedition, not only from people hereabouts, but from the United States. I certainly have not sought the place, nor did I expect more than to be consulted as to the best mode of filling it.

All my preparations being made, and my teacher appearing with his baggage, I left Canton May 6th, in the steamer for Macao, to join the "Saratoga" and sail to Lewchew. I was greatly annoyed on getting aboard to find that the lithographic press and materials were not there; but it came down by fast-boat before sailing, for I found that Captain Walker would not sail till Tuesday in consequence of the want of bread, and Mr. Bonney forwarded it on Friday evening. I spent a few days at Macao very pleasantly, and on the forenoon of Tuesday, the 10th of May, I set foot on board ship and sailed on the evening of the 11th, nearly sixteen years since I left in the "Morrison" for the same region. Of my fellow passengers then, Mr. King, Mr. Gutzlaff, Captain Ingersoll and three of the Japanese are dead. It was mentioned by Commodore Perry that I had a strong inducement to go with him from having been in that ship, as the inhospitable treatment received by the "Morrison" was to form one of the reclamations of the present visit. How vast a change has happened in the politics of China since that cruise in opening her principal ports and commencing a freer intercourse with her people! When we returned in August, 1837, not a port on the Chinese coast was accessible, and nothing known of their capabilities.

*Wednesday, May 11th.*—We were to sail to-day, but an untoward event this morning delayed the ship. One of the crew had been locked up in the cell yesterday in consequence of his outrageous conduct when under the influence of spirits, of which he evidently had taken a large quantity. He was an active seaman, but quite ungovernable while possessed with rum, and his conduct merited punishment. This morning he was found dead in his chair inside of the cell, greatly to the surprise of all, for he had been visited only a few minutes before, when he refused his breakfast.



An examination into the circumstances showed that he had taken a bottle of brandy out of the spirit-room while at work there, and, lest he should be detected, he had drank it nearly all off within a few minutes (half an hour), making excuses to get away from the room to take a draught out of the bottle. He soon became ungovernable, and was shut up in a cell where his noisy bawling and singing disturbed all the watch during the night and showed that he was still unfit to be liberated. He died without a struggle, probably of some interference in the action of the heart. The corpse was taken ashore in the afternoon by a boat's crew, having been encoffined and carried around the ship before the assembled crew, the marines presenting arms and others uncovering as the body passed by. So he died, this James Welsh, as a fool dieth; for no "drunkard can inherit the kingdom of heaven." Yet the grog bucket is daily brought on deck, and all who please take a cupful of the mixture, which tends to strengthen the appetite and confirm everyone in habits of intemperance. It is unfair to them, for the crew could easily be shipped without its promise; and it is unfair to the officers, for the source of trouble is continued, while they are forbidden to whip those who may offend.

*Saturday, May 14th.*—We are now fairly on the way to Lewchew, and are likely to have a head-wind all the way up the Formosa channel.

I am hardly able to compose my thoughts yet to study or read to much purpose, for the novelty of the place, the number of people about, and the motion tend to distract me. I have begun to look over some phrases in Japanese which Giusaboro wrote many years ago. The more I think of it, the less satisfaction do I find in the prospect before me; it was none of my own seeking, however, and I can only do my best.

The news from Shanghai of the insurgents being in full possession of Nanking, which they were fortifying with Chin-kiang and Yangchou-fu is trifling compared with the reports brought by Mr. Meadows of their camp being governed entirely

on the purest Christian principles, that they are Christians in all respects, and take the Bible for their rule of action, observe the Sabbath and preach a pure monotheism to all those around them. If half we hear proves to be true, truly a new day is dawning on China.

*Sunday, May 15th.*—There were no services held to-day of a public nature ; no work was done, and generally the ship was quiet, men engaged in reading. It is a bad arrangement which leaves the holding of public services so completely in the hands of the commander, though, as we have no national church, it is not easy to say what rules could be laid down on this subject.

I have been thinking, in respect to the supposed successful result of this expedition, how soon the merchants in China would try the sale of opium along the coasts of Japan, and do all they could to induce the people of the country to consume it. How to avert such a sad result is beyond my sagacity, for no laws can reach the appetites of a people, no scruples will embarrass the seller in placing the temptation before them, and their moral principles are not likely to stand against a seductive luxury. This view would be more saddening if one did not remember that the mixture of good and evil in this world is necessary for the development of the probationary plan on which this world is governed, and that God overrules all and will make the wrath and avarice of man to praise him at last.

*Friday, May 20th.*—On Tuesday a strong wind arose from the north, causing the ship to pitch and roll about in the chopped sea caused by the same wind making everybody uncomfortable, and me sea-sick. I was soon unable to do anything but lie as still as the jerking of the vessel would allow, and passed a most uncomfortable day. The violence and direction of the wind induced the captain to change his course about noon and steer for the Bashces. Next morning the wind had ceased, leaving us under the lee of the Pescadore Islands, and about 3 p.m. the breeze sprung up from the eastward, as completely heading us off on

our course through the Bashee passage as it had up the Formosa Channel. Yesterday, it was nearly calm all day, but this morning a light, two-knot breeze sprung up. For three days the men have been drilled by one of the marines and marched up and down the quarter-deck ; this is to make them expert at the musket and ready for an emergency. Among other things, they have been firing at a mark hung up at the yardarm, which most of them hit—it being a board painted like a man and not a difficult target.

I have been looking over the Japanese phrases I once wrote out with Giusaboro, but they do not easily recur to mind. I have forgotten almost all the phrases I once had at my tongue's end, and am afraid that nine years' cessation from using the language has obliterated most of it from my memory.

*Tuesday, May 24th.*—The weather and wind were pleasant and favorable till yesterday morning, carrying us forward at a rapid rate along the eastern shores of Formosa ; we had a distant sight of the south end of Formosa and of Botel Tobago-sima, too far to see anything more than their outline, however ; no other land has since been seen. Yesterday morning, the moon was full, and a change of weather took place, the wind coming from the northeast with rain and squall, and making everything and everybody uncomfortable. We are southeast of the Madjico-sima group, and find a northwest current setting us off to leeward, which is somewhat unexpected. Perhaps this current is formed by the wind blowing down the coast and, meeting the streams which debouch into the Yellow Sea, is driven off into the Pacific between Formosa and Lewchew.

Such motion disorders one who is yet unused to it, and I find it almost impossible to attend to anything satisfactorily. Old Sieh lies abed most of the time and seems to be getting weak and heady from the motion and confinement ; he is old, and that indisposes him to exertion, besides the weakness which he feels from the disuse of his opium or tobacco. I begin to be almost afraid he will not prove of much service to me, but I

hope I shall be able to get him recruited by a visit on shore at Napa. I have been aboard ship now a fortnight, and a greater change can hardly have passed over me than to compare the life I have had all the spring at Canton with this tossing, queasy and confined life in the "Saratoga." I suppose I shall be comforted for all this discomfort by being told that "it will do you good"; but I shall be pleased to have it do me no hurt.

*Thursday, May 26th.*—We made land yesterday afternoon, and not wishing to get in too near, stood off to southeast with a light breeze; but when we drew toward it again at sunrise, we knew not the land, as it did not agree with any view laid down on the charts, and it was not until we had drawn up along its western side, opening one island after another, that we ascertained that the ship was westward of the Amakirrima Islands, to which we had been drifted by a strong westerly current during the night. We had passed by so as to open the main island, when we saw the two steamers coming up on the northwest, the "Susquehanna" taking the lead and the "Mississippi" a mile or so astern. We gradually wore up, having a scant wind, and when Napa opened were far to the northwest, and to leeward, with small prospect of getting in to an anchor. After the steamers went in, a shift of wind enabled us to lay in from the northwest, and by sunset we reached the place and dropped anchor within a cable of where Ingersoll placed the "Morrison" almost sixteen years ago (July 11, 1837), and found a patch of ten feet, which I am glad to see that Beechey's chart has called very properly "Ingersoll's patch." The feelings arising in one's mind at returning here and remembering the party and their hopes, with whom I was then connected, are of a mixed character; the residence of Dr. Bettelheim and his family is a great advance on the position of things then, and this is the entering wedge of more extended operations of others.

*Friday, May 27th.*—At 9 o'clock Captain Walker and I went aboard of the "Susquehanna" where we found Mr. Jones, Bittenger and Bettelheim engaged to breakfast with Commodore

Perry. We discussed various things at the table, and after breakfast Bettelheim made known to me his ideas of things as he had already spoken of them to the Commodore. His position and opportunities for intercourse have greatly improved during the last few months, and many restrictions have been removed; he has visited the north part of the island, and the people are not ordered away as they used to be. About ten o'clock Lieutenant Contee\* and I went ashore with him to see the local magistrate (地方官) of Napa† and tell him the reason why the presents he sent to the "Susquehanna" were refused. We landed near Capstan Point and went up to Bettelheim's house, where we waited while the messenger went to announce our visit to the "Mayor of Napa," as Bettelheim calls him. Meanwhile we talked with Bettelheim and his family; he has three children, one of them born here, and lives in a pretty comfortable way—at least it looked so in the bright sunshine. In an hour and a half it was announced that he (the Mayor) was approaching the *kung kwan*, having gone to the other hall near the jetty. We saw, on entering the place, a considerable group of well-dressed people, and the old mayor came forward and bowed. He was a venerable looking man of 62, dressed in yellow robes. We took seats, and I informed him through an interpreter that we had come on the most friendly grounds, and wished to have amicable intercourse; that we declined the presents for the reason that none were allowed to be received by our laws, and we wished to buy our supplies. We also wished to see the 總理官, or Regent, on board ship to-morrow, and would there tell him what our wishes were and how long we were to remain here probably. He could not say whether the Regent would come off, but made no opposition to the request; it was also intimated that a house would be wanted ashore for a hospital. This hint caused some stir among the retinue, but all feeling was repressed. During the interview pipes, tea and refresh-

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\* Flag Lieutenant of the Fleet.

† Modern Naha or Napa.

ments were handed about, and every civility was offered us. The groups forming around us from time to time were very picturesque; silently looking on or else whispering among themselves, they walked around or squatted down, there being no other chairs besides ours. The room was matted and open to the air, inclosed in a yard defined by coral walls, the whole forming a pleasant-enough place for conferences. In three quarters of an hour we left and returned to the boat, the mayor accompanying us to the gateway and the silent crowd still looking on. The street is one of the largest in the town, and many groups were stationed here and there at the entrances of houses; coral walls defined the grounds around each dwelling, and gave rather a dull appearance to the avenue, though it was lively enough now with people.

We reported progress to the Commodore, and at dinner with him I met Lieutenants Hunter and Randolph. A room is preparing for me on the taffrail of the steamer, in which I shall be comfortable in warm weather. During the day no one but the party sent has been ashore, but the boats have visited the reef and picked up shells and other things.

*Saturday, May 28th.*—About ten o'clock the Commodore sent a boat for me and my teacher, but on reaching the flagship I was surprised to receive a letter from his hands, written by Bettelheim, couched in the strangest style of entreaty and advice respecting the conduct of the expected visit of the Regent to the flagship, and concluding with the hope that the natives would not come near the ship, which I myself more than thought would be the upshot of it, for no promise could be given by the persons I saw yesterday. It was about the oddest mélange I ever read from Bettelheim, whom the Commodore had sent for and who ere long reached the ship. He soon was all in motion, and it was about concluded that if the Regent came off Commodore Perry should not see him. However, about twelve and a half o'clock he was announced and Captain Buchanan took him into his cabin; he was accompanied by the interpreter I saw

yesterday and several other officials, some with yellow and their attendants with red caps, while the Regent himself had a striped cap, all of them of a square shape, like a blacksmith's paper cap. Only the chief man sent his card, 琉球國中山府尙大謨. A few formal compliments were passed, and Captain Buchanan rose to conduct him about the ship, which took about an hour or so and rather exhausted the old gentleman. The whole party showed considerable interest in the vessel and its inhabitants, which indeed must have amazed them if they have human ideas. The Commodore, after reflection, concluded to receive them in his cabin, and though I had for a little while been swayed by what Bettelheim had said, I was not sorry that he saw them, for the party came at his invitation to see him, and why not receive them? They had brought a trifling present of two cakes and two jars of spirits which were to be accepted, and it was meet to thank him. All came into the cabin, and having been seated, it was told them that their visit was received as a mark of kind respect, that the American nation entertained the most amicable feelings towards Lewchew, and that the present visit was to open further intercourse with it. The proximity of the two countries across the Pacific Ocean was stated, and something said of California and its gold. Refreshments were handed around and all partook, wine and cake being articles intelligible to all, and the Regent's attendants brought in pipes, the Commodore taking one with him. He seemed half stupefied at times, but it was probably amazement at his novel position, for he was frequently speaking to the interpreter. A motion to rise induced Perry to say that he should be ready to return the visit on the 6th proximo at the capital in Shui, 首里,\* and thank him for his civilities. Excuses were offered that it was far, that the King was sick, that the visit was a mere form and the presents contemptible and beneath notice. However, it was stated that propriety required him (Perry) to return the visit, and he should not fail. The decorum of these

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\* Modern Shuri.

islanders on board, and their subdued way of looking about did them credit. A barometer was shown them, a revolving pistol too, and the rudder was moved to and fro, the tiller ropes having attracted their attention. Nothing was here said respecting a house on shore, and all conversation with them on general topics was very slow and almost impracticable from their anxiety and the tedious line of communication. The Regent rose and left the cabin, and when on deck Captain Buchanan took him into his own room, there to take a glass of wine, and would have kept him a while, but he seemed to be desirous of going. The band played several airs which pleased them all, and the marines drawn up in order, the huge guns and large balls on deck were objects of great interest. The party left after a visit of about two hours; a few of them seemed to enjoy it, but such a melancholy set of faces, fixed, grave and sad, as if going to execution, was hardly ever before seen on board the "Susquehanna." Bettelheim talked a good deal, and his way of making signs and motioning with his face was very much disliked and wrongly interpreted. I hardly know what to think of the man, for he whisks about in his opinion like a weathercock, and after the Regent had gone said it was the best thing which could have been done, to see the Commodore, though his letter of four pages was to urge the contrary.

After dinner we went ashore to B.'s house where Mr. Barry made out a list of provisions, to be given in to the flagship tomorrow. Major Zeilen also went to see a level place where he could drill his marines, and from that we visited the tombs of some foreigners buried on shore. I also left Sieh on shore at B.'s house to recruit a little.

*Sunday, May 29th.*—It rained all day, and I remained aboard the "Saratoga" unable to go to service in the "Mississippi" where it was thought there would be no preaching. Bettelheim sent back Sieh in the boat which brought the provisions to the "Susquehanna," and wrote a letter to Commodore Perry



about interpreters. In the evening I took Sieh to the flagship and gave him in charge to Achin, Perry's servant, by whom he will be cared for.

*Monday, May 30th.*—The drizzling rain of yesterday cleared off with a pleasant sky, and enabled the "Caprice" to get in to her anchorage this morning. She has not had very pleasant weather and leaks in her deck. I saw Mr. Maury soon after his arrival, and was glad to see him looking so well. The Commodore sent an order on board ship to-day by Bettelheim for Mr. Goldsboro,\* Mr. Harris and myself to accompany him ashore and get a house for the transaction of business. This order certainly carries with it a decided tone, and I am not so sure how we shall manage in carrying it out. However, we went off, Mr. Madizan, Lowrie and Stockton going with us. Mr. Bettelheim took us along the street beyond the bridge at Tunai, the same which I remembered to have passed by when we came ashore in this direction from the "Morrison" the morning after we anchored. About half a mile from the landing place he came to a public hall which we entered after the door had been opened by persons crawling over the wall. A messenger was straightway dispatched for the mayor of Napa, and after waiting an hour or more the interpreter alone came with two constables, or lower officers, to whom we made known the Commodore's application for a place on shore convenient to remain at and see about matters connected with provisioning the ships. The request seemed strange to them, and they said it was a better way for us to give lists of things wanted, and the articles would be brought off. We rejoined that it seemed but decorous, after the Regent's visit to the "Susquehanna," that a convenient place should be rented on shore from whence men could be sent to each ship with what was wanted. The interpreter said there was no place fit for us, there was none vacant, there was no need of such a place and that the house we were in was

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\* Lieutenant John R. Goldsborough of the "Saratoga."

a schoolroom, as indeed we saw it was partly used for some such purpose. We talked to and fro in this way a long time, Adjirashi,\* the interpreter, at last going off to see the mayor, while we remained for his answer. It was then concluded that, as it was expedient to make a right out of our might, so we had better, if we wished to get a house at all, keep possession of this; two of us were therefore sent back to get bedding and our dinners, while I went to report at headquarters, where in truth I got but little satisfaction or even approbation. On returning ashore, the messenger had not yet come back; but while Mr. Goldsboro' and others were on their way to the boat they met him and returned to the hall where many native officers were still tarrying. His answer was to the same effect, and he could only still protest against our occupying the dwelling, notwithstanding he saw the bedding and other preparations we had made for remaining. It was a struggle between weakness and right and power and wrong, for a more highhanded piece of aggression has not been committed by anyone. I was ashamed at having been a party to such a procedure, and pitied these poor, defenseless islanders who could only say no. No one was incommoded by the act, indeed; but perhaps the townspeople of Tumai felt it all the more keenly, and I pitied them heartily.

Mr. Stockton and I were soon left alone with our three Chinese, for after Mr. Goldsboro left the house the native officers retired, and we made ourselves as comfortable as we could on the thick mats which covered the floor; but the fleas and mosquitoes would not permit us to sleep, and the Chinese walked about all night. A large company of Lewchewans occupied the other rooms and kept watch over us, if the insects let them do so, for the men were very still except an occasional hum. The dawn showed that it was time to rise, and I was glad to get

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\* Spelt Ichirazichi in the Narrative of the Expedition. The medium of communication was Chinese.

into the fresh air and terminate my first night in Lewchew, the unwilling agent, in so doing, of violence and wrong.

*Tuesday, May 31st.*—Mr. Lowrie came ere long to relieve us, and when I reached the ship I heard Mr. Goldsboro' say that Perry approved of all we had done and was decided to keep the house, and was going to send two or three invalids there to keep possession. During the forenoon he (Goldsboro') went to the house to see about arranging for the comfort of the invalids, and while he was there the mayor of Napa came in with the interpreter, Idjirashi, and had a long talk with him respecting it. This man (the interpreter) has had considerable instruction from Mr. Bettelheim and during the talk he made out to converse on many topics, referring to places in China, countries in Europe, America, etc. He said he had heard of Washington as being a good man, but he thought Washington would not have done so. A written protest was handed in to make known to the Commodore the desires of the authorities in regard to the house, couched in respectful terms, in which, however, were two or three misstatements.

The general feeling on the whole among the people seems to be more and more favorable to us, and they are learning a few things gradually. The constant presence of officers and men ashore familiarizes them with us, and the crowds of idle people are as large as ever. Boatloads of visitors throng the flagship and the crew are glad to show them this and that.

*Wednesday, June 1st.*—Went ashore with Purser Parry, when we learned that the authorities will not acknowledge our presence in the house we have taken, and provisions must be forwarded thro' their purveyors who will receive lists from Bettelheim only. It is surprising what a degree of quiet resis-

~~tance an organized government like this can offer to violence~~

to wield what power they have to the best advantage. I need cite only one fact: wishing to go to the "Saratoga", I hailed a boat which had just left the steamer and went in her; as she left to go ashore I threw a bunch of cash into the boat, but it was with much trouble brought aboard, tho' it could have been divided among them without one being more interested in keeping it secret than another. We went up to the house to bring away a sedan-chair for Perry's use, and found all quiet. Captains Buchanan and Adams were there and had brought Perry's answer to the petition to Goldsboro' sent in yesterday. On the way back to the boat one of the Chinese carrying it stopped to look at a market by the roadside, and his contemptuous look at the beggarly assortment of leaves, pottery, fuel and eatables was not more amusing than the gaping wonder of the women and people at his gigantic height (6 ft. 2 in.) compared with their Lilliputian size. I never before saw such a lot of hags together as in this market.

After having put Perry's answer into Chinese, old Sieh went ashore by mistake, and in his stupid way was left behind, and had some trouble in getting the natives to take him aboard. I supposed he would have gone to Bettelheim's house instead; he does not recruit much, and I am afraid will die.

The "Caprice" goes to-morrow and many are sending their clothes over to Shanghai to be washed, as there is little prospect of getting it done here. The letter-bag takes Bettelheim's first letter sent off for eleven months, besides \$800 sent over to put in the bank there to his credit—his "own sweat and blood" he says. He says that he has not been able to come to any explicit understanding with the rulers or people as to the price of the provisions he consumes; they bring food and he lays down money, and no accounts are drawn out. He eats what they bring, they take away what he lays down.

*Thursday, June 2nd.*—I moved my baggage over to the "Susquehanna" before breakfast and spent some time in getting to rights there. After copying out the reply to the mayor's

petition I went ashore with Bettelheim with it, and after waiting a short time we were informed that he was waiting to receive it at the town hall. (Commodore Perry had sent a cake to Mrs. B., and the children were eager to get a taste.) On reaching the town hall we were much surprised to see the Regent there, and a feast spread out on five tables, with a large crowd of officials in attendance, the whole indicating considerable expectation for somebody. I went in and handed the paper to the mayor, who was seated at the table, and said that he would look at it by and by, and showed no idea of opening it there. We bowed to the Regent and soon learned that the party was waiting for the Commodore, who I suspect had no idea of the matter. It seems that they either did not, or would not, understand the declining of this feast, to which they had invited Perry on Tuesday, who could only reply verbally at the time their card came off to the ship. I knew not that any written invitation had been given, for Perry had never said a word on the matter; and therefore I could only say to Idjirashi that I knew nothing of it, nor whether the Commodore was coming, except that he was busy and had not intimated his intentions. The matter was miserably managed, anyhow, for a written invitation was probably sent, for Achin told me that the authorities had invited Perry, and I think a written card would not be neglected. If he had a paper in Chinese he did not understand, why did he not find out what was told him? A written refusal was the least the authorities could expect. The feast was proposed by them doubtless as a means of avoiding a meeting at Shui; this refusal gives them a handle, and not having had a written refusal, a longer handle, to take exception at granting that interview.

I reported the matter to the Commodore who said that as he had had only a verbal invitation he gave only a verbal refusal. The impression of a show of some sort was very general among the people, for there must have been five or six hundred people in the streets, probably waiting for the guests. About 3 o'clock

Idjirashi and others brought a portion of the dinner on board the flagship, and if words could be received as denoting real feelings they certainly learned the real reason for declining it. They said that as Perry could not come to the dinner they had brought it off for him; and a pretty show they had made of it. The whole was taken away by the officers and men, and the natives went back, probably rather mortified at their reception, for nothing was offered them while on board, not even a chair.

*Friday, June 3rd.*—My quarters on the "Susquehanna's" taffrail are likely to prove very commodious when completed; just now I am at rather odd ends. Dr. Bettelheim wrote a letter to the Commodore in his usual singular fashion (calling him "father" and desirous to obey his orders, and talking of of "glorious mission," and the flagship a "throne," and Perry an "autocrat" whose glance should be law to the natives), yet finding fault with everything which has been done, chiefly, as far as we can learn, because he was not consulted. Yet when he read Adams' reply in Perry's cabin yesterday he called it "excellent" and approved of it all. The man does not seem to know his own mind for a day, but evidently wishes to be consulted about everything and have his advice followed. He is not at all backward in sending or begging for things, while he, Jew-like, puts his money in the bank. However, this must be added, that he cannot spend much money here for his family, even if he wished, for he is not allowed to buy at will; and this sum may be the surplus of his salary. This P.M. he visited the flagship to report the result of the Regent's colloquy with him, and brought a petition from the Regent to the effect that the Queen Dowager was exceedingly ill, having never recovered from the alarm caused by the visit of Captain Shadwell in the "Sphynx" in February, 1852, and begged the Commodore to repair to the Prince's hall, where a personal interview could be held. He also proposed an exchange of another house in place of the one now occupied, and mentioned a temple as suitable for our use.

In reading such a document one can hardly explain all its

features by either Chinese or Japanese policy. The form of a petition (which is the constant style here toward foreigners) indicates a kind of servile feeling which their consistent persistence in upholding what they call and hold to be law rather denies ; and their duplicity in these papers shows conscious weakness which their complete control over their own people again contravenes. The oligarchy of the gentry tyrannize over the people by means of moral suasion which, to have its present effect, must have been long exerted and commenced in youth. The Chinese classics are regarded as the standard of morals, and certainly here show what a means of degrading the human mind they can be made, crushing all responsibility and paralyzing the industry of the mass.

In the evening our walks led out to the pier and by the junks, and no change seemed to have been made here since 1837. A score of junks lay in the harbor, some after the Chinese model and some building of the Japanese fashion. A watering party of Japanese sailors passed by, but we saw none ashore, nor a large number in the junks. The market place for vegetables was full of people, and all the sellers were women, perhaps 600 of them, most of them remarkable for their long, coarse hair and plain features. The police follow us everywhere, making no opposition nor warning the people away, but yet acting as a check to intercourse. Few articles of interest are seen in the streets and there are no shops for wares opened anywhere. There were not many buyers and little alarm was manifested, tho' the women would always leave their baskets when we approached. The streets of dwellings are dull-looking by reason of the almost uniform dead wall in front of them, but these walls of coral are usually well built and look as if they had stood many years. We tried to enter no houses and saw few entrances so arranged that even the yard could be observed. The people occupy five times the space which Chinese do, but their comforts I suspect are not proportionate to the larger ground they occupy, though, as a whole, they seem to be well fed. Their sober, downcast

aces take away much from their looks, and repress all attempts to make one's self understood by talking to them.

*Saturday, June 4th.*—I was kept in the ship all day preparing the presents and drawing out the reply to the Regent's petition telling him that he (Perry) must go to the palace and, if the other house suits his purpose, he will change to it. The old teacher was loth to take up his pencil, but we got it ready by two o'clock and was just on the point of sending it in a boat, when to our general surprise, the Regent himself with his usual retinue came aboard. He was received by Captain Buchanan in his cabin and on being seated handed another petition to him for the Commodore, which was merely another request not to come to the palace, as the Queen Dowager was very sick, and the Regent's house was the spot to repair to. He wished, but unavailingly, to see Perry who would not appear. We declined taking their paper down to him, for after reading it we told them the answer was already contained in the answer now handed to him; this they deferred to open while on board. Captain Buchanan offered them some drink so strong that they could not take it; for all I know it was clear brandy. He showed in every action, his unwilling consent to have them remain long, and this was increased by Bettelheim appearing, who it seems had been invited off by the Regent to facilitate intercourse. However, it was no use; they could not see the Commodore or get any other answer than a reference to the paper handed them. It was a childish visit, and one hardly knows how to act toward such children, who must be in a manner coerced for their own good. To talk about the principles of international law being applicable to such people is almost nonsensical; they must first be taught humanity and self respect.

Before leaving they designated a man to accompany an officer to the other house they are willing to have us occupy, which proved to be the one formerly occupied by Forcade.\*

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\* A French missionary who left Naha in 1846. Admiral Jurien de la Gravière, who visited the Island in 1848, carried away the survivor of two French



Owing to the fresh breeze Captain Buchanan sent the Regent ashore in a cutter, and was glad to be rid of them. Bettelheim had a long talk with Perry; he is becoming more than ever disliked by everybody, and took an unlucky step in coming aboard to-day, when he was unwished.

I came across the Regent's invitation to dinner a day or two ago, so that the contretemps might have been avoided if Perry had laid by the paper less carefully.

Mr. Jones and his party returned to-day and gave a good report of his trip,† and said there was much more to be discovered and hoped another opportunity would be given of exploring the island toward the extreme north.

*Monday, June 6th.*—By half-past nine the party had reached the landing place near Tumai, where it was formed in military order under the trees there, and started for Shui 守禮 about half-past ten A.M. The authorities had sent two guides and provided ten sedans and four horses, but in going up all preferred to walk, the day being very pleasant and agreeable, and they were told to follow after us. The guides went first, then came Bettelheim and I to see that they did not carry us to the wrong place. A party of sailors with two brass field pieces under Mr. Bennett's command, a company of marines, the "Mississippi's" band, Commodore Perry in a sedan chair, the coolies with the presents behind him and a marine each side of the chair, the officers in undress uniform, the "Susquehanna's" band, marines, etc., amounting in all to over 200 men, made up the procession. As it passed up the well-paved road and wound through the defiles or turns in the ascent to Shui it presented a beautiful

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priests who had been left there two years before, the elder Père Adnet having died. They were completely discouraged by their treatment by the natives. He says:—"Nos missionnaires avaient donc été forcés de s'avouer qu'un plus long séjour aux îles Lou-tchou ne leur apprendrait point le moyen de lutter avec avantage contre la police la plus vigilante du monde, et de propager la religion chrétienne dans un pays où personne ne se soucie d'encourir pour une foi quelconque l'exil, la prison ou la bastonnade. A dater de ce jour, ils ne songèrent qu'à retourner en Chine, où de plus belles moissons récompenser leur zèle." (*Voyage de la Corvette la Bayonnaise dans les mers de Chine*, I, p. 227).

† The report constitutes Chapter VIII of the Narrative of the Expedition.

appearance, such as no Lewchewan had ever before gazed on. The distance was about three miles, and nothing could have been more charming than some of the scenes which opened upon us as we advanced—temples, ricefields, copses, houses and walled inclosures succeeding one another in pleasing exchange. At the entrance to the capital stands an honorary portal bearing the inscription 中山 which means, I am told, the capital of the country. It was of fine proportions, the central gateway being twenty feet or so high and the side ones fifteen or so. Here commenced a level, macadamized road for the rubble paved one, and the walls on each side higher and solidly built.

Standing just beyond this portal, to my surprise stood the simpleton of a Regent with a large company of officers, and Idjirashi came up to beg us to turn in at his yamun which our guides were just about to do; Bettelheim, too wanted to parley with them, but I pulled him along and said I would not speak with any of them. Thus we went on up to the palace gate, a man running on ahead to open it, and our host trudging along in his slipshod, toe-thumb stockings by our side, putting himself by his silly conduct in a ridiculous position. I let him enter the gate a minute or two ahead, and then sent in the cards by Achin, for Perry was now nearly at the gate. One of the natives took me by the hand to beg me not to let the marines enter, and seemed vastly relieved by the assurance that they were not to enter. Near the gate was another honorary portal\* like the other, with a different inscription 守禮之邦 Shui's domain. Going in we passed through a second door into a yard, at the upper and raised part of which was a tripartite doorway leading into the palace yard, inscribed 奉神門, "Door for receiving the gods"; the authorities were all standing at a side hall, the one in front being shut. When the principal persons were seated a few formal questions were asked, tables were placed before us (for the hall was perfectly bare of furniture) and tea and pipes

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\* Portrayed in Dr. Guillemand's "Cruise of the Marchesa," Vol. I, Chap. III, which contains a description of the palace.

introduced. The Regent and three Treasurers were seated in chairs opposite the commodore and his captains. They had soon the list of presents in their hands and presently arose to return thanks to the donor by a low bow. The Commodore then inquired after the health of the Prince and Queen Dowager, and offered the use of his physicians to assist in curing her. The Lewchewans seemed to have nothing to say to us, but rather to endure our presence ; and Perry did not intend to introduce any topic. The hall, called the 高牖延薰, or High Inclosure for Fragrant Festivities, was the same where Captain Shadwell delivered Lord Palmerston's letter and, like the rest of the establishment, very little used. No preparation had been made for us here, and the Regent begged us to stop a little while at his office on our return, which was agreed to ; he had evidently made the preparation there.

The courtyards were paved in alternate strips of cut granite and sand, and were clean ; the woodwork was painted when new, but now had begun to decay from exposure. The outer walls were built of stone, much of it laid on the scarp of the hill, so that the outer look of the place was not unlike a fort, and was doubtless designed for some possible contingency of defense against insurgents ; even now it could easily be garrisoned and fortified.

The Regent being evidently uneasy, his guests arose, and we were soon on the way to his quarters, Perry walking this distance with them. The people were not numerous in the broad way, and some saw the rattan laid over their backs when they encroached too near in peeping thro' the bushes. This day was for the grandees, and the vulgar were not to intrude. The Regent had indeed gone to considerable trouble, there being some fifteen tables spread with small saucers filled with cold viands, vegetables and drinks ; and soon warm dishes were introduced. There were many yellow-capped officers standing about the room, but all the waiters had red caps and most of them blue dresses of a pretty hue ; the four high officers in their

variegated caps sat opposite Commodore Perry like so many Nestors, grave, silent and rather sad—but nothing had spoiled their appetites, for they cleared most of the warm dishes. The Regent proposed to drink to America; Perry replied by the health of the Prince and Queen Dowager, and that our countries might always be at peace, all emptying their thimbles of cups each time. At the close each party drank the other's good health, and we rose to leave before the twelve courses were all brought in, which Bettelheim said was a royal feast. There was no lighting up of the faces of the old men, and they were evidently wishing us away, tho' a good many of the younger people were amused. What anybody could have found fault with I don't see, but mortified pride can always find vexation.

After two hours we left, the four chiefs accompanying Perry to the door and then hastening back with joyful step as tho' relieved. Some saw signs of secret observers peeping thro' pin-holes in a side room, and I guess there were many such. On the way back the accompanying crowd was large, and all of Napa came down, except the women, to see the show. We reached the ships at a quarter of three o'clock P.M.

*Tuesday, June 7th.*—Busy all day making out Perry's note to the Regent expressing his satisfaction at the reception, dislike of the spies tagging us everywhere, wishing him to appoint a man to take the money for the supplies and telling him of his intention of going to Japan. He also got up a present for the Queen Dowager and the other Treasurers; the former's of looking-glasses, soap, perfume, etc. In the evening took a walk up to Shui with Wayne and Dr. Smith; I was a little sore from my ride on the naked saddle I found on the horse given me at Shui, but this walk made me limber again, and we enjoyed the walk much, finding new beauties in the scenery. The crops looked well and the whole country gave promise of sufficient food for its inhabitants. The road was occupied with many persons going to and fro, some of whom were driving horses laden with bundles. Altogether, the women are the most

degraded part of the population and seem pressed down by their hard, servile work ; no smiles, no laughing do we hear from them, and some of them are harridans beyond comparison. They do not flee so much as they did, but no approaches are made, apparently, to their good will. On returning we saw some persons turning up vegetable beds with short-handled mattocks at a great expense of labor. A large funeral procession was leaving Shui by another road from us, and we could hear, half a mile off, the wailing of the mourners as they dragged along between two supporters. The coffin was carried in a high-roofed red box on men's shoulders about the middle of the line ; there were more than a hundred people in it.

The authorities made their last struggle this evening not to take payment for the provisions furnished the ships—a strange contest, and one would wish no stronger proof of the force of law and power of espionage and oppression. However, they at last assented. One objection, that Purser Barry was not of a high rank enough to treat with them on such a matter, rather excited him, besides causing the others some amusement. It was a well arranged meeting to compel them to give way on the point, in which they have always succeeded, and which is really one of the most singular in their policy—that of refusing payment for supplies. A lot of 200 boards was also needed, and at last was promised on their part. In all these proceedings Idjirashi acts a most important and conspicuous part and shows a deal of cleverness.

*Wednesday, June 8th.*—A deputation was sent ashore this morning to the mayor of Napa, composed of Lieutenant Contee, Mr. Barry and myself, taking with us the document prepared yesterday for the Regent and the presents for the Queen Dowager and two Treasurers, called Mau Fungning 毛鳳鳴, the other 翁德裕 Ung Teh-yu, who manage the revenue of the other departments of the island ; the last each received a sword, four pieces of cotton, two bottles whiskey, one of wine, an engraving and a cake. We were also to give a threatening

message respecting payment if they still refused to settle accounts. On landing I was greatly relieved, therefore, to see Mr. Spieden with money on the table at Dr. Bettelheim's house, with the purveyor making out his accounts and all in process of amicable arrangement. Our men brought up the cash (\$150 worth) in bundles of \$5, or 6,500 each, and natives soon carried it off. We had an easy message at the Mayor's. Mr. Contec had been at his office before, and he received us out of the door, invited us in, was much interested in the presents, so far as they could be seen, and altogether the meeting was one of the pleasantest we have had. Nothing was said of payments, but they were told that we intended to bring some cattle and sheep ashore and pasture them in the inclosure near Bettelheim's house, and wanted the 200 boards to make a fence. Many excuses were offered respecting the boards—that they were difficult to get, as most of them came from Japan or Tschura, and only then as dunnage or to fill up the rice junks. I told them that I had seen too many houses boarded inside as well as out, and too many pit-saws going to think they had few boards. He then asked who was to look after the cattle and who was to be responsible for their lives, on which points we eased his anxiety, but he made no objection to their being brought ashore to that place. Inquiries were made as to where the two ships were going, and why; we also wished to know the manner of their cultivation of tobacco, and were promised some seed. After remaining more than an hour in pleasant chat we wished health to the Regent and all high functionaries on behalf of the Commodore and took our departure, much better pleased than if we had been obliged to threaten them. All accounts having been settled, the pursers all returned aboard, and we may hope the authorities will make no more opposition. In fact, it is not easy to explain the reason for refusing payment. I suppose that, as they themselves exact the supplies, they lose nothing by their gifts, but the people bear it all, while they deem themselves in the safest position with respect to their real rulers by adhering

to the letter of the law and considering all ships as their guests. I look upon Lewchew as a dependency of Satzuma, (rather than subject to Japan) by whose prince it was conquered entirely in the 17th century, 1609.\* That principality monopolizes the trade and manages the relations and policy of the island, allowing the voyage of homage to Fuhchau every year to keep up a profitable trade and a shadow of independence among the natives. The power is wielded by the gentry whom long usage has formed into a caste, and they sway the timid, defenseless people by a system of espionage which spreads distrust and fear of others over the whole community. The gentry maintain the spies and are the depositories of all learning, education and office, doing nothing to elevate or improve their serfs. Apparently, their sway is very mild, for no swords in the hands of soldiers nor even whips in the hands of guards are seen in the streets, but it is because all resistance has ceased, and a motion of a fan or a wink is as effectual as a blow. Fear of an informer doubtless carries obedience to needless lengths, such as running away from the markets when a foreigner appears, but perhaps most of the market-people being women more satisfactorily accounts for this, and they do not now run as they did at first. There is nothing which so destroys the self respect of the human soul as a system of surveillance and responsibility—constantly on the lookout that another's conduct does not involve one's self, constantly feeling that one's actions are all spied out and may be reported for punishment, you are hampered and meshed like a fish in a net and fear to move. If the people even knew their rights they have no power to assert them, and the only hope lies in teaching all classes the baneful effects of so unnatural a system. Whether the authorities are likely to be punished in any way for their finally coming to our demands or not, they certainly must see that we have no present intention of interfering in their internal affairs; but it is likely that a change in their foreign policy will materially influence their internal system,

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\* See Klaproth's *Sankokf tsou ran to sets*, p. 177. (Note by author.)

seeing how the two are blended, and the obvious advantages of changing the relation of host and guest for that of seller and buyer when a squadron of 1,500 men come must be apparent, even to the lowest coolie in port. Many signs of a change are already apparent.

In the evening I went aboard one of the Japanese junks, where we were rather endured than received; there were 22 men, and they had been fifteen days from Kagosima. They gave us no tea or pipes, and refused to sell Mr. Bittering a box he was earnest to buy for a knife. The rudder post was hauled up and lay horizontally in the cabin; it was about three feet in diameter. The room was kept clean and most of the cargo was landed. Some of the Lewchewan *stchibang* followed us aboard—imps of oppression who may some day get roughly handled for their impertinence. On returning to our boat the captain handed back a handkerchief I had previously given him.

On reaching the steamer I found that the Regent had made his return presents of paper, cloth, tobacco, saki, fans, pipes, etc., a trumpery assortment with only a few pieces of lackered ware.

*Saturday, June 11th.*—On passage to the Bonins.\*

On Thursday morning we got under way with the "Saratoga" in tow and moved out of the harbor in fine style, leaving the "Mississippi" and "Supply" in port. Several persons were left ashore, among whom were Mr. Brown and Mr. Draper, the daguerrian and telegraph artists; they took up their lodgings in the house at Tumai. The house on the hilltop near Dr. Bettelheim's was also occupied by sending some cattle and sheep on shore thereabouts to pasture and be taken care of, as the Mayor was informed. There is not much to do now with the Lewchewans, in an official manner, but everything in showing them the equitable and firmly just conduct proper in our dealings with them, and leading them to see that it is for their interest and peace to treat us with courtesy. Thus far things have gone on as favorably as I expected, and when the native

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\* Ogasawara-jima, called Munin-to by the Japanese.



authorities come to see that we mean what we say, they will, I hope, refrain from their own subterfuges and treat us fairly.

Today the poor old teacher was committed to the sea. He did not recruit at all after reaching Napa in the "Saratoga," and tho' every care was taken of him on board the flagship, a good room and nourishing food provided, he did not recover his spirits or appetite. He had brought all the apparatus with him for smoking opium, tho' he constantly asserted that he had none of the drug with him. I would not let him smoke, but he took it in some cinnabar-colored pills which he called 保生丸 or nourishing-life pills, and took in large doses. He gradually failed in mind and body, and the last thing he did for me was to mark the two pictures sent to the two Treasurers on Wednesday; after that he had hardly mind enough to answer a question. He presented a sad spectacle of ghastly emaciation, mumbling and talking and moaning, now about home, and now about money. I told him a week ago that I did not think he would ever recover and tried to direct his attention to the Savior, of whose salvation he was not ignorant; but he paid little heed to it, and spoke of it himself none at all. I fear his heart was never touched with a sense of his sinfulness. He died last night about eleven o'clock of inanition and exhaustion of the nervous system, delirious for twenty-four hours previous. He was bound up in his mat just as he lay in bed, and then sewed up in canvas. A jar of opium prepared for smoking and all the pills he had, with a quantity of cakes, sweetmeats, etc., were thrown overboard, and his opium pipe was buried with him; he must have spent \$15 to \$18 for opium and other things injurious to him, and I hardly had two days' service out of him the whole time. I never saw an opium smoker die before, and had no idea that the use of this drug so enfeebled the nervous system and rendered the powers of mind so weak and the whole man so foolish. He was a shocking sight, a melancholy ruin.

*Tuesday, June 14th.*—Port Lloyd.

After a passage of five days over the most sunny seas and

with the pleasantest accompaniments of breeze, temperature and progress, we anchored here this morning. The land looks native and as if the soil was tolerably productive, for the vegetation covers the hilltops, some of which are fully 1500 feet high. A Hawaiian—a youth born on the island came off to pilot us in if needed, and about nine o'clock we anchored, almost landlocked, and deep water in some places near the rocks. During the day parties were made up for exploring the island to-morrow, but I declined to join them in the ascent of these steep hills lest I should not keep up. In the evening we rambled along the beach and visited three houses which presented a good degree of comfort in their internal arrangements; one of them was occupied by a Portuguese who had lived here twenty-one years and has had ten children, only one (our pilot erewhile) of whom now lives with him. A daughter of his was forcibly carried off two years ago by some pirates from Hongkong on their way to California.

*Wednesday, June 15th.*—Port Lloyd.

Two parties under Mr. Taylor\* and Dr. Fahs left early this morning to explore. I went ashore about nine o'clock and, with Mr. Patterson, went up some of the low hills near the dwellings. All these hills had been burnt over not long ago, perhaps to cover the soil with a manure of ashes; a growth of *Carex* and *Scirpus* now covered them, mixed with shrubs, all growing in the richest soil. The rock is everywhere of trap formation, containing veins of greenstone running thro' it and nodules of iron-stone, the outer surface of which last is often blistered, as if it had been simmered before a fire; the presence of sulphur has caused this rock to decompose rapidly, and this has assisted greatly to produce the rich soil. Many parts of the soft ground were riddled with crabs' holes, some of them large enough for weasels'.

The vegetation is decidedly tropical, which is rather un-

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\* Bayard Taylor, whose account of this excursion appears in the Narrative, pp. 204-209.

expected in a place the latitude of Wanchau-fu and only 1,200 miles east of Ningpo. Here two species of palm, one of them producing a kind of cocoa-nut, the tree-fern, the plantain, papaya, sugar-cane and pandanus, all show the tropical affinities of the flora. I found two beautiful species of Hibiscus, a Sida, of which the berry is good eating, a fern or two and a kind of juniper. Most of the plants are new to me, but the variety is small. Few gynandrous or syngenesious plants came under my eye. In the damp or winter months there is probably more variety of flowering plants in the underbrush than at this season. Few mosses or ferns appeared, the ground being grassy and dry. Seaweed is not plenty, and the species resemble moss, covering the stones at high water.

The crabs are most abundant, running over the ground and covering the pools in the ravines by the hundreds. They form a distinctive feature of the island, especially in the woody parts; some of them are two and a half inches square on the carapace; along the shore the hermit crab is paramount, only a few others running about the rocks. In the sands a kind of *Portunus* (?) digs holes, and at low tide one can hear them snapping their mandibles with a curious, clicking sound.

Few insects are seen; a butterfly, a grasshopper, ants and sandflies, or something of the sort, comprise my list. These last are found in the dry, decomposed ground in the woods, and are exceedingly agile. One lizard ran across my path, brown, spotted, four inches long. A species of *Periophthalmus* was caught skipping over the rocks. The dorsal extends the whole back, the false pectorals apparently disjoined, but proceeding from the same bone; skin dark brown, black spots, eyes projecting and approaching; belly light brown. While walking over the sands which was marked into ripples by the surf, so hard as to resist my weight, I was led to infer that the solidification of these ripples into rock, so that the layers can be easily separated into thin pieces showing plainly the original ripplings, is not so very surprising; for at this time these marks were even

more solid than the shells lying on them. Probably a succession of these ripples, one above another, could even now be detected a few feet below the surface if a large section could be removed and partially indurated enow to show the stratification. The deposits on this soft sand are very slowly made, the silt coming from the comminuted cliffs brought down by the rains.

The shells are not numerous, but a large variety is produced in or near the coral reefs, for the surf has brought up many species; the nerita, voluta, chiton, ostica, patella and murex have their representatives growing at low water, attached to the rocks. The coral appears very beautiful as one slowly floats over it, and the variety is considerable; echinei are common and hundreds of biche de-mer, black and round, a foot to eight inches long, lie scattered over the bottom; this species is not eaten by the Chinese. Some ray, called stingaree, force themselves over the coral; two were caught in the net, of a plain brown, with a single spine in his whip-like tail, measuring nearly one and one-third feet square; their mode of swimming is by an undulating, flopping and rapid movement of the tail. It is a mystery to me how the spine is used for attack or defense.

There are now thirty-nine persons on the island. Mr. Savary, an American from Massachusetts has lived here twenty-three years; two others for twenty-one years. Marquesans and Hawaiians are here, most of the females being of the latter. The inhabitants live peaceably with each other, but no one exercises any authority, and at times they are much annoyed by sailors. Each one shares seed with others, so that they all have much the same variety of vegetables. Turtle furnishes their chief meat, and this they salt down to exchange for provisions out of whalers. Indian corn, muskmelons, watermelons, sweet and Irish potatoes, taro, beans, onions and bananas are among the vegetables. Goats, hogs, poultry, ducks and geese are reared.

*Thursday, June 16th.*—The Commodore and a large party went off to Buckland Island on a fishing and discovery picnic,

taking with them the cattle and sheep brought from Shanghai, which were intended to be left here for increase. The cattle were put ashore at Williams' bay on the northwest side of Peel Island, where they will find food and not overrun the plantations of the inhabitants on this side. The sheep and goats were landed on Stapleton Island, which is already covered with goats, the progeny of some left there by Becchy or some other voyager. The hogs have possession of Buckland Island, here usually called Hog Island. I was invited to go with this party with the stipulation of remaining out all night, but most of them came back at evening.

In the afternoon I went to see a cave at the entrance of the harbor, formed by the dropping down of the friable trap rock ; no coral was seen hereabouts growing out of the sunlight, nor many mollusks clinging to the water-edge rocks. I suspect the direct and constant rays of the sun are necessary to the marine products. The opening is supported in front by a mass of rock, around which the water flows ; it is perhaps 150 feet high to the peak, and the water slowly percolates through, causing patches of rock to fall off. A shock of an earthquake would loosen large masses. Passing along in the boat, the coral appeared exceedingly beautiful thro' the limpid water ; patches of brain (branching and a little flat) coral appeared to succeed each other ; specimens of blue among the white made both look prettier, and where the branching sort covered the bottom, the resemblance to a tiny forest was remarkable. Hundreds of red echenei, with long rays, dark purple, five toothed, three inch diameter, were seen in some places and then disappeared, attracted probably by the food. The biche-de-mer always lay on the sand, the sea eggs or echinus on the coral. In one cavity a diodon was seen crawling over the bottom and was soon conveyed to our boat ; the mode of inflating his body to cause the spines to project seems to be by sucking in a large quantity of water, for this one gradually shriveled as he ejected the water : yet I am told that the fish can be irritated to swell up when

recently caught, in which case, the body can also be inflated with air. It is a repulsive fish and seems uncommon in this place. Its garniture of spines renders it, as in the case of the porcupine, pretty safe against its enemies, but a shark will eat almost anything when hungry. This specimen was ten inches long, dark brown patches on the back over a speckled yellowish-gray ground; the belly whitish.

The party returned from their trip to the other islands giving the same report of steep hills and a few level places near the seaside. A tree was found which the carpenter thought was mahogany. A palm having an edible top, tasting like the cabbage-palm, was common on one side; in fact, I should not wonder if there were several species of palm here, and that cocoanuts would grow, if brought and planted along the beach. Some enterprising Chinese would soon collect a cargo of fan leaves, if left here a month with a party, the fan-leaf palm being plenty; it is used as thatch.

*Friday, June 17th.*—Port Lloyd.

Mr. Savary, the oldest resident here, is from Bradford in Massachusetts, and was one of five men who, with a number of Hawaiian men and women, were sent to colonize this island by Mr. Charlton, then the British Consul at Oahu; Mr. Chapin of Boston and Mr. Millichamp, an Englishman, also were in the party; the former is dead, and the latter now lives in Guam, so that Mr. Savary is in some sort the proprietor. No authority is exerted by him or any other person, however, and the residents live on the best terms with each other, cultivating friendly relations with each other and acknowledging certain understood rules in respect to the capture of turtle or fish, and cultivation of ground. Mr. Mottley, Webb and Collins are Englishmen living here, and John Bravo, a Portuguese; the last named has had ten children, and appears an enterprising man in managing his farm. The colonizing of this island thro' Charlton's agency shows that the English were early alive to the importance of the position, and he may have started the enterprise at Captain Beechey's

suggestion after the visit of the latter in 1827. I believe Commodore Perry has exercised some rights of sovereignty since his arrival, appointing Savary navy agent, taking up land and making it out, and doing what seemed to him good. If the English would govern the island and let the coal depot be managed by the steam company, without taxation, the supremacy and interests of the two parties would be amicably managed. The position is certainly eligible for a stopping place in crossing between the Hawaiian Islands and Shanghai, far better than any islet we yet know of along the Japanese coast. It could be made to furnish a large supply of vegetables, and labor could be brought from China for building wharves, etc.

A record is kept of all arrivals and departures at the port, and a journal of notable events, by Mr. Savary. The number of whalers which have visited and are expected to visit the place this season is greater than in any year previous; two have appeared in the offing while we have been here, one of whom sent in a boat for supplies to-day. The establishment of a coal depôt here would damage it as a port of supplies to whalers whose captains are afraid of losing their men at large ports. However, they could go down southwest to Bailey Island, where five persons moved from this place some twenty months ago and began a settlement. Comparing the society now and the records of former navigators, there is an improvement in some respects. The misdeeds of runaway sailors are very vexatious and probably cause all the troubles; one of the "Saratoga's" men deserted yesterday and has not been recovered, a gain of over \$200 to Uncle Sam. Ten or twelve of these characters left a few weeks ago, much to the relief of the settlement.

The scenery of this group is imposing, the peaks rising sheer up into steep points which show their origin. One of the exploring parties suddenly found itself on the brink of a cliff fully 500 feet down. Most of them are susceptible of a growth of grass and vines, but not one acre in a hundred can be culti-

vated. From the deck of the "Saratoga" one summit behind John Bravo's house bore so strong a resemblance to a lion's head and shoulders that we said "John Bull must have the claim to prior possession as his seal was on the mountains."

Many species of shells might be collected in a short time if one would search and drag for them. Species of *Arca*, *Chama* of large size, *Cyprea*, *Conus*, *Patella*, *Nerita*, *Chiton*, *Anomia*, etc., are frequent; few oysters and not many land or lacustrine species. Fish are plentiful, but the inhabitants find turtle to be more profitable game; species of *Diodon*, *Balistes*, *Serranus*, *Tetrodon*, Shark, Ray, *Mullus* and *Perca* have been seen, some of them abundantly. Crawfish, some of them three and a half feet long, are common; two species were brought us.

One of the pleasantest sails I have had was taken this evening after sunset; Mr. Madigan and I took a canoe and paddled to Mr. Savary's where we remained an hour. The row over the smooth water, in a bright moonlight which made a beautiful contrast of shade and moonshine along the banks and thro' the harbor, was pleasing to me, only recently from the hot bricks of Canton, and I enjoyed it greatly. All these canoes are hollowed from single trees, with a bulwark added to the wale and furnished with outriggers and sails; for the uses of the islanders they are better than a boat and are easily managed by one person.

*Saturday, June 18th.*—Taking the "Saratoga" in tow, the "Susquehanna" steamed her way out of the harbor this morning, the same fair weather attending us which we have had for the last decade. The Bonins were soon lost to sight, and no very dear memories left behind, if the complaints of the officers respecting bad washing at high prices and few provisions at extravagant rates could be deemed an index. However, the people did their best at washing and sold us what they had, doubtless taking advantage of the rare chance of a ship of war to make the most; but they would be blamed anyhow, let them do what they might.



In the afternoon the island of Rozario, or Disappointment Island, was passed; a low coral island, probably once two islets, and now joined by a single beach of coral fragments. The surf beat up fully thirty feet high as we passed; the highest point of the island was hardly fifty feet high. Reefs defended it wherever we could see it.

*Wednesday, June 22nd.*—Our pleasant southwest monsoon weather still continues, and we get along six to seven knots an hour over smooth seas, having occasionally a favorable slant of wind, so that the sails can be set. At noon we passed within five miles of Borodino Island on the north of us, a low, coral island not over a hundred feet above seawater and covered with vegetables and trees; it consists of two islets, the largest five or six miles long; the smallest a mile, lying northeast of it. The surf broke over the reefs along the whole length of it, and there is probably no very safe anchorage near the shore, and so far as could be ascertained no inhabitants either, but no conclusions could be safely drawn from such a view. It lies in such a direction from Lewchew that it is not unlikely that the inhabitants have been to it, and may still cultivate it. A good survey of the two would be well worthy of being made, not only to ascertain its capabilities for sustaining a population, but to see if there is any shelter there for a vessel in distress. It is the only land between Lewchew and the Bonin's on which any person could find retreat, or resort to in case of shipwreck, with any hope of sustaining life.

*Thursday, June 23rd.*—We anchored at Napa about five o'clock p.m., and found that the "Plymouth" only had arrived.

Dr. Bettelheim's presence was soon announced on board, but he had not much to communicate. He thinks the northern part of the island ought to be searched for coal; I think there would be as much chance for finding gold as coal in this islet, and who is to dig it? After he had gone, two officials from the mayor of Napa came to hand in his card to the Commodore. They were desirous to ascertain where we had been, but their

knowledge of the world around them is too limited to know even where the Bonins are situated.

I have been reading an abstract of Levyssohn's recent publication on Japan,\* in which he endeavors to excuse Dutch servility and Japanese seclusion, showing by the way that there is very little prospect of a successful termination to this American attempt to open trade and intercourse with the islanders. However, an attempt must be made some day or other, and until the temper of the government and people is ascertained in view of a stern demand from abroad, how is any course of action to be marked out? The opperhoofd's views are as contracted as the little island of Desima where he has resided; no reference to the general interests of humanity, to the pitiable heathenism of the Japanese and their ignorance of the revealed will and laws of their Maker, to extension of intercourse and consequent elevation of character, or to the diffusion of true Christianity among them, is to be found in his pages. It is, to my mind, a fair example of the influence of sordid trade on the human heart.

*Friday, June 24th.*—I was engaged during the morning in making out cards to send to the leading officers of the government to dine on the flagship on Tuesday next—the prince, the Regent, three Treasurers and mayor of Napa—telling them in oriental style that we “had prepared goblets and awaited the light of their presence” at four p.m. I took them to the mayor's office where I learned that it would be necessary to change the Regent's card, the old one having been made to resign, or been deposed, while we were absent. One is inclined to speculate as to our agency in the degradation of this imbecile man; the last paper he brought aboard ship on the 4th, much to the surprise of all, intimated to Perry that he (Perry) had his fate in his hand, that he could not allow us to go to the palace, alleging, however, only the illness of the Queen Dowager and the commands he had received from the 國主 “sovereign of

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\* Bladen over Japan. 'Sgraven Hage, 1852.

the land " to entertain the American Commodore at his own official residence ; then, his very undignified act of remaining out in the street of Shui to coax or invite us into his house may have been a last effort to avert his probable fate and show that he had done all he could to prevent the entrance to the palace. However, no change could introduce a greater non-entity than this man seems to be, for he is the most of a child of any officer we have had intercourse with. Nor can one feel much sympathy for men who put themselves at the beginning in an attitude of mistrust, reserve and distance, refusing that intercourse which unfettered humanity would take and deriving no benefit themselves from this churlishness ; such rulers as these curse themselves and their people.

Be this as it may, some causes have overthrown the Regent, and a new man may be free to take a new course. The card to the prince was at first declined on the ground that he could not come, but I would not hear to the excuse ; he is said to be twelve years old, but why they style him 太子, or heir apparent, I do not know, if it be true that the father is dead.

In this office of the mayor's is a tablet showing the influence of Confucius' maxims : 孝悌堯舜之道不外乎此. Filial duty and brotherly love : the doctrine of Yau and Shun are nothing but these two. The mayor was desirous of ascertaining when we were going away and where Perry had been ; to the first I pleaded ignorance, and endeavored to answer the second as well as I could, which was not easy without a map. Perhaps my answers would hasten the dispatch of the junk lying off the Roads, and this may explain their earnestness. Ichirazichi shows great tact in the way he manages his questions, and I suspect his influence is proportional to his parts.

In the evening I went around to the house in Tumai, and found that it had been made much more comfortable than the other could ever have been made, for it is larger, has a better yard, and is cooler. The other is now actually occupied as a school-room, as we ascertained by going into it, where we found

twenty-eight lads conning over a Japanese edition of the works of Mencius, just as if they had been in China, squatting about on their haunches or jumping around the room. Even with all their childish glee, there was the same serious air which seems innate to a Lewchewan; Mr. Spieden says he has only once seen the people laugh heartily, and that was when they felt the shock of a galvanic battery on board the "Mississippi."

Rambling over the hills back of Tumai reminded me of the walk which we took in 1837 (having Mrs. King and Captain Ingersoll in company) in these parts, tho' I am not able to recall the locality at all. We went up to a Buddhist temple to see what could be in the building and found a party of priests sipping tea and smoking; a sacrifice of cooked dishes was spread over the main room, arranged on low tables in front of the idols, having lamps burning. The party gave us a cold reception, motioning us out of the house and refusing us an entrance into the temple; indeed we could hardly get a drink of water and did not tarry long. The *Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*\* was in full flower in the yard, which was kept neatly. Almost all these temples, I am told, have an adjoining building for the entertainment of guests and travelers, who are thus enabled to house themselves without incommoding the priests. The location of this establishment is very pleasant, and everything around it was riant and peaceful. May God in his mercy soon change the sullen superstition of the inmates to a joyful faith in his Son.

*Saturday, June 25th.*—Most of the day was spent on board the "Supply" where I went in the morning to go with Dr. Wilson and examine coral beds, but found the tide so high that we had to wait till afternoon. On reaching the coral reefs we had some difficulty in keeping the boat easy, but by the men getting overboard many pretty specimens were obtained of madrepores and other sorts, with two kinds of echinus. Hundreds of the blue coral fish were flying from one hole to another, their bright skins alternately showing blue and green

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\* The "shoe-black plant" of Java.

as the light was reflected from them. We came across one agile fish which seemed to walk along the bottom, and was perhaps a siren. We carried the coral ashore to bleach it in the sun near Dr. Bettelheim's house; at this house a large number of natives were assembled, looking with some interest at a pile of condemned biscuit sent ashore, afraid to touch or take it in presence of their overseers.

The people have a pretty mode of planting trailing plants to run along the top of the walls around their houses, both to mat them firmly and raise a defense against climbers. Bastard banian, cacti, bamboos, oranges (Murraya) and a sort of ivy have all been seen.

In a funeral procession which passed near us the bearers of inscriptions to propitiate the gods of the way took the lead, then a company of well-dressed men, all clad in brownish white dresses, and then the male mourners blubbering and crying as they stumbled along, half borne up by assistants. The coffin was inclosed in a bier formed of a tray and a cover which completely concealed it; the whole was red, and was borne by four men who showed that their burden was not a light one. After the bier came the female mourners, perhaps thirty in all, some of them friends supporting the crying, wailing women, and all protected from the crowd by men carrying a net on each side stretched on poles. There was no music, and the red bier was another deviation from Chinese custom. The graves in this vicinity are substantial erections in the same general style as the Chinese tombs about Canton, resembling a letter *Q*, or else an opening into the rock thro' which the coffin is thrust into a recess and then closed with masonry. Considerable labor has been laid out in scraping the ledges in many cases to make a face for the tomb, or in building a wall to inclose a small area in its front. No inscriptions have been seen on any tombs, in which they differ from Chinese, but I suspect their sepulchral rites partake more of Japanese customs than Chinese.

*Sunday, June 26th.*—Altho' it was the Sabbath, Ichirazi-

clli came off to the ship to intimate the acceptance of the invitation to dine with the Commodore on Tuesday. He made inquiries where we had been while absent, and I got an India-rubber globe to show him the position of the Bonins with respect to the United States, China, and his own country, and strongly impressed it on him that his government must expect to have many visitors coming into their ports, and the sooner they were treated properly and supplied with what they needed, the better it would be for this country. He wished to know why boats had gone up to Port Melville, as letters had come down from Uting stating the arrival of boats there last evening. I told him they were sent to survey the harbor and would return in two days; and that we intended to go everywhere on their coasts examining the shores, so that ships might know where to anchor. In respect to everything relating to foreign intercourse and the courtesy due to ships, I give these officials no comfort or hope of a better time coming; they are now learning their duty in the gentlest manner, and must understand that we are in earnest. The report that Sháng Tá-mú has ripped himself up is gaining ground, and excites no little displeasure among some as one of the sad results of our course; but I have great doubts about it and, if it were so, the execrable laws which compel such a step are more to blame, in my view, than we are who had no idea of such a contingency.

Dr. Bettelheim came aboard after his service was over in the "Plymouth" and made himself somewhat dubious by the way in which he spoke of the succession to the Regency and the fate of the old one. This same Dr. Bettelheim contrives to heap a deal of ill-will and contempt up against himself by his conduct.

*Monday, June 27th.*—In the evening rambled over the reefs with Mr. Jones collecting fish and mollusks, all of which were drowned in my jar by mistake. In the night the crew of the "Mississippi" gave a theatrical performance to the squadron. The Commodore rather favors these things, saying that their effect is to keep the crews in good spirits; the men are pleased enough

to have time given them to learn their parts and paint the scenery, a sort of shirking their work which others do not like.

*Tuesday, June 28th.*—The arrival of the "Caprice" this morning gave unwonted stir to our little fleet, and the letters, parcels, stores, etc., were soon scattered among their respective owners, a Chinese assistant to take the place of my old man Sieh and a servant boy, Alai, to attend on me, falling to my share. They both talk the dialect of Shanghai, and I am likely to become expert in the court dialect before I get home, as this teacher needs a deal of explanation. I was glad to see Captain Maury look so well and think he has given satisfaction.

Toward noon the Commodore began to fidget concerning the arrival of his guests and, as the rain came down briskly, it was in a measure doubtful; the boats were sent according to promise for them, but Bettelheim's fears added to the uncertain state of the weather induced him to send us both off also. We met them all aboard the two cutters and had our row in the rain for nothing; Bettelheim was cross, too, because the Regent was ahead of him, and halloed to the boats in vain, making me wish I was out of his company.

The new Regent, Shang Hiung-hium 尙宏勳, two of the Treasurers and the mayor of Napa, with many ti-fu, or subordinates, in all eighteen or so, came off. Captain Buchanan took some of them over the ship and into the engine room, and I went with others elsewhere, but there was no time to show them much, as Perry hurried all down to the table. He seated the Regent and a Treasurer on his right and left; the other two were at the opposite. The Regent has a family likeness to the former, and acted in the same still, hushed manner, exhibiting more uncasiness and constantly glancing here and there as if afraid of treachery. The others enjoyed their dinner and wine, tasting of all and clearing their plates often. The Regent thanked the Commodore for the cattle and promised to rear them; he was further promised some seeds from the United States to distribute among the

people. He had brought some saki and sweetmeats off himself, which were laid on the table too. While dining many sorts of spirits were drunk, and Bettelheim evidently acted as if under their influence, getting up and sitting down, talking and gesticulating in a strange way. I wish more pains had been taken to inform these officers than to guzzle them, but darkness was coming on and no time for aught but eating. The Regent rose to leave two or three times, but was motioned down as often, his host perhaps forgetting that at Shui he left long before the last course and had not the same excuse of night coming on. The Regent was told that we were going to Japan soon, and that other ships were coming here, and we hoped friendly intercourse would spring up. The health of the guests and their country was drunk, in which they joined, but proposed nothing themselves; indeed, nothing could interest or please the Regent except to get off. The rain came down so fast that after the guests were on deck they could not go, and went into Captain Buchanan's cabin to rest awhile. The marines were marshalled and the band played, so that nothing was wanting to show them respect; I suspect the attendants got very little to eat, though their eyes and ears were filled with sights and music. I tried to ascertain from the interpreter whether the old Regent was in Shui, but had no chance; Bettelheim thought he was imprisoned or banished, and increased the dislike of some to him by the smirk with which he told of the poor man's fate—a fate which I think is doubtful. I don't much wonder at his feelings, however; living here for so many years and deprived of common comforts through this man's means, it is not surprising that he should wish a change of rulers. The party of Lewchewans left at sunset, but he remained to try to settle accounts with the purser or caterers, and nearly got a discharge from the ship by accusing the officers of cheating him. It is strange to hear the dislike felt against him by the squadron, yet I can explain it mostly without deeming him to be a scoundrel as others do.

*Wednesday, June 29th.*—Dined with Wayne and Maury in the



"Caprice," and then took a walk to Shui with the latter, much to his delight, as he had not been ashore before, and we really had a pleasant walk through the charming country. We went over to Wi-dumai, the embowered village, and returned along the seaside hilltops from which the view was the one McLeod describes,\* a mixture of sea and shore, copse and wood, cultivated patches of many colors checking the whole, and graves of solid masonry placed in grassy hillsides or surrounded with solid stone walls. The palace grounds at Shui indicate much taste, and the rivulet which runs by Tumai is there collected into a pool of one quarter of a square mile or so, affording many conveniences to the people. We met the tallow tree, mulberry, lotus and taro, cultivated, but not to great extent. The people ran from us, and one left a pail of cool water in the streets for our enjoyment. The strata of limestone is lost sight of as one ascends to Shui, where granite alternates with it.

When we spoke to people this evening they would put their fingers in their ears—a new device to hinder intercourse, which those who did it rather laughed at, for we saw a lurking smile on the faces of several at the grimaces they were told to make.

*Thursday, June 30th.*—Coaling ship all day, which makes the vessel uncomfortable in spite of all the precautions taken. The "Brenda" which came in Tuesday is discharging her load into the "Mississippi," and every preparation making for a start. The "Supply" is to remain, keep possession of the house at Tumai, and the "Caprice" is to remain at Shanghai just long enough to be back here by August 1st.

I have been busy translating the President's letter, and find my Chinese assistant a mere office copyist, one who has had but little reading and is not quick at catching my meaning. Added to this, his pronunciation differs from mine considerably, so that we are frequently thrown off from catching the meaning. He is good-natured and patient, in which qualities I can learn.

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\* Voyage of the "Alceste" to the Yellow Sea. London, 1817.

*Friday, July 1st.*—Went ashore this morning to carry a lot of seeds to the mayor's office for the Regent. I had a long talk while there, chiefly to answer a petition received from the Regent the day before through the mayor who came on board the flagship to present and urge it himself. The purport of this paper was that the Regent requested Commodore Perry to send back two Chinese who had been sent over from Shanghai in the "Brenda" to Dr. Bettelheim as assistants, as they were not wanted. I told the officers that we had no hand in bringing them over, that Dr. Bettelheim was an Englishman and these Chinese were sent by English officers to him, and that we could do nothing in the matter, adding that they had better give up all such ideas of preventing people coming to their shores to live if they wished to do so, and the sooner they began to treat foreigners like friends, allowing them to trade as they pleased, not ordering the people to run from them, or the women to hide themselves, the better they would get along with them. They seemed to understand the matter, but I suspect are not free to follow what is advised. The personal position of the Regent when he went down into the engine-room, urged on by Captain Buchanan and terrified at the ponderous machinery before him, is not unlike his political position now ; pressed on either side by fear of China and Japan, urged to change by what they begin to see is a power more irresistible than either, and yet not seeing their way to do so very clearly, the rulers here deserve more consideration than all have given them. I told them that henceforth American and other ships would visit them more frequently than before and would expect to be well treated. We had treated them kindly and expected to get similar returns. Ichirazichi was very particular in his inquiries as to what ships of the squadron were coming, which was to stay, what force was to be out next year, and other questions showing the desire to ascertain all our movements. I told him all I knew, and, furthermore, thanked him, on behalf of Perry, for building the tomb over the body of the boy buried from the "Susquehanna"

on June 3rd. He said it was their law so to do, and I then commended such a custom. The interview was quite long, but I hope these officials are beginning to understand that we are friendly if they are, and that we mean all we say ; to me, they appear like school boys who need some threatenings and coercion for their own good, to show them that nations have mutual claims, and they must acknowledge these claims. But what can weakness and might, such as are here in contact, do? We are our own expounders of what we wish them to consider right ; but they are not able to see the matter from the same position. However, during the last six weeks a good beginning has been made in this instruction, no harm done to them, and proof enough given of our intention to take all we wish if they are slow in granting it ; they have derived some benefit, I hope, though I fear there are more lessons in this political economy still harder.

At parting I received some pipes and fans, and some tobacco seed, and the good wishes of the company. May they soon be made willing to receive the gospel.

The "Caprice" sailed at noon, sooner than I had supposed she would. Dr. Bettelheim has so tired out the officers that few showed any warm desire to help him get his letters off, and he was too late ; yet there is much to be said on his side too, troubled and vexed as he has been with provision bills from every mess in the fleet. In the evening went to Wi-dumai for the third time ; the people were more friendly than ever, and the village looked charming. The scenery herabouts is truly charming from its peaceful character, evidencing so much the quiet character of the inhabitants, and one cannot fail to relish it.

*Monday, July 4th.*—We sailed from Napa on Saturday morning, taking the "Saratoga" in tow and followed by the "Mississippi" having the "Plymouth" in her rear. We have sighted several islands lying northeast of Lewchew, some of them not accurately laid down. To-day has been a holiday, and a salute was fired at noon from all the ships ; this outburst of patriotism did



well enough to announce to these remote waters the coming of the universal Yankee nation to disturb their apathy and long ignorance, and I hope there will nothing worse come of our visit hitherward than firing some salutes and making a noise. I pray the Governor of nations to so prepare the hearts and allay the fears of the people we are visiting that this mission to them shall be as peaceable as the tenor of President Fillmore's letter to the Emperor, and that their sovereign and his advisers may be led to entertain these proposals favorably. I am sure that the Japanese policy of seclusion is not according to God's plan of bringing the nations of the earth to a knowledge of his truth.

*Friday, July 8th.*—Land appeared on the northwest at daylight, thought by some to be C. Totomi, and ere long C. Izu was seen; a chilly air showed the proximity of the mountains which appeared in the distance about eight o'clock. Many junks were seen near the coast, but not many in our route. The islands lying southeast of C. Izu toward Tatsisio Island showed less plainly, owing to the morning mist, than when I was here in '37, nor was any symptom of volcanic action seen on one of them; the sea was and has been clear of seaweed and pumice until this morning a little was seen of the former. We distanced whatever junks were bound up to Yedo, the two steamers going through the smooth water at an eight-knot pace, and across the Bay of Kawatsu between Capes Izu and Sagami almost no boats were seen; one small craft seeing us coming up rapidly took in sail, turned about and pulled away for Vries Island as if its existence depended on their haste, doubtless to comfort the inhabitants with tidings of the happy luck they had had in not being run over last night. Mount Fusi rose in the distance beyond Cape Izu, with its bifurcated peak, accompanied by many other less elevated points, but all of them concealed more or less with clouds; the mist concealed the coast and hid us too, probably, from the people. The remarkable white rocks along the coast were hidden by the same cause, but a few guns which were ordered to be scaled made our presence known, perhaps,

to those who could not see us. The sight of land diffused a feeling of exhilaration through the whole company, and certainly the dim idea any of us could have of the results of this visit upon us or the Japanese was calculated to excite our minds.

The ships anchored off Uraga about four o'clock, the two steamers being nearest the town. Many boats like scows, full of athletic, naked boatmen, came near. I asked one well-dressed man in the nearest to the gangway to send ashore and request a high officer to come off and take a letter to the Emperor. While talking a second official came up saying, "I talk Dutch," whereupon Mr. Portman told him that the Commodore only wanted to have a high officer to come aboard; he then pointed to the highest one there was to take such a commission, the second governor in Uraga, standing near him, and said that he could not venture to go ashore for any other. After some parley these two were admitted and received by Lieutenant Contee in Captain Buchanan's cabin and told that the President had sent four ships on a peaceful errand to the Emperor with a friendly letter, which it was desired to send up to Yedo with dispatch by a proper person. No answer was given to the questions made about our course, men, equipage, etc., which they were told national vessels never described. The town of Uraga was said to contain 1800 houses, and it was eighteen or twenty-seven miles to the capital. These officials said they would come to-morrow and receive the letter. The "commandant," as he called himself, had writing paper brought and made a report in official form of what he had heard, which he read to the interpreter, and then took leave. He was enjoined to send all boats away, as we would not go ashore, and they were therefore useless; this was done to as great a degree as one could expect as soon as they went away. Both these men were dressed in black crape upper cloaks and a sort of petticoat, having the coat-of-arms stamped in white on the arms and back; their long swords were taken off as they sat down. The

commandant showed his official insignia, a kind of brass trapezium with a swinging vernier, the rim marked in Chinese figures; he had written rolls containing commands ordering us, as I suppose they would all ships to whom they were presented, to anchor where we were, but he did not offer to show them, as we were already anchored.

Our position was above that of the "Morrison" or "Columbus,"\* and it commanded the town; four rockets were sent up before anchoring from Kan-na-zaki, the point seen above the town, probably to inform the capital. The town lies close to the beach, many boats lying off, and appears compact and well built; four forts are near the shore in various places. Most of the boats near the ship bore small square flags marked  others  both said to show they belonged to the government; no arms were seen in the boats, but many well-dressed persons had come off to see the ships, and I was somewhat surprised to see them go ashore with so little apparent reluctance when we told the commandant to order them away.

The bay looks as it did sixteen years ago, and the reef of rocks is as I remember; we did not see the town then as we can in this position, but the headland around which we saw boats come and go so often I remember well. The authorities will bring no guns now to drive us off. The coast line from Cape Sagami is well defined—a steep bluff with little beach, well wooded and cultivated here and there, trees along the ridge—these are the features. No preparations of a hostile nature are visible, nor do the forts appear well mounted or manned; nothing is to be seen of all that Bettelheim was so confident of.

About six o'clock the two officials came back with a third and were received as before. They made a long talk about the necessity of taking our letter to Nagasaki, the only place where

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\* U.S. ship of the line which, under Commodore Biddle, anchored here July 20, 1846, to open negotiations with the Japanese government. The official account of the visit appears in the U.S. Senate Documents, 1851-52, Vol. IX. (Ex. Doc. No. 59.)

Japanese laws allowed its reception, and that the governor on shore could not receive it; we asked them if he took the responsibility of refusing it, and said, that having received our orders to go to Yedo from our own ruler, we were as much obliged to obey as he was; further, that he had told us on the first visit that he would come off to-morrow with a higher officer to receive it, and that he must have known the laws as well then as he did now, two hours after, and if he did not come and get the letter we must take it ashore ourselves. These replies rather cut short their long talk, and they agreed to come for the letter to-morrow as they went over the side. Before leaving the sharp-faced commandant went aft to look at the big gun, asked if it was a Paixhan, took its range to the shore, and then examined the locks of the guns near the gangway; he had evidently a commission to this effect, but we gave him no chance to see much, for we have an object highly desirable to effect as peaceably as possible—that our letter be received without force, so that there be no collision before the government is fully aware of our designs. I pray God to order these combustibles now brought together so that they shall warm each other rather than mutually consume one another.

*Friday, July 9th.*—Watches were kept during the night on board as if expecting an enemy; and on shore the tinkle of a bell or gong was distinctly heard during the whole night. Several boats full of men were lying off shore at daylight, so that it is not unlikely that watch and ward were maintained by both sides while darkness reigned, and the sight of something like black screens along the shore strengthen this idea. About seven o'clock the highest officer at Uraga, named Yezaimon, attended by two interpreters and four or five others, came off; a parley took place off the gangway as to the object of the visit, rank of the officer, and person they could not see. At last Captain Buchanan was ready to receive them in his room, three only coming up. When seated, Yezaimon stated that he had come aboard to express his official inability to re-

ceive the letter and, though he himself was willing to take it, the laws of the land forbade it. It was replied that the ships would remain here till the letter was received, and that we wished to have a suitable person come aboard to take it; that we had been sent by the President to the Emperor and must execute our commission which weighed upon us as strictly as their laws did on them. Reference being made again to Nagasaki, they were told that we were sent here, and because it was near the palace. The originals of the letter and credence were then shown them, and also the package containing the translations; they showed little or no admiration at them, but wished to know the reason for sending four ships to carry such a box and letter to the Emperor; yet whether the reason assigned, "to show respect to him," fully met their doubts as to the reason for such a force could not be inferred from their looks. A courteous offer of water and supplies was made, which was declined, and Yezaimon added then that he would not come off again before the termination of the four days allowed to send to Yedo, a period they themselves set as the time required to send up and deliberate upon the matter. They were clearly informed of the meaning of a white flag, and also that visits were out of season till after the flags were hoisted in the morning.

During the whole of this interview the bearing of these Japanese was dignified and self-possessed. Yezaimon spoke in a clear voice and, through Tatsnoski, who put it into Dutch for Mr. Portman, I could make out almost all they said; but it would require considerable practice to speak that style, and I am not sorry that one of them knows Dutch so much better than I do Japanese, for I think intercommunication is likely to be more satisfactory. At the close of the interview the interpreter said the officer present was the highest in Uraga, and his name Yezaimon; "What is the name of the captain of this ship?" He was told, and nothing could be more polite than the whole manner of this incident. While I was on the gangway before they came up one said, "Are you an American?"



—"Yes, to be sure I am," I replied in a tone to intimate some surprise at the question, whereat there was a general laugh. Tatsnoski then asked my name and I his; Yezaimon had a brocade pattern of drawers, but a beautiful black gauze jacket, a *kami-shimo*, I suppose they call it. His crest was on his lackered hat also; the boatmen had a blue and white striped livery coat, and looked more decent than the naked fellows yesterday. A flag with  $\equiv$  marked on it was explained to denote his being of the third rank. Among his attendants was one red-checked, girlish looking young man of prepossessing features. A large buccina was taken out of a box, adorned with tassels and having a brass at the vertex, but I could not make out its use. How curious one becomes when allowed to see things and people by glimpses in this way, and unable to ask and explain fully!

We are anchored in twenty-one fathoms, and off Kan-no-zaki forty-three were found, so that we can go further up on occasion. We are fully four miles above Ingersoll's anchorage, and have the peak of Fusi-san visible over Uraga, or Uraka, as Siebold's map has it. On the opposite side of the bay two considerable towns are seen, one of them a resort of boats; the land rises gradually in that direction to no great elevation, but seems to be rather well cultivated. No boats are about the ship, but numbers are sailing in all directions, some of which evidently pass near the ships to see them. The tide runs very strong and various patches of seaweed and Medusa are common. The bay is a fine one, and Mr. Hine has taken a drawing of the shore and below Uraga. Four forts are hereabouts, one of them a recent undertaking, but they show few guns mounted and no strength. Parties of soldiers are stationed on shore to watch our landing, and one boat came so near as to start them up to defend their inviolate territory.

*Sunday, July 10th.*—Little of interest occurred to-day. The two interpreters came alongside with a new officer, described as being of less rank than the other two whom we have had.

on board before. As he had not come to see or say aught respecting the reception of the letter, but on some other business, to explain which he wished to come up, he was not allowed to cross the gangway. The boat bore two flags, one the usual white-black-white one, and another with a figure 5 in red; the men had the blue-white striped jackets we have usually seen; the order and discipline maintained in these boats is superior to Chinese boats. Many boats bearing various flags astern have gone about the ships from time to time, evidently to gratify curiosity; perhaps high dignitaries have come from Yedo to see the big ships of which rumor probably gives full accounts. Soldiers are evidently collecting in our vicinity, and glasses are so constantly in use that no movements of importance along shore escape notice. Trade has not been suspended at all on account of our presence, for the bay is at times alive with boats, and some sixty were counted to-day passing up northward.

All these notices and interruptions tend to distract one's thoughts from the seriousness of the day which, except the formal service at half past ten o'clock, has hardly been referred to as being different from other days. I think to lead a life of godliness on board a man-of-war must require a large measure of the Spirit.

*Monday, July 11th.*—A surveying expedition was fitted out to-day to explore the bay northward, consisting of a boat from each ship and the "Mississippi" for an escort. They started about nine o'clock and the boats were ere long out of sight around Kan-na-zaki where the Japanese had collected many boats, each containing eight or ten soldiers all accoutred and carrying lances and swords, their banners flying and officers stationed to intercept them. Mr. Bent's boat was nearly surrounded, and if the steamer had not been at hand to support him he would perhaps have been attacked and doubtless compelled to return. Swords were drawn, but the Japanese were content with demonstrating their purpose and drew back as the party came on. About forty-five boats came out against them,

quite enough to have turned them back ; no matchlocks or cannon were seen, but may have been concealed. Some officers wore brazen helmets and a sort of cuirass, and some had red jackets. A boat came near the steamer on her return containing an officer or two in rich dresses, but no intercourse was had with them. The boats found deep water about ten miles, and it is thought the city of Yedo was seen in the distance. Great numbers of troops were seen embarking from the low land northeast of us, and beyond the same spot a large city was seen, perhaps Imatomi.

While this party was away, Yezaimon and the interpreter Tatsnoski came off and, after being seated in the cabin and compliments passed, he told Captain Buchanan that it was probable that the letter would be received to-morrow, and that if he came off it doubtless would be taken. We expressed pleasure at hearing this, reiterated our amicable intentions in coming here and told him we expected that his government would receive us in a friendly way. The real design of the visit then was hinted at by an allusion to the steamer, and they were told her object simply was to sound the bay, so that, if we came here again, we should know where was the proper anchorage, and that she was to return in the evening. The two gentlemen were in good spirits, took a glass of wine and seemed pleased at the offer of examining the vessel when they came to-morrow. They soon rose to leave and were unusually polite at departure ; one of their flags had a figure six on it. Some of the flags seen ashore and red-jackets, too, to-day had 會 on them.

*Tuesday, July 12th.*—The appearance of the bay this morning was beautiful from the sun shining through the mist which lay thinly on the water and through which the shores were faintly visible ; the whole was carried off by the rising sun. Few vessels were stirring before nine o'clock.

About ten o'clock Yezaimon (whose whole name is Kaya-marin Yezaimon 香山連榮清門, with an addition of 永孝, Naga-nori), and the two interpreters came in a large boat to say

that the letter would be received, but that he could not tell exactly the day. This led to explanation, and I was not surprised to see that in their minds the copies had been confounded with the originals, and that they referred to the latter and we to the former ; that they had made an appointment of an envoy to take those, while we supposed them to be hesitating about the transmission of these. The copies were shown them, and Yezaimon refused to take them, preferring to make further application to his superiors to learn their will. The conference was very long from the apprehensions of our visitors and their constant reference to law, so that at last the Commodore sent in his note that he would never go to Nagasaki nor receive aught through the Dutch or Chinese, that he would deliver the originals only to an officer of equal rank or to the Emperor, and that he must see his credentials. It was assured us that the envoy was a high officer, and I suggested that he was the prince of Sagami in whose jurisdiction Uruga lies. A proper place was now preparing for receiving the letter, for there was no public hall suitable in such a place. The need of first receiving the copies was insisted on, and that it was indispensable to meet an equal ; so, after three hours' talk and receiving a paper in Dutch with these points stated clearly, they went ashore to inquire about forwarding the copies, promising to return in an hour or so. During this long confabulation I tried to get some information of a general nature, but they were rather skittish, refusing to tell by pleading ignorance even of the town north of the point, of the name of the opposite town across the bay, and such like matters.

It was four o'clock before the trio came aboard and then to declare decidedly that they had all along understood that the originals were to be received, and that an envoy had come whose credentials should be presented as evidence of his true character beforehand. The principal points were then stated in writing—that the Commodore would deliver the originals and copies together at any designated place on shore, that he would

return for an answer, that he must see the credentials of his host, that he should come ashore with a suitable escort, and that no conference respecting the contents of the papers was expected when they were presented, but merely a ceremonial visit. The constant fear on their part evidently was that we meant more than we said and had designs *sub rosa*; they were referred to the letters as containing all we came for and told that these must be answered or consulted; hints were also given of our going up the bay.

At our request Tatsnoski showed his swords to the company. The scabbard of one was covered with a white-brown speckled fish skin, which he said was brought from China; perhaps it is from Manchuria; it was smooth and nicely covered the wooden sheath. The other was covered with hair beautifully lathered and wound around. The blade was rather sharp, quite plain, and bright, but not superior to ours, at least judging by the looks; two gold dragons ornamented the ends of the hilt which was long, for two hands, and covered with knotted silk. These swords are worn in a most inconvenient way for our custom of sitting in chairs, but not for their usage of squatting. The prices were twenty and thirty taels for the small and large ones.

After all points were explained they requested to see the engine, and were taken through the ship. The size of the machinery seemed to gratify and amaze them, and every principle of propulsion was explained as well as the time allowed. Yezaimon, on seeing coal, said that Japan produced it in many places, as Firado Island, Awa in Sikokf, and Yamatto, besides others; its uses he knew and was far from making himself foolish, as the man did who got a piece from the "Preble" at Nagasaki. The size of the furnaces and the complicated nature of the machinery drew their wondering gaze. The guns, muskets and all the arrangements of the ship, the small proportion of the sick out of the 300 souls in her, were all informed them, and they observed everything. A daguerrotype pleased them

much, they having previously heard of the name. The survey of such a steamer evidently gratified a reasonable curiosity.

From the interpreter Tokoshiuro, 立石得十郎光定, I learned that the *monjo* of the present *cubo* is Kayei, 嘉永, and this his sixth year; his predecessor was Choka, 弘化, and before him was Tenpo, 天保, who ruled when we were here in 1837. These monarchs do not reign so long as their brother emperors at Peking, and I suspect have less power and influence in the state; if the story be true that they are required to resign whenever they are in the minority with the state council on public questions, it is no wonder their reigns are brief. He also gave me the official title of Yezaimon, 浦賀騎士長, which is literally, the "Uraga riding elder scholar," but what this means I do not know; his subordinate who came aboard the ship first, named Nagazhima Saboroske, 中島三郎助, is styled 浦賀騎隊, the "Uraga Rider of a battalion," which is alike obscure; his duties seemed to include those of port warden among others.

*Wednesday, July 13th.*—The officials did not reach the ship till four o'clock to-day, alleging the non-arrival of the envoy from Yedo until late in the day. Yezaimon brought the credentials of this commission and a translation in Dutch, but no copy in Japanese or Chinese, so that it is impossible to verify the certainty of this translation, though I do not suppose any deception is to be feared. He was rather sensitive when I came up to him to see the paper, and stipulated beforehand that it was not to go out of his hands. The seal was a small round one in the seal character and was stamped once in halves by folding the paper over so as to bisect the impression; the paper was common and the whole was carried in a case in the bosom of the dress. I suggested the propriety of having a copy in the original, but it was overruled. Many points respecting the interview were settled; the place was at Kuri-yama around a point below Uraga, and the size and composition of the escort was inquired into. One difficulty on their part came out, which was the

trouble of seating so many foreigners in a country where the people all squatted, but we told them it was unimportant and the Commodore would take the same accommodation the envoy had.

Three of their attendants walked over the ship while these three were in the cabin, and expressed their thanks afterward at the sight, which was one they had perhaps wished for, since they had often come off before; the oldest of them wished to know if the women in the United States were white, and then where I had learned his language. In explaining the last I told him there were many Japanese sailors abroad. The way in which this man talked gave me the impression that freer intercourse with foreigners would please many thousands of people in Japan if the restriction now existing is divested of all danger and the people can do as they like to their visitors.

The suspicious character of the officials seemed to show itself plainly to-day, but their inquiries may have been forced upon them, and they obliged to ask so many questions to satisfy their superiors who had not had their opportunities.

*Tuesday, July 14th.*—The squadron was full of bustle this morning, getting arms burnished, boats ready, steam up, men dressed and making all the preparations necessary to go ashore and be prepared for any alternative. About half past seven o'clock the steamers were under weigh, and soon opened the beach around the point and disclosed the preparations made to receive the letters from President Fillmore. The officials, in their boats, were lying off the "Susquehanna" waiting to see the flag hoisted, and about the time our anchor was down they were alongside. There were two boats carrying six officials dressed in full costume who, when seated on deck, presented a most singularly grotesque and piebald appearance blended with a certain degree of richness from the gay colors they wore. The second officer was a conspicuous member of this party, he not having been aboard before since the first day; his dark face and sharp features contrasting with his yellow robe, and his







Commodore Perry landing at Kurihama, 14th July, 1853.

black socks, hairy bare legs and short trowsers, all showing out from the overalls of his uniform, made him rather an attractive object. I cannot describe the dresses of these men minutely, but the effect was not unpleasant, though in most of them no harmony of colors was aimed at in the uniforms. They all seemed to be in good spirits and amused themselves looking at the officers in their uniforms and other objects.

By ten o'clock the boats had left the steamer and, under the lead of the natives, were pretty much landed before eleven o'clock on the beach at Kuri-hama, 久里濱, opposite the shed erected for our reception and surrounded with striped curtains; Commodore Perry left under a salute and found the escort ready when he landed to conduct him to the house prepared for his audience. There were fifteen boats in all, containing about 300 people, say 112 marines, 40 musicians, 40 officers and a hundred or more sailors. Every one was armed with a sword, a pistol or a musket, and most of the fire-arms were loaded; I borrowed a coat and sword so as to appear like the rest, but my uniform would hardly bear inspection or classification. A jetty had been made of bundles of straw covered with sand and facilitated the landing very greatly. The precaution of bringing down the two steamers to cover the place of meeting made it easy to land from them without exposure to the sun; the bay near shore was deep but full of seaweed growing in long leaves to near the surface, and doubtless full of marine productions.

The place appointed for receiving these letters was a hut set up on the beach, having two small ones behind it, the whole inclosed by white and blue striped curtains hanging from poles; a screen was in front concealing the front of the rooms and a large opening at each end of it, between that and the side curtains, which were prolonged along the beach on each hand for nearly half a mile. The village was in the south of the cove near the corner from whence the "Morrison" was

fired at, a poor hamlet of 200 thatched huts, mostly concealed from our view by the curtains and the crowd. The hills rose behind, partly cultivated and looking exceedingly fresh and green, inviting us in vain to explore their slopes, for the ridiculous laws interfere to prevent our trespassing on them. Truly, laws which prevent such things must have been brought about by a hard and dear experience, for it is against nature thus to prohibit intercourse between man and man.

The Japanese had placed a row of armed boats near the ends of the curtains, and detachments of troops were stationed before the curtains in close array, standing to their arms, their pennons flying from the curtains and gradually bending down to meet the boats at each end. Some of these troops were dressed in dirty white, in a manner similar to the troops in Egypt, with full breeches and tight stockings; others resembled Chinese troops, and many were in a tightly fitting habit. Horsemen were placed behind one or two curtains who wore brass cuirasses and metallic helmets or something like it. Their horses were large animals, far beyond the Chinese beasts I have seen, in size, and looking like another race than the little Lewchewan ponies. All these troops (numbering about 5000 men, as one of the Japanese told me,) maintained the utmost order, nor did the populace intrude beyond the guard. A few miserable fieldpieces stood in front, not over 4<sup>16</sup> or 5<sup>16</sup>er, I should think; many files had muskets with bayonets, others had spears, and most I could not see. Crowds of women were noticed by some near the markee, but I suspect they were not numerous. Altogether, the Japanese had taken great pains to receive us in style, while each side had provided against surprises from the other and prepared against every contingency.

As soon as Commodore Perry landed all fell into procession; Captain Buchanan, who was the first man ashore, had arranged all in their places so that no hindrance took place. The marines, headed by Major Zeilen, led off, he going ahead with a drawn sword; then half of the sailors with one band

playing between the two parties. Two tall blacks heavily armed supported as tall a standard bearer, carrying a commodore's pennant, and went next before two boys carrying the President's letter and the Full Powers in their boxes covered with red baize. The Commodore, supported by Captain Adams and Lieutenant Contee, each wearing chapeaux, then advanced; the interpreters and secretary came next succeeded by Captain Buchanan and the gay-appearing file of officers whose epaulettes, buttons, etc., shone brightly in the sun. A file of sailors and the band, with marines under Captain Slack, finished this remarkable escort. The escort of Von Resanoff at Nagasaki of seven men was denied a landing until they had been stripped of almost everything belonging to a guard of honor; here, fifty years after, a strongly armed escort of 300 Americans do honor to their President's letter at the other end of the empire, the Japanese being anxious only to know the size and arrangement of what they feel themselves powerless to resist. There were fully a thousand charges of ball in the escort besides the contents of the cartridge boxes. Any treachery on their part would have met a serious revenge.

On reaching the front of the marquee the two envoys were seen seated on campstools on the left side of a room, twenty feet square or so, matted and covered with red felt; four campstools were ranged on the right side, and a red lacquered box between them. The chief envoy, 戸田伊豆守, Toda, Idzu no kami (Toda, prince of Idzu), and his coadjutor, 井戸石見守, Ido, Iwamè no kami (Ido, prince of Iwamè), rose as the Commodore entered, and the two parties made slight bows to each other. The boys laid the boxes on the floor and the two blacks came in to open them. They were taken out and opened upon the lacquered box, and the packet containing the copies and translations presented by Mr. Contee. Tatsnoske and Yezaimon were both on the floor, and the former commenced the interview by asking if the letters were ready to be delivered. When he made known the reply he put his head nearly to the floor in

speaking to Yezaimon who, on his knees, informed the envoy in a whisper. The receipt for them in Dutch and Japanese was then delivered to Mr. Portman, and the originals themselves opened out in the boxes as they lay. Soon after, Commodore Perry said that in two or three days he intended to leave for Lewchew and China, and would take any letters, etc., for the envoys. This produced no acknowledgment on their part, and he then added that there was a revolution in China by insurgents who had taken Nanking and Amoy, and wished to introduce a new religion. "It will be better not to talk about revolutions at this time," was the significant reply, and proper one too, for I thought it very mal-apropos to bring in such a topic. Yet one might regard it with interest as ominous of the important changes which might now be coming on the Japanese, and of which this interview was a good commencement.

Conversation being thus stopped and no signs of any refreshment appearing, there was nothing else to do than to go. The contrast between its interlocutors was very striking. In the front was a group of foreign officers and behind them the picturesque looking, shaven-pated Japanese in relief against the checked screen; on the left a row of full-dressed officers with swords, epaulettes, etc., all in full lustre; on the right the two envoys and a secretary, with two more plainly dressed men on their knees between the two rows. To describe the robes of these two envoys is difficult. The upper mantilla was a slate-colored brocade kind of silk, made stiff at the shoulders so as to stick out squarely; the girdle a brown color, and the overall trowsers of purplish silk; the swords were not very rich-looking. The coat-of-arms was conspicuous on the sleeves, and some of the undergarments appearing, gave a peculiarly harlequin-like look to his dress, to which the other envoy was accordant. They were immovable and never stirred or hardly spoke during the whole interview; one who tarried a little as we came out said that they relaxed in their stiffness as soon as we had gone, apparently glad that all was over. I got the impression that the

two high men had pursed themselves up to an attitude, and had taken on this demure look as part of it, but others looked on it as a subdued manner as if afraid. The re-embarkation took place gradually, no one being in much of a hurry, and I began to talk to the people and invited two of them on board to see the steamer and a revolver. One man wished to know if the women in America were white; another, how he could learn strategy, to which I replied, "Only by your going abroad or letting us come here." I asked him why there was no music, to which he answered that it was very poor. Considerable curiosity was manifested in comparing swords, and some exchanges were proposed; altogether, this part of the interview was far the pleasantest to both parties, and I suspect the Japanese were sorry to see the show end so soon. Many picked up shells and pebbles to remember the spot, and by one o'clock everybody was back to his place.

Two boats full of people came alongside soon after and stayed on board while we steamed back to Uraga. Yezaimon especially took much interest in seeing the working of such stupendous machinery and inquiring into the manner of turning the wheels. All was made plain as we could explain it, though I fear the ideas were very crudely expressed, for I did not know their language well enough, and Portman seemed not to know the machine well enough.

One of our visitors was the military commander of Uraga, an open-faced, pleasant man who wished to learn something of tactics and the construction of revolvers. One of the pistols was fired off by Captain Buchanan to gratify him and Saboroske, and they had many measurements to take of the cannon on deck; the latter greatly amused us by going through the manual with a gun he took off the stand, his face pursed up as if he was a valiant hero. This man is altogether the most forward, disagreeable officer we have had on board, and shows badly among the generally polite men we have hitherto had, prying round into everything and turning over all he saw. At our

request the party remained on board while we steamed up to Uraga and then bid us good-bye, having made themselves conspicuous in every part of the ship by their parti-colored dresses. Some refreshments were given them in the cabin, and they went off in good humor.

The receipt given by the two envoys was to this purport: "According to Japanese law it is illegal for any paper to be received from foreign countries except at Nagasaki, but as the Commodore has taken much trouble to bring the letter of the President here, it is notwithstanding received. No conversation can be allowed, and as soon as the documents and the copy are handed over you will leave." The Japanese original is written on very thick paper made from the mulberry (*Broussonetia*); the last sentence of it intimated they were to make sail immediately.

The four ships now stood up the bay and anchored about where the "Mississippi" had sounded, some twelve miles above Uraga. Erelong, Yezaimon appeared alongside looking sour enough at this his third visit to the "Susquehanna" to-day. His object was soon explained, and we endeavored to ease his mind in respect to surveying the harbor, telling him that we had told him we were not going to sail immediately, but to go about the bay and seek a better anchorage than that off Uraga for placing our ships next year. The extent of the time we should stay could not be stated, but not likely to exceed four days; we would not land, nor would there be any trouble if the Japanese made none, for our boats were strictly ordered to abstain from theirs. I think he himself was satisfied of our intentions, but his superiors were probably alarmed at the risk and sent him to do what he could to prevent further progress. The interview was rather tedious from its being a struggle, and I suspect the interlocutors were all pleased when it was over. Others from the boat came on board and walked through the ship, and I wish there were more who could have seen her. At this visit and the one earlier in the afternoon many things were shown

our visitors, such as engravings, daguerreotypes and curiosities of various sorts, which tended to relieve the monotony of the visit as well as instruct them a little. I have now learned more fluency by my practice and did considerable side talking.

At eventide we were left alone and thus closed this eventful day, one which will be a day to be noted in the history of Japan, one on which the key was put into the lock and a beginning made to do away with the long seclusion of this nation, for I incline to think that the reception of such a letter in such a public manner involves its consideration if not its acceptance; at least the prestige of determined seclusion on her part is gone after the meeting at Kuri-hama.

*Friday, July 15th.*—The “Saratoga” and “Plymouth” came up to-day from the anchorage off Uraga in Lat.  $35^{\circ} 15'$  N., Long.  $139^{\circ} 49'$  E., to join the two steamers at the “American Anchorage” in  $35^{\circ} 23'$  N.,  $139^{\circ} 41'$  E., off a thinly inhabited coast. The shores were much more wooded here than off Uraga, and steeper. North of us on a low projecting point were seen many pennons and increasing crowds of people, perhaps many of them soldiers brought or attracted from Kanagawa and the interjacent country to see us. No signs or words could attract any of the numerous boats to draw even within fair speaking distance. The surveying boats went up in the morning almost out of sight, and in the afternoon the Commodore proceeded in the “Mississippi” over the same and some new ground. The town of Kawasaki stretched along the north bank of the Taba-gawa, a well-placed and populous town. We thought at the time that this was Kanagawa, but by Siebold’s map that town lies south and on no stream, a little inland not far from our “American Anchorage,” and the people who come on board seem so chary of telling the name of a single place that one cannot feel confident they tell it right when they do give it. There were many vessels entering and more at anchor in the river, which seemed a wide stream near the town. Nothing of



Yedo could be distinguished, but a long, serried row of masts seemed to indicate the position of Shinagawa, the suburb port of the capital. A singular shaped structure in the bay seemed to limit the vessels' going-up track on the east ; Sam Patch calls it Boōgi and describes it as a tree on an islet. It looked like a steamer coming end on, with an enormous smoke pipe, or a roundhouse with a tower rising from the midst ; he said it had nothing to do with ships, and in fact knew almost nothing about it except its existence, and that Yedo was three or four *ri* northwesterly from it. The land east of this was too low to see more than the trees and hills, but no signs of islands appeared from our ship anywhere, and the land rose on the northeast and east shores. We estimated ourselves to be ten miles from Yedo, and turned about at evening in seventeen fathoms, pleased with having had a look at Kawasaki and as far ahead of it as we could see. The shores were well wooded, but the population did not apparently increase as we neared the city, and we were obliged to turn back without a sight of the goal.

On returning to the "Susquehanna" we learned that Yezaimon had come alongside with some presents which were declined until the Commodore could be seen. He looked disappointed, but was told to come again in the morning as soon as the flag was up. A surveying party also returned at evening to report. It had penetrated up a creek where some intercourse with the people had been held from the boats, the whole population, men, women and children, running down to see the foreigners from the beach, and showing much pleasure at the chance. Some water and green peaches were procured from them, and all that was wanted was ability to understand each other. There were some motions made of cutting throats, but no one seemed to regard them otherwise than gestures, and the two parties separated much gratified with their unexpected interview. The country along the creek and coast was pretty but not much settled. It is truly a disappointment to lie off so inviting a country day after day and be obliged to only spy it through

glasses and guess what this and that thing is. Wait till we come again !

*Saturday, July 16th.*—Off Saru-sima. We came down to this beautiful islet of Saru-sima early this morning ; it lies about halfway between Uraga and the "American Anchorage," less than half a mile from the shore, and is perhaps 200 to 225 feet high, prettily wooded and defended by three forts made of earth embankments with wide portholes ; the walls of these embankments were grassy and, the scarp of the hill behind being likewise grassy, they were almost masked batteries. Few places along the bay have been better chosen than this islet for defending the passage or for a pleasant residence for troops. The banks along the main land were singularly cultivated in alternate stripes of clearings and copses, giving it a striped look, especially near the village of Otsu.

Almost before we had anchored Yezaimon came pulling alongside bringing the presents ; the interpreters came in two boats and showed us a memorandum in Dutch to the effect that the letter of the President sent through the Dutch at Nagasaki had been received, and that probably our present letter would be favorably regarded by the council, but that it rather worked against us (by what manner was not intimated) to be cruising about the bay and examining it as we did. This paper received no notice, being merely a memorandum such as we had given them, and yet its contents were evidently directly pointed to attain our departure as soon as possible by holding out the hope of attaining our end. It is not unlikely, therefore, if we could remain in the bay a month, showing the ships here and there, that the great ends of the mission might be obtained now in order to avoid a second visit.

Yezaimon and his suite took breakfast with Captains Buchanan and Adams and behaved themselves very properly. The presents in return for theirs were ready about nine o'clock, consisting of 1 box of tea, 3 engravings of steamers and a house, 3 History of U.S., 20 ps. of coarse cotton, bale of drillings, a

loaf of sugar, box of champagne and demijohn of whiskey, they declining to receive the 3 swords. Theirs were 5 pieces of brocade, 40 bamboo fans, 50 tobacco pipes and 50 lacquered cups, which were described as merely tokens of remembrance, and they wished us to receive them as personal favors. Considerable discussion ensued on this point; they wished to leave theirs on board and ask permission to take ours in the afternoon, or to send ashore to ask their superiors, but no alternative could be allowed; they must either take ours, or carry their own back again, and we had begun to put them up to be replaced in their boat when they agreed to the least serious alternative for them and went off with the Commodore's presents and list, taking a few other mementos from us who had had most of the conferences with them, such as coins, soap, pictures, etc. I have no doubt they kept the whole themselves, concealing the transaction (as an exchange on equal terms) from their superiors.

During the day a survey of this part of the bay was completed, the two sloops came down to the spot, and when in the afternoon Yezaimon came off to bring a parting *douceur* of fowls and eggs we were able to reassure him that the squadron would sail in the morning as we had promised him when at breakfast. His assortment of fowls was rather a pretty collection of bantam and other kinds, and he made no objection to receiving a box of seeds, two cakes, bottles of cologne, cherry cordial, maraschino and some cakes of soap, besides a good potation of punch and champagne under his girdle. He was in very good humor with everybody and left us, with all his retinue, about five o'clock, having visited the ship every day since he first came off a week ago this morning. In all his conduct he has shown great propriety, apparently never getting out of humor, and exhibiting no hauteur or acerbity toward his inferiors; listening to whatever was told him with courtesy, whatever its purport.

At this and other interviews we endeavored to please our visitors by showing them pictures of various things, daguerreo-

types and other little articles. I showed the map of Yedo I had, and they pointed out some places on it saying that the city had very much increased in the eighty-six years since the map was drawn; they asked no questions relating to it, and were disinclined to answer many, for geography seems to be a delicate subject whenever alluded to in any way. On their part no general questions were asked, so far as I now remember, at any interview, except the names of those whom they met in conference; nor did they exhibit a single article of curiosity or show the least willingness to exchange anything as mementos except a fan which Yezaimon and I passed.

They cannot, I should think, conceal from themselves that during the last week their government has let down the principle of seclusion it has hitherto maintained in refusing all intercourse with foreign nations, except the pent up, despicable communications held with the Dutch and Chinese at Nagasaki, which must have tended to exalt their own importance and nourish their conceit in a great degree. Let anyone read Langsdorff's\* account of the treatment of the Dutch at Nagasaki, and note their complying demeanor to all the insolence of the officials, and his detail of the indignities Resanoff was obliged to submit to from the same men when he was there in a half crippled condition in a leaky ship, and was put off by the most trifling, impertinent excuses, and compare them with the incidents here given, and he must see that we have made a very different impression upon the government, and led the chief rulers to adopt an entirely different course, whether from fear or deliberative purpose, or whatever other reason. I pray God most humbly to order all future events so that the seclusion hitherto maintained may be removed without any collision and open the way for the introduction of this people to their fellow-men and their gradual elevation in science, arts and true religion.

*Sunday, July 17th.*—We got under weigh this morning

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\* Georg Heinrich. Baron von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels during the years 1803-1807.*

and, each steamer taking a sloop in tow, passed out of the bay at the rate of nine knots, in a calm, showing most plainly the power of steam to the thousands who watched us. The houses at Kuri-hama were still standing and the pennons fluttering at most of the forts, with a number of the curtains still stretched out, but not many troops appeared. At the part near Cape Sagami fully a thousand boats were seen, all of them small ones and without sails, each containing six to ten people apparently abroad for no other object than to see the ships depart. To a maritime people, the contrast between their weak junks and slight shallops and these powerful vessels must have made a deep impression.

During the day we passed down among the islands off the bay and noted three not laid down in our charts, which were immediately labeled by our officers after the three ships, the "Plymouth" having already been accommodated with a rock. These islets seemed uninhabited, but this conclusion may be erroneous. Vulcan Island exhibited no smoke and looked invitingly green, so that its fires may have gone out in late years.

*Monday, July 25th.*—During the last week we have been making slow progress, chiefly owing to bad weather which came on within a few hours of the change of the full moon. "Saratoga" was in tow all day Monday, but her two chief officers were called on board to receive orders, and when they went back took my two Chinese to land in Shanghai on board with them. The two ships let loose their hawsers Tuesday afternoon, and next morning were just in sight ahead. Wednesday we had a strong northeast wind, and Thursday it had increased so that we lay to, heading southeast for twenty-four hours, and then northeast for most part of Friday, the sea being very cross and high, indicating more severity of wind than we had, not far from us. The yards and topmasts were sent down, guns lashed and steam reduced, whereby no damage was sustained. The reason for all this caution was the desire to see and examine the O-

shima Islands which lie north-northeast of Lewchew, after the sea and wind abated, but by Friday noon it was decided to go straight to Napa, and defer their inspection till a more fitting time and pleasanter weather. The wind remained steadily at the east and we made one point of Barrow Bay yesterday morning, and expected to get into port in the evening; but as it thickened up toward night, the Commodore stood off when within only six or eight miles of it and bore away to the south and west. We got up steam early this morning and, after running about twenty-five miles, cast anchor in Napa harbor, the expenditure of coal for this cautious movement being about \$500, and Perry almost the only one in favor of it. However, none under him had the responsibility.

As usual, I was so seasick as to be unable to do any work and could get little comfort from Mr. Taylor who was, if anything, rather worse. This penalty is now over, however, and I am thankful we are safely back without any mishap to crews or ships. Many are disappointed in not finding the "Powhatan" in port, but I shall be glad to see the "Plymouth," showing herself off the harbor in good condition, and the "Caprice" following her in like order.

*Tuesday, July 26th.*—The mayor of Napa has been wise enough to resign his office within a day or two, and his successor, Mau Yuh-lin 毛玉麟, sent his cards off yesterday evening to the Commodore and Captain Lee, and the messengers tried to learn something of our visit to Japan and its results, but I turned them off by promising to return their visit to-morrow and telling them then. This morning, accordingly, Captain Adams and I waited on the new mayor, a far inferior official in his bearing and energy to the former, and apparently older. The other man, I suspect, has had enough of interviews and dinners, and retires to safe retirement before he embroils himself. Several points were submitted to the mayor this morning which he was unprepared to answer directly and did not wish to at all. We thanked the government for erecting a tombstone over the grave

of Pons, and wished to learn the cost in order to repay the same; but as they declined to mention it we told them that they need not put up one over the man buried yesterday from the "Mississippi." The rental of the house at Tunai for a year was demanded, in order to pay it, but they alleged that it was a temple and no rent was charged for occupying it. Room near it was requested on which to get a storehouse built to put coal in, which was to be built by the government and rent paid for it, or else we would have it erected by native workmen. It was demanded of them that the spies who followed officers whenever they walked abroad should be removed by their superiors, and fair warning was given that if any collision took place and injury was received by these tag-tails it would be their fault. Two months had shown that we did them no harm, and we did not wish to have the women and children running from us because these underlings were in sight. We wished also to buy articles, and the Commodore wished particularly to get a great variety of articles—silks, cottons, lacquered ware, china-ware and other products—to put in a museum in Washington. The Commodore also desired to have an interview with the Regent to discuss these points, and it was agreed that I should come to-morrow and learn the time and place for the meeting, as the Regent should appoint. These "heads of discourse" were all written in their presence, and they were advised to deliberate on them satisfactorily to us. We remained there a long time, for we could get no definite answer to these requirements, and, indeed, hardly expected it. I admonished Ichirazichi about the spies and told him that the officers might carry pistols and hurt some of them if they persisted in tagging after and constantly interfering wherever we went; I hope the hint will be passed on to the spies themselves who, after all, are only peaceably doing whatever they have been ordered, and should not suffer. The whole interview was less engaging than previous ones here from the less pleasant manner of the mayor, who took no pains to show the least interest in what was told him. Perhaps this

qualification has been his recommendation to the post at this time.

*Wednesday, July 27th* —A long document addressed to the Regent was drawn up this morning and carried ashore by Lieutenant Contee and me to deliver to the mayor. We reached the kung-kwan about noon where we found a smaller coterie of officials than were present yesterday. The paper was a threatening expostulation at being treated so unfriendly,—disallowed access to the markets and shops, followed into every corner and lane by spies who prevented all intercourse, and held at arm's length in a way we would not admit was right nor submit to;—if a change was not made means would be found to bring it about on a return to Napa. The mayor declined opening the envelope, and promised to forward it to Shui. The place we were in, and two o'clock to-morrow, were appointed by the mayor as the time and place for the Commodore to see the Regent, although it was tried to get twelve o'clock as the time. No answer could be got out of them with respect to the demands made yesterday, but answers were promised at the meeting.

Ichirazichi then proposed some questions respecting our visit to Yedo, but after saying that there had been no fighting and we had gone ashore I referred him to the morrow's meeting for all particulars. He asked if the ship which came in this morning was the "Plymouth," and if the steamer "Mississippi" was named from the State of Mississippi, and how many stars we had now in our flag. From these questions I saw that he had been reading the History of the United States given him, and then I asked him some more names and told him that he must go to America next year and see for himself. He demurred on account of the length of the voyage, etc., but perhaps the idea is not unpleasant to him.

After munching melons and cakes, sipping tea, talking and scolding for an hour, we left and made a crooked road back through the town to junk harbor, going through the dirty pork



market and along the creek till we reached the end of the pier. The view of the surf as it came rolling in over the reef was fine. When the boat came for us we took a stroll through a village across the harbor and a pull up to the watering place. The southern bank of the river is very prettily terraced, and everywhere under constant cultivation, showing that much of the supplies of the town are brought from this region. How much this pull reminded me of the attempt we made to see the town of Napa from the "Morrison's" gig by pulling up to the top of the river! Every point and turn seemed to be familiar, though it is probable that what I saw then has all passed out of mind. In the evening a party returned from a visit to an old castle lying southeast of Napa, which was described as being an aggregate of large houses and walls, apparently very old and ruinous, and not so strongly built as the one at Shui.

*Thursday, July 28th.*—At two o'clock Commodore Perry and suite, seventeen in all, left the ships to pay a visit to the Regent at Napa *kung-kwan*, although we had just learned from a messenger sent off to the ship that he had been ready at noon and was waiting for us; why he was unwilling to agree to have the meeting at noon when requested was not easy to understand. We landed near Capstan Point and, after waiting a while for other boats, and being joined by Dr. Bettelheim at the Commodore's invitation, went directly across to the main street to the *kung-kwan* where the mayor met us outside of the gate, and the Regent inside; the latter took Perry's arm and led him to his seat, and waited till all had got their places before sitting. Compliments having passed, the Commodore said that he wished to speak upon business before eating, and that he hoped the Regent had deliberated upon the points offered for his consideration two days before and had an answer prepared. The Americans were people of few words and many acts, and wished now to come to a fair understanding, as they meant what they said and no more; that they had come to Lewchew in a friendly spirit and expected to be received in the same way they were in

China. The Regent replied that an answer would be ready, and invited his guests to partake of the eatables spread out before them. He maintained the same impassable, fixed position and look as when on board ship, constantly glancing his eyes about; his co-adjutor indicated little interest in anything. After a little, questions were propounded respecting our doings in Japan, when the Commodore told him that we had visited the Bay of Yedo, had been received in a friendly manner, had gone ashore with about 400 persons to meet the Princes of Idzu and Iwami, when over 5000 spectators were assembled, of whom 1500 were soldiers, had exchanged presents, and gone within thirty li of Yedo, anchoring and sounding in such parts of the bay as we pleased; and, lastly, that we were going back there next year. There were more questions ready, but as they were told all the important points it was deemed best to bring them back to the subject in hand and have them answer our questions first, before talking further upon Japan.

We went on eating awhile, some six or eight courses of stewed dishes following slowly as their forerunners disappeared, when the Commodore called up the Regent's reply; a little before this, Ichirazichi being aside, I asked Bettelheim to tell the Regent that the Commodore thought it would be well to send two of the waiters to the United States to spend a year or two in learning our language, but the official would not hear the remark until it had gone through the lips of one of the té-fu, greatly to Dr. Bettelheim's amusement and perhaps annoyance. The Regent seemed to have been starched up for the occasion and his position was as definite as an orderly serjeant's.

At last the paper came, and the Regent took it, left his seat and went in front of the Commodore and politely handed it to him; he was requested to be seated again till it could be read, and Perry then took his seat. It began by recapitulating all the items given the mayor on Tuesday, word for word as I had written them, as they had been reported by that functionary to him (the Regent). To the proposal to pay rent, it was urged

that the priests who had temporarily vacated the house now occupied by the squadron could not rent their lodging and find another, and therefore it was inconvenient to receive the rental or have it occupied. The demand to have a coal depot near it was turned off by a repetition of their being poor, and that if such a place was erected they would be overwhelmed with care and trouble in looking after it; for Bettelheim had already remained here some years and given them much trouble, and now if we came too, building and lodging, their poor country could not stand it. In regard to buying and selling, they had nothing to do with the proceedings of shopkeepers and marketmen, who opened and shut their shops and sold or retained their wares just as they pleased, but added that their own productions were exceedingly few and manufactures contemptible—all they had coming from China and Japan, of which only a few lots of the silks, chinaware, lacquered ware and cloths came from those countries. The last article, concerning the spies following us, was plainly granted, as we had expressed our dislike of them and said that they were no assistance, protection or use to us when going about. Probably the frequent recurrence to this topic in our interviews, the paper handed in yesterday and the consciousness that a collision might ensue in some bye-path led them to adopt this resolution. It closed with an earnest petition that the Commodore would receive this reply and have compassion on them.

As soon as I had read it he ordered it to be returned to the Regent as being so different from what he expected that he gave it back for further consideration. The poor man came forward again and would have made a kotau if I had not stopped him. The petition would not be received and must be discussed more favorably to us by to-morrow noon, and brought on board, or else the points would be referred to the Prince at Shui, and we should go there with a large party and wait till we got an answer. As to the depot, if they would not build it, or allow us to do so by employing natives, the materials should be brought and the

house erected. Much time would not elapse before the authorities would feel it was best for them to agree to our wishes, for in China we had no trouble in getting such facilities, and there was no danger in their furnishing them here.

The Commodore left in a few moments, and perhaps nothing further could have been said with any avail. It was a struggle between weakness and might, and the islanders must go to the wall; it was as well planned on their part as possible, and they were doubtless disappointed at the result. Taking the question in all its bearings, I really don't pity them much, for the rulers here form an oppressive oligarchy and ride the people to extremes, even to the non-fulfilment of their own wishes and gain and the continual impoverishment and degradation of the latter. The scene had some tragic features, perhaps many more than appeared, and was in every view a reality to the natives, however much of a dramatic character was mixed with it in our eyes. The seclusion of these islanders must give way, and if nothing worse comes than the granting of these demands they will certainly be the gainers and their policy will have time to adapt itself to the new influences now felt.

*Friday, July 29th.*—About eleven o'clock the querulous mayor and Ichirazichi came off with two or three others, the old man being evidently discomposed by his trip and the heat; excuses were made for the Regent who may well have been excused from the retraction of his yesterday's petition. The interpreter began by asserting the propriety of the paper presented, but the chief point of refusing the depot was peremptorily overruled by our saying that we should build it ourselves if they did not, and that it must be close by the landing, as the house was too far from the boats. Excuses were made, then, that typhoons would destroy so exposed a house, or thieves pilfer coal lying so remote from careful officials (and here a sad picture of the morals of the people in regard to *meum* and *tuum* was drawn), or laborers would be scarce to erect it, and, lastly, that they would alter the house adjoining the main

building in the yard for this purpose. All these doublings were overruled and the previous question was carried by our appointing a meeting on the ground at two o'clock to stake out the limits ; I have little doubt but that they came with this ultimatum from their superiors.

The purchasing of articles and provisions was a mixed question, for we already get the latter (though I scolded them for their non-fulfilment of orders), and I think could not get them with less trouble to ourselves ; it is out of the question to have the ships supplied with boats coming alongside, as in China, for a long time to come, and who is to go to the dirty markets and pick up eggs and chickens ? The plan now pursued is perhaps more expensive to us and profitable to the officials who are beginning to see the benefits of such a demand, and these two reasons will combine to keep the present way in operation. It was, however, agreed that on Monday an assortment of every article should be spread out in the Napa *kung-kwan*, where the Commodore would go and purchase ; particular directions were given as to the assortment and quantity of articles to be bought, but I have great doubts as to the result of this bazaar.

Thus the two main points were conceded, and the interview ended amicably enough, as far as appearances could indicate, drinking and eating meanwhile, so that at the last they had pretty well got over their squeamishness. At two o'clock Captain Buchanan and Adams and I were on the spot, but no officials, for whom we sent off two messengers ; meanwhile, we staked out the ground and found that a sufficiently large spot could be marked out without cutting away any trees of size, or intruding on any useful spot. Three o'clock passed away, and they went aboard, leaving me to meet the authorities on whom no gentle words were laid for their tardiness. They came soon after the boat shoved off, and I showed them the place ; it was much larger than they had received the idea of from our description, and I was myself unable to do more than refer them to the stakes and marks which were to be the limits. It was much

larger than I had supposed would be wanted, and told them I would speak to the Commodore. They were told that they must clear the ground of the rubbish and grass and a plan would be given them to-morrow. I then went off, for I was hungry enough, in a boat just come, and left them there ; by nightfall the area was nearly cleared of all the shrubs, under the direction of three old graybeards who superintended operations seated on a mat, and directed the gnomes who flitted about with wisps and twigs which they had gathered up. The scene was very lively, and I thought the natives greatly enjoyed it.

*Saturday, July 30th.*—My calculations to visit the old castle to day were all spoiled by an order to take the plan for the coal depot ashore and explain it to the builders ; we found nobody there on arrival and were obliged to wait more than three hours before any responsible person came. The details were all clearly understood by means of the diagrams and the officials required to clear a larger space and put up the shed as soon as possible, to receive the cargo of the "Caprice"—a thatched hut sixty feet by thirty-five, and about ten feet high. I hope those who superintend the job will let the workmen have some of the money received, but I am afraid that they will not get a fair reward ; as we drive the officials, they will drive their underlings.

In the evening during my walk I found my way into a literary establishment near the bridge, a series of three buildings pleasantly situated behind the stone wall amid a grove of trees ; the doorway had a tablet stating that it had been repaired in the twentieth year of Kienlung (1755) and by the assistance of the Chinese ambassador here. There were four men writing on small stands in the principal room who told me that they studied the Nine Classics, but I could not induce them to show me their books. Several tablets were hung up in the room, and the aspect of the whole grounds was retired and scholastic.

The broad way which ran along the edge of this river is one of the thoroughfares of the town, and we watched the passing crowd with attention for a long time. The groups of women

and children around some stall or basket where pattens or pottery, bean curd or pea-sprouts, were sold engaged our notice by their foolish fear and refusal to have anything to do with us ; they would neither take our coppers nor answer our words, the older children shaking their hands in the most seriously comic style. The children are usually pot-bellied and remind me of Egyptian children, both in color and gait. Sometimes a woman, known by her flowing, loose gown to be of a little higher grade, would hurry by us, presenting in her quick step and sidelong glances and turns a growing struggle between fear and curiosity, so that we were sometimes in doubt which would get the mastery ; and then would follow a stately official with his girdle largely displayed over his checked dress. Horses overladen and old women carrying heavy baskets on their heads frequently went by ; and among the crowds we saw few who were maimed or sickly looking. Most of them were thinly clad. They were generally clean, short and stocky, especially the women who will not average over four feet ten inches, and may challenge comparison with any other country for coarse features and untidy heads. The men are far their superiors, but it must be remembered that we have not seen the women of the officials nor any girls reared with care.

Few officials followed any of our officers this evening, from which we may infer that the system of espionage has been pretty much laid aside. Some who have gone into villages away from Napa have succeeded in getting crowds around them, and further intercourse would doubtless result in our being received everywhere. The sailors in the Japanese junks have generally showed pleasure at our visits, though nothing of any value has been procured there.

We stopped at Dr. Bettelheim's to bid him goodbye, and found others there on a similar errand, more as a mark of respect than goodwill. While his wife has grown in the good opinion of the squadron, he has contrived to get the suspicion or actual dislike of almost everybody. His intrusion into the

interview last Thursday was little pleasing to the principal actors, and tends to mix us up with him in the minds of the native authorities. His proceedings have been so anomalous that I am really unable to say what and how much good he is doing, though I hope he will come out bright at the last, and his work stand the fire. The counsel and opinion of a fellow-laborer would do him service and enable his patrons to form a better judgment.

*Sunday, July 31st.*—I dined with Captain Lee and Rev. Mr. Jones to-day; the “Mississippi” is a much quieter ship than this on the Sabbath, and to increase the turmoil of washing decks after coaling, most of the men were sent ashore to wash. A dash of rain interrupted our service before Mr. Jones had got through the exordium of an astronomical discourse he had commenced.

Commodore Perry seemed rather pleased this evening to report that most of the timbers for the coal depot were on the ground and the whole would be done ere long—all of which I suppose is to be laid to the effect of the threat to visit Shui.

*Monday, August 1st.*—About six o'clock this morning I was called to go ashore with Commodore Perry to the bazaar opened for our benefit at the Napa *kung kwan*. We found a larger assortment than I had expected, and all the finer articles were taken, perhaps in all to the amount of \$60; if more time had been allowed I think we should have had finer pieces brought in from the dealers, and spent double what we did. There was no porcelain nor many silks, and the whole lot was perhaps not worth over \$150, but it will serve as a commencement, and I think the sellers had no cause to complain.

As soon as all returned aboard the anchor was weighed, and we bid goodbye to Napa, the main demands of Thursday's interview having been all granted. It is doubtful to my mind how much influence the threat of going to Shui and occupying the palace had, in inducing acquiescence, in comparison with the announcement made at the same time and subsequently that we should soon leave if these demands were allowed. Yet the



assortment of things this morning showed that the government had made known the opportunity to many traders for them to take advantage of, and I hope none of them lost. The stocks were in one or two cases so soon replenished that the stores could not have been far off, and perhaps even finer ones would gradually have been produced had time allowed. Lacquered bowls and boxes, cotton cloths, silk, and both mixed, hairpins, sashes, shoes, pipes, fans, coarse pottery and umbrellas comprised the list; good prices would have induced them soon to bring more real Japanese lacquered ware.

We have been at this port about thirty days, and doubtless during that time have done much to stir up the Lewchewans, intimidate the authorities, induce them to relax their non-intercourse regulations, and commence treating other nations more openly. We have made them receive pay for provisions and gradually increased the amount of supplies until the ships began to get something nearer adequate to their wants; small purchases were daily made in the markets for the last week, and fewer of the spies tracked our steps, producing also less alarm among the women and children at our presence. The Chinese sent over from Shanghai to Dr. Bettelheim seems to be a man who will teach these rulers some new ideas on civil polity and foreign intercourse, and will less arouse their fears than a foreigner. He made his way into the palace last week where he saw the prince and was civilly received by Mau, one of the Treasurers. At a visit to the mayor's he was also respectfully treated. In breaking up the system of things so long upheld in this island, time and kindness, firmness and justice, united and allowed their fair action, will soon have their due effect. We have begun, I think, in this manner, and I hope will not deviate from it, though I have great fears on the subject.

*Tuesday, August 2nd.*—This evening, to the gratification of everyone, we met the "Vandalia" on her way to Napa, and obtained letters from her, among which I was happy to find one for me informing me that all at Macao and Canton were in good

health a week ago. It is something of an event for three United States men of war to meet in these unfrequented seas.

*Saturday, August 6th.*—Last evening the squadron anchored in Hongkong harbor and, to the regret of all, heard that the "Powhatan" had sailed for Lewchew Saturday morning; she would have been intercepted if the "Mississippi" had gone on ahead of us, as she might easily have done.

I find that friends are, in general, well. I mean to start this evening in a fast boat for Macao, having missed the steamer this morning. Thus ends the first acts in the Expedition to Japan.

*Wednesday, January 11th, 1854.*—Since I left the "Mississippi" and "Susquehanna" at Hongkong I have been engaged in carrying on the *Fan Wan*\* which yesterday reached the 400th page. In October, while at Macao, either through exposure to the sun or the effects of a cold and malaria, I was taken sick with a low, nervous fever which reduced me very much; it was the first sickness I have had since childhood, and I bless God for recovered health at this day, so that I can leave in health to rejoin the Expedition at Hongkong. I depart from my home in full confidence of my being where duty calls me, and leave my family under the care and governance of our heavenly Father who has hitherto watched over us all. Mr. Bonney has, unwillingly, taken care of the office again until I return, after which, if I am permitted to do so, he will leave for the United States. I have secured the assistance of Lo, a teacher of good attainments and no opium smoker, so that I hope to do more study than I did before.

*Tuesday, January 17th.*—I came on board the "Susquehanna" on Friday evening, having learned that the squadron sails early in the morning. The officers all anxiously hoped that the mail would come before the ships leave, but the Commodore would not wait for it; happily it arrived about ten o'clock in

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\* The author's *Ying Wo Fan Wan Ts'it Ju*, or "Tonic Dictionary of the Chinese Language in the Canton Dialect," published in 1856.

the evening. I saw the Bishop on Friday, and he wishes to hasten on Bettelheim's labors as a translator of the SS. so that the Bible Society can have somewhat to print. Mr. and Mrs. Morton expect to sail on Tuesday for Lewchew in a ship bound for California. While at Hongkong I remained at Mr. Johnson's where also the officers have often frequented and been pleasantly entertained.

All being ready, the ships weighed anchor about nine o'clock on Saturday and steamed out of Hongkong harbor, saluting Admiral Pellew's ship as the flagship passed her in return for her salute of thirteen guns; the "Powhatan" took the "Lexington" storeship in tow, and the "Mississippi" took the "Southampton," and all moved out nearly simultaneously through the Ly-u-moon passage.

To-day we have passed the southern end of Formosa, progressing rapidly on our course; the sea is smooth and a fair view has been obtained of the shore, distant about two and a half miles, which offers few signs of inhabitants, some cultivated and stubble patches, a house or two, and roads leading inland. Many places might be reckoned as villages from the smoke which issued from them, but they were far off and could not be distinguished. Most of the shore was covered with low woods, and large areas appeared as if untouched by man. The soil was generally good enough to produce grass or trees, and no bleak, barren patches speckled the hillsides as about Hongkong. The hills rose gradually to the mountain ridge, one peak of which was estimated to be twenty-five miles off and over 3,000 feet high, and doubtless constituted a portion of the chain which forms the backbone of the island. This portion of Formosa has been lately made infamous by the capture of the "Larpen's" crew after she was wrecked, most of whom were hereabouts driven ashore and murdered by savage natives, a few having obtained safety among Chinese villages and finally escaped to the "Antelope" as she passed through this strait in their sight. Such miscreants as dwell at this end of Formosa should be severely

dealt with ; perhaps the desolate aspect of the apparently fertile coast may be owing to their driving away peaceable settlers and being themselves afraid of living within reach of outsiders. Some blackfish and two black terns were seen as we passed the straits.

*Sunday, January 22nd, —Lewchew.*

We reached the harbor of Napa last evening at sunset, finding the "Macedonian," "Vandalia" and "Supply" at anchor here and their officers pleased to see us. Mr. Bettelheim also was soon aboard, and reported that the authorities seem to have made up their minds to endure, in our visits and remaining here, what they cannot cure or prevent. To-day has been a complete turmoil in the squadron from the orders which have come out from Washington to put one of the steamers at the service of Mr. McLane\* and take him about. The Commodore moves himself and suite into the "Powhatan," which necessitates some other changes and a good deal of work. Service was held to-day and then the orders were made known, which of course set everybody a talking and utterly destroyed all seriousness. Added to the bustle on board a deputation came from the mayor of Napa to salute the Commodore, and their members wearied out nearly an hour in the captain's room saying little and making him (Captain B.) nervous. From them we learned that the old Regent is still living at Shui, rather infirm ; that the new one and the mayor are the same as when we left in August and that junks begin to arrive from Satsuma in March. Towards evening a present of a bullock, two goats, two hogs, fifteen chickens, eggs, turnips and potatoes came off from the mayor to the Commodore. The manner in which the Lewchewans tie up eggs in straw by plaiting them lengthwise inside of alternating strands is very pretty and safe, and prevents their breaking with usual care. These things were received and their bearers at last went home.

*Monday, January 23rd. —Napa.*

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\* Robert M. McLane, United States Commissioner in China.

This morning I was early aroused by the noise of hammers and chisels and the voices of workmen who, beginning to pull up the fastenings of the house and take down its partitions, gave me no peace. All this was preparatory to moving on board the "Powhatan," where the Commodore and his suite are to remain until the cruise is over, as the "Susquehanna" is to return to Hongkong to receive Mr. McLane. We are all much inconvenienced by the change, and the artists more than others, as they are sent on shore to do the best they can at Tumai in the house hired there, cheerless and dirty as it is. I am meanwhile placed in the cabin.

About ten o'clock I went ashore to return the mayor's deputy's visit of yesterday, accompanied by Lieutenant Brown as the Commodore's deputy. We went directly to the kung-kwan of Napa instead of going to Dr. Bettelheim's, and there waited two hours for Ichirazichi and the mayor to come. Meanwhile, a pleasant man whose ancestors came from Fuhchau about 120 years ago made himself agreeable to us. At last the officials arrived and we gave them the Commodore's salutations and told them our message—that he intended to take a trip into the country in a week to be absent three days or so, requesting them to prepare a cortege of coolies, chair-bearers and guides, with eight or ten horses to ride on and carry baggage. These intimations did not at all please them, and various obstacles were interposed, such as the distance and a separate jurisdiction of the northern part of the island, over which the mayor had no control. He was then requested to inform the proper authorities of the proposed visit and, furthermore, to tell the Regent that Perry intended to see him and pay him a visit while in port. The interpreter hoped that the Commodore would pay this proposed visit at the kung-kwan and not at Shui. This I said was against all usage and could not be allowed. So we came away.

In the evening I went with Dr. Wilson of the "Supply" to see a neat little garden made with coral in fancy garden style, in

terraces and pools, with dwarfed pines and other plants, miniature houses and pavilions, all in the neatest style on an area of about twenty feet square. Some gold fish and other kinds were swimming in the lower pool. The inmates of the house were very affable, but we could not communicate much with them. I am told there are many such fancy imitations in Shui, all perhaps taken from larger Chinese originals. During the rest of the afternoon we saw perhaps a dozen people transplanting rice which is here allowed to grow much higher before being put into its new bed than in China. Dr. Morrow killed a kingfisher this afternoon, of a steel blue and bluish green plumage, different in several points from those common near Macao. Also a plain gray-brown crane which is common on the shore; it is two feet high and has yellow irides and is speckled black on the yellow legs; named *ko-si'ji*, and the kingfisher is *káu'ziii*.

*Tuesday, January 24th.*—This morning went again to the mayor's at Napa, Captain Pope and Lieutenant Brown being deputies of the Commodore's. The time of waiting was spent at Dr. Bettelheim's whom I found most anxious to get away to China as soon as Mr. Morton comes. The message to the old mayor was to ascertain the price of building the coal shed and cost of materials, so that the bill may be settled and right of ownership established by the receipt of the authorities for it. Also to have him see that the horses and coolies needed for the excursion be in readiness at Tumai. My teacher is greatly amused at these people, their beggarly equipages and aspect, the way in which they go about half dressed and their unwillingness to sell provisions. One man told him, "What use can we make of your money? If you'll give us a piece of pork we'll give you potatoes, for then we shall have somewhat to eat, but we can't eat cash." Thus the avaricious officials appropriate all the profits of the purchases of provisions for the fleet.

After leaving the mayor's we were met by Ichirazichi who said the Regent and Treasurer were in waiting at Tumai, unable to get off to see the Commodore. I went alone to see him and

received the cards with the spirits and cakes he was to have taken off; further effort was made to deprecate the proposed visit to Shui, but I told them 'twas out of the question. Lo's idea that it would do these officials good to bamboo them to teach them manners is not far from the truth. However, God's purposes may not yet be ready thus to deal with them; but their nonsense and prevarication are very provoking, while it is really, too, about the only weapon they possess. Active efforts to oppose us they cannot bring to bear, and passive resistance is their only alternative.

I dined to-day at Dr. Bettelheim's with Morrow and passed the afternoon there. Mr. Crosby, the third assistant engineer of this ship, was buried to-day at Tumai where now rest some six bodies from the fleet, over all of whom, except him, the Lew-chewans have built solid stone tombs and plastered them nicely without any demand for payment.

*Saturday, January 28th.*—Napa.

The three last days have been so stormy, and the swell and surf have rolled in so high that few or no boats have left the ships and very little work has been done. The Commodore gave a dinner to Captains Boyle and Glasson of the storeships yesterday.

This morning as usual I went to see the effete old mayor of Napa to urge him to do what I suppose he finds difficult enough, viz., to get our request fulfilled. The means of defense this people possess lie chiefly in their weakness and in constantly saying that they have not this and can't do that, and to weary us out by delaying and excuses. The Commodore wished to-day to get coins in exchange for American coins we showed the mayor, and straightway the querulous old man began to say there were no coins in the country, that the Japanese never brought any coins to Lewchew where no one used them, and ended by declaring that as there were none, so none could be got. His assistants took an order, however, for a large chow-chow box, ten lacquered tumblers and a punch bowl of lacquer,

to be done when we return from Japan, which they made no objection to doing. It is exceedingly provoking to hear the lies and nonsensical excuses made by these officials, when all that is necessary is for them to let their people do as they please, sell all that we ask for and keep themselves away. Another thing wanted to-day was the bill for erecting the coal houses, and this too they boggled at as if it was some new thing ; when they learn to take our words just as we say them there will be a great advance on present intercourse.

In the afternoon a large lot of presents were sent ashore—a box of drills, a dozen of champagne and cherry cordial, a box of 35 pounds sperm candles and a box of Oolong for the Regent, together with a small chest of tea for the first and second Treasurers, all of which valuable articles were delivered in exchange for the saki and gingerbread handed in by the Regent and taken by the interpreter. I also told him not to fail in getting the coins, as we were determined to have them ; indeed, I have an idea that a good deal of the hindrance we find is owing to this Ichirazichi who may be compelled to this course by his superiors. The jaunt into the country is now delayed a few days.

*Sunday, January 29th.*—Napa.

Although to-day is Sunday there is little cessation from work or business, and if God adds his blessing and enables us to carry out the design of the Expedition it will not be because of or in answer to our prayers or regard for him, but because we are used as Nebuchadnezzar, the ax-helve, was, to carry out what falls in with his plans. In fact, no regard seems to be paid here to whatever scruples a man may have about doing work on the Sabbath. Mr. Brown went ashore to see the officials about wood, boats and coins, all of them objects of minor importance and easily deferable to another day. Dr. Smith was also ordered to go ashore to see about a man lying in the hospital with a broken thigh, which service was really no more called for than if he had been sent



to see the condition of the boats lying on the beach. In truth, God's day and, by consequence, others of his laws are made to give in to the will of one man, or else the subordinate subjects himself to the penalty of disobedience or mutiny, of which every officer at least is very jealous of incurring even a suspicion.

*Monday, January 30th.*—On going ashore with Captain Adams and Lieutenant Brown to meet officers at the mayor's hall, we saw many signs of the new year like those known in China, among which the renewal of the papers with inscriptions on the doorposts, the numbers of well-dressed people and children and the clean streets were the most conspicuous. The markets were generally open, however, and one or two mechanics were at work. The streets were not thronged as much as usual. At the kung-kwan we met the Treasurer who had been waiting for us, and had a session of two hours during which we obtained a receipt for the erection of the coal-shed and for the rent of the hospital for six months to March 1st at \$40 per annum. The cost of the coal-shed was placed at \$90. While other matters were talked about, Rev. Mr. Jones came in to engage bearers to take him and a party to the north of the island to-morrow to investigate Lieutenant Whiting's report concerning a coal and iron mine in the region of Port Melville. The facility of having higher officers in concluding matters was here seen, for our demand for boats to take off ballast, coolies to carry this exploring party, and to take pay for the coal-shed were fairly complied with. I told the Treasurer that the Lew-chewans were as difficult to take money as a sick child was to take medicine. Our request to exchange coins was waived as before by a firm denial that any were procurable, although I adduced the proof of Japanese coins having been got of Lew-chewans in Fuhchau; perhaps this demand trenches on their desire to disavow all knowledge and presence of Japanese.

In the evening the interpreter came to Tumai and received the \$110 for rent, etc., which was settled after a long discussion.

In signing their names in Chinese he and his fellow added a rubric very much like the Spaniards, formed of two or three characters; it seems to answer instead of a seal.

*Tuesday, January 31st.*—Napa.

I was employed on board all day preparing a document to take to the Regent himself, in which the Commodore takes a firmer stand, and tells the officers of this petty island that he can no longer submit to their subterfuges and nonsense. One cause of this move is that he sent off his steward this morning to get some fish from the boats out on the reef, and they fled; and on going ashore he fared no better, as there were none in the market. So the Commodore, instead of fish for his breakfast, got nothing but a blue-slate crane which his messenger had picked up somewhere. Furthermore, the demand he has made for coins has been met with a firm denial, that no such things are known or brought except cash, while he learns to-day (through a native who has thrown himself on our kindness and paddled off to the ship Sunday night, desiring to go off with us), that many Japanese coins are brought here, though they are not in circulation. Again, Lieutenant Whiting has brought a specimen of powder he procured at a mill he came across in his survey, while all kinds of arms and powder have been often asserted to be unknown in the island. Taking all these things together, the Commodore is going to talk "strong" to them and see what effect it will have, especially as he is soon to leave for Yedo, and all that we do here is reported there and may influence our reception there.

*Wednesday, February 1st.*—Napa.

Early this morning the marines were sent ashore under Captain Slack's order to drill, and Lieutenant Brown, Mr. Perry and I were off by a quarter past seven, A.M., to take the Commodore's letter up to Shui and give to the Regent himself. We met the marines near the bridge and, joined by Mr. Eldridge, went up to Shui with them. As we neared the capital the music and arms of the men attracted atten-

tion and the people came running out to see the show ; but it was when we saw the Regent and Treasurer coming out in a great hurry to see what the matter was that the extreme confusion this sudden visit had thrown them all into was best exhibited. They conducted us four into the hall and began to make preparations to make the empty chamber fit to receive us, mixed up with questions to us, orders to the servants and a half unsatisfied, terrified air which showed how scared they were. I gave them the paper, told them the Commodore was coming on Friday to the capital to pay his respects to the Prince, and wished them to have horses, chairs and bearers in attendance at Tumai. They made apologies, and hoped that the Commodore would receive his visit at Napa, for the Prince was young and his mother was sick, etc., but we got up to leave, declining their refreshments and reiterating the orders we had received. They made efforts to have us stay, and had not fully recovered from their alarm when we came away, but as there was nothing to be said more it was thought best to decline. The marines had gone on up to the palace gates, where a large crowd was gathered to see them, and we told the officials we had nothing to do with their movements, that they had come ashore for exercise and marched up to Shui to entertain the people of the capital with a new-year's show. On our return we had got nearly half way back before we heard the music striking up, and this mingled with the pleasant breeze sighing through the pines, and at intervals the sheen of the guns and uniforms as the company came in our sight, rendered it a very pleasant and pretty show. I expect the effect on the officials will be salutary in a reasonable degree and make the people used to us.

In the afternoon I strolled through the streets with the teacher and we found our way into a number of places he had not seen before, one of which was the graveyard near Dr. Bettelheim's. In this place most of the tombstones were placed on pedestals, each monument being in the midst of a square inclosure made by a low stone wall ; the stone was soft, fine red-

sandstone or a whitish rock-like tufa. Some of the epitaphs were dated in Kienlung's or Kiaking's reign, but all the recent ones were dated in the reign of the siogouns Kayei, Tiupo, or others, from which one might infer that Japanese were buried here, or that stricter oversight was taken of the acknowledgment made of the Chinese by the Lewchewans. Most of them commenced with 歸元 or 歸真 or 歸空, i.e. "returned to his original," or to "certainty," or to "nothing," "emptiness," "annihilation." I could get no one to tell me about them, but the epitaphs indicated official rank. The oldest grave was not over a century. A few had hirakana writing on the side of the intaglio-cartouch containing the Chinese inscription; and one or two others were wrought into a square pillar placed on its end and surmounted with a roof, all of stone. The common style of inscription is here given:

四	歸	乾
月	真	隆
十	惟	二
四	安	十
日	澈	一
	心	年
	居	
	士	
	靈	
	位	

The seat (or throne) of the spirit of the retired scholar Wei-ngan, styled also Cheh-sin, who returned to certainty on the 14th of the 4th month in the 21st year of Kien-lung.

The temple near by is a small building and at this time was filled in its principal room by a dozen or more men who seemed to have nothing to do better than to smoke and look at each other. The walls were hung with a variety of tablets such as are common in Buddhistic establishments.

*Thursday, February 2nd.*—Napa.

I was ashore this morning to see the mayor respecting the visit to Shui, when I was told that the Regent and officers were about disembarking to go to the flagship, and had to hurry off across the salt-pans to see them before they left. I was in time, got into the boat with them, and we had chairs arranged for them on deck, as Perry declined to see them. They brought a reply to the paper taken yesterday, in which they promise to order the people not to run away, to supply all the provisions sent for and to act with truthfulness, in which last they have promised more than they can perform, I think. They made many excuses for not being able to let the Commodore see the Prince or Dowager and, although they were willing to let him into the palace, it was inexpedient for him to see them; it was not until this was agreed to that they were made easy. There must be some reason for this difficulty which they do not like to let us know, perhaps because it verges too near to the Japanese rule. There was as much difficulty in this respect now as there was last summer, and perhaps it has been made more stringent upon them since then, although from the description of Bettelheim's Chinese who saw him last August, there is such a person, and I am told he often goes abroad.\* However, it was agreed to, and at this they left in better humor than they came up.

*Friday, February 3rd.*—Napa.

The morning was so threatening that it was not till nearly seven o'clock that the Commodore concluded to go to Shui. The maines were sent ashore immediately and Perry left at half past eight o'clock with the promise of a fine day. Eight stout fellows were on hand to carry him in his sedan and we started at half past nine o'clock; the number of officers was less than at the visit last summer, and the absence of the fieldpieces made it a less imposing escort.

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\* Doubt is expressed in Commodore Perry's Narrative of the actual existence of such a person.

The Regent and his associates received us in the palace where they had laid out a number of tables in the same room in which we were received last summer. Formal professions and salutations were exchanged, and the Commodore brought out his coins for exchanging with them, the Regent evidently unwilling to receive them; There were nine sorts, valued at \$49½ in all, and they said they would do all they could to get their weight in Japanese coins, but declared to the last their non-possession of such and the difficulty of doing as we desired. After a few other compliments we rose and went off to the Regent's, no Prince being brought out for us to see.

At his residence we found the tables all laid out for a dinner and the various dishes brought on, to the number of twelve or fourteen, proved to be far more palatable than any we had previously tasted. They were all cooked as stews and there was great similarity in the gravy, but not so much in the viands. The whole went off in good humor and we left on our return at eleven o'clock, the Regent accompanying us to the outer door. The walk back was a delightful one, the fresh air and charming scenery exhilarating us all; in fact, no one can get tired of the views on the way up to Shui, and the industry of the village is nowhere better seen. After we reached the ship the presents made to every guest were assorted—fans, tobacco pouches and paper to each, cloth, tobacco-leaf, etc., to the officials.

In the evening I took a stroll with Dr. Smith, visiting the markets and finding the old women well disposed to sell, and one would be disposed to buy if they had anything worth having.

*Saturday, February 4th.*—I was ashore at the Napa kung-kwan to-day to see after the Japanese coins, but none were to be had; they declare that they have none and I begin to believe them. They soon produced a bill of charges for the supplies and labor furnished Lieutenant Whiting in his survey at the north, amounting in all to \$108, more than as much again as he had judged. So, if they will not let us have coins, they are

learning to like ours and to charge round prices for all their little island furnishes. In their reply to the communication taken to Shui on Wednesday they say that Lewchew is a "little out-of-the-way island off in a corner of the sea" and entreat the Commodore in the greatness of his kindness to have compassion on them, and promise to do all he wishes; but this talk is all subterfuge and may be taken for nothing. However, as it was, I took advantage of it to get some supplies for the engineer's mess and some sailors from the "Mississippi," telling two of the sailors to go into the market and get some stores for themselves, which they managed to do. The sailors have contrived to supply themselves with many things from the markets during the time we have been here, and have quite brought over the old women there to think they are good customers.

*Sunday, February 5th.*—I was unable to move to the "Powhatan" yesterday, and I had hardly gone aboard that ship when I was sent for by the Commodore. I took a final order for the Regent to have the coins ready on his return from Japan, telling him that we would know whether his professions were real by his getting them. I knew that Lieutenant Brown had gone for them, to make a last trial, and was quite sure he would not succeed. On reaching the flagship I saw a large number of presents with cards, in return for those handed in on Friday, spread out on the deck; these were in return for the barrel of whiskey and flour and a lot of garden tools given them yesterday. They were all received, and the boats had left for the shore when Lieutenant Brown and Ichirazichi came off, bringing back our coins and a paper from the Regent stating his inability to obtain any in exchange. The Commodore declined to see them, but on hearing the paper read ordered all the presents back into the boat and gave them his own communication to take to the Regent with the coins he had given him at the palace. In doing this I think Perry acted like a disappointed child, and was piqued at being unable to effect the exchange of coins he had set his heart on. He bids me tell

them that he asks only for what is reasonable, and that the exchange of national coins is a sign of friendship; these islanders are known and allowed to have no mint of their own, but a breach of amity is made to depend on their furnishing the coins of another land, which they deny to have or be able to get. I think this matter was carried much too far and, as I will tell no lie for Perry or anyone else, I never told them he asked only what is reasonable. I was much vexed at the rejection of these sundries and hoped the Regent would send the shovels and hoes, flour and whiskey, presented to him yesterday, back in like manner. He has doubtless exerted himself and can do so still farther, and it was well to leave our coins in his hands, but that matter, as Ichirazichi said, had nothing to do with the presents sent. If the coins desired were Lewchewan the case would be materially altered; as it is, I think Perry is in the wrong in pressing the exchange to such a degree.

*Monday, February 6th.*—A signal was made for me this morning early and, on reaching the "Susquehanna," I found Mr. Randal there and the list of the presents brought off yesterday lying on the table. He said the articles themselves were then at the house in Tumai, and that the interpreter had been with him yesterday, apparently very desirous of getting off to the ship. On going ashore with him I sent for Ichirazichi who came after a long delay and said he had nothing to do further in the matter, that the list had been brought there and that the communication had been sent up to Shui, but no coins had yet been procured. However, we got pigs, poultry and potatoes which are now more valuable than coins, in my opinion, the purveyors having bestirred themselves on seeing their profits were departing and brought down the largest lot of eatables to the beach that had before been seen in Lewchew. I pitied this interpreter, for I doubt not he is in an unpleasant dilemma, and would willingly sell all these presents to relieve himself from the difficulty of taking them back to Shui. He perhaps states things pretty much as he desires them to be, and a course of



such conduct soon brings him into some troublesome explanations, though in the main I doubt not that he is honest.

The Commodore thinks that as he has once set out to get the coins and believes that they are to be found in the country, it will not do to retreat from the attempt, and such a determination is the best way of dealing if we were sure the coins were to be had by them after a little pressure. The matter is now left until we come back, and I am inclined to think the authorities will try to get some if possible.

After dinner half a dozen of us went to Shui, attracted by the pleasant afternoon, to take a stroll. The country looks exceedingly pretty, freshened as it has been by the recent rains and brought out in all its beauty by the high cultivation it is under. We got up to the highest part of the castle walls and enjoyed the pleasant view in all directions by the light of the setting sun which cast a cheerful glow over the charming landscape. Few prospects could delight the eye more, but how great an increase of interest would be given to it if one could feel that these villages and towns were the abode of a Christian people!

*Tuesday, February 7th.*—This morning all the steamers were under way betimes for the Land of the Rising Sun, and we had hardly gone fifteen miles before the "Saratoga" came in sight, she having been seen, it was supposed, by a light the night before, when a gun was fired from the flagship. After a short stoppage and a visit to the "Susquehanna" by the captain, she went on to Napa, leaving some of her cattle and sheep on the "Mississippi." By her I had a line from Shanghai, which the rebels still had in their possession, but trade was going on pretty much as ever, fighting on one side of the town and trafficking on the other.

During the later part of the day we came in sight of O-sima, the large island lying north of Lewehew and appearing in its general features not unlike that island, low, wooded and cultivated. Whether it supports as dense a population is doubtful.

*Saturday, February 11th.*—We have been highly favored in our trip to Japan, having had smooth seas and, for a part of the way, fair winds. The high land of Idzu and the islands off the Bay of Yedo came in sight this afternoon and a patch of rocks, too, which are said not to have been seen on the former trip. The winds have become very piercing though the thermometer indicates not much more than 40° Fah. As it was toward evening the Commodore lay off the mouth, drifting about until the morning, although the moon gave sufficient light to see the land by. It is a bitter night in the rainy, driving, north winds, and we ought to be thankful for protecting mereics.

*Sunday, February 12th.*—The steamers were all pressing on towards the land which was almost everywhere white with snow on the hills. As we neared it below Cape Idzu we ere long described two of our ships and ran up a coast none of us were at first able to recognize; and judging that Oo-sima or Voleano Island was correctly laid down, supposed it to be off Cape King on the eastern side of the Bay of Yedo. It was ascertained, however, after a time, that we were in the Bay of Simoda where the British man-of-war, "Mariner," anchored in 1850; and where too we soon learned that the "Macedonian" was ashore. Consequently, she must first be got off, and this the "Mississippi" did, dragging her into deep water, when all the ships lay for the night where they were, the "Lexington" coming up in the evening from sea. Some towns of considerable size were observed along this bay, but not many boats were seen, owing probably to the cold wind deterring all coming out for mere curiosity. The news of our arrival was perhaps made known by some of the fires we saw lighted on the beach and hills, but more likely by couriers started for the capital.

*Monday, February 13th.*—At anchor above Saru-sima.

During the night the wind went down, and the bay became smooth as could be wished. Towards sunrise one of the most glorious scenes ever beheld was to be seen by those who were up, but I was not out till after sunrise. Mount Fusi lay right

before us clothed with a pure mantle of snow, and all the high points of the landscape were of the same dazzling white, including the island of Oo-sima, from which the smoke now could plainly be seen rising and settling in a lustrous cloud above the summit, through which the rays of the sun shed a peculiar brightness. The shores of the bay were destitute of snow, and the dun brown of some parts with the dull green of the pineries added other contrasting shades to the snow, rendering the whole variegated and beautiful. As the sun rose to view, the tops of Fusi and other hills were touched with a roseate hue which disappeared as it came further up, but the brilliancy of the whole compensated for this transitory charm. It was a magnificent sight in every respect.

By noon the six ships, each steamer towing a ship, were off the town of Uraga, but the Commodore passed on until he came to the American Anchorage some miles above Saru-sima, or Monkey Island, where we all anchored, the "Southampton" having been already here three days, and often visited by the officials with whom Captain Boyle managed to communicate. The coast was destitute of snow, but its bleak, dun color gave it quite a different aspect, so that one might well doubt its identity.

In the afternoon, after having dodged here and there for an hour or two in pursuit of us, the Japanese officials came off to us, four in number, two military men whom we saw last July at Kuri-hama and the two interpreters. They came to the "Powhatan" after having visited the flagship, and were received in the deck-cabin by Captain Adams. Their chief object was to inform us that a person of higher rank was coming aboard tomorrow to consult respecting an interview and the reception of the Emperor's letter. They wished to know why we had anchored so far above Uraga, from which it was a long way for them to come, and desired us to go down off that town, at least in one vessel, so that we should be more accessible; this move was declined on account of the more secure anchorage at present occupied where there was no fear of winds. Their proposi-

tion was made evidently only to make it more convenient for them to get off to us, though a dislike of our going nearer the capital may have had its influence. In windy weather it would be a dreary sail for them to come up in open boats from Uraga, though they can come a good way by land and save the boating. They left in good spirits and towards the last intimated that the answer to the President's letter would be a favorable one. The number of attendants was greater than Yezaimon brought with him last year, but all equally well bred as those.

*Tuesday, February 14th.*—American Anchorage.

The official spoken of yesterday came about noon with two colleagues. The name of the first was Kurokawa Kahiyōye, 黒川嘉興勝, and, as near as we could ascertain, he filled the post of prefect in the principality of Idzu, resident at Uraga, a higher officer than Yezaimon and, from the imperial coat of lily-leaf arms worked on his breast under the outer tunic, perhaps connected with the supreme government as a deputy on its part in this important port. His coadjutors were called Yoshioka Motohei, 吉岡元平, and Hirayama Kenziro, 平山謙二郎, whose official position we did not learn, but one of them was evidently nearly equal in counsel to the principal man. More attendants came than yesterday, one of whom was a lad who maintained his post close by Kahiyōye amid all the confusion, holding his master's long sword bolt upright in his hand during the long interview. It reminded one of the pages of the middle ages whose duties comprised such services.

After accommodating the party with chairs as well as we could, and some of them with other conveniences too, the interview commenced with their making an apology for not coming sooner by reason of the distance from Uraga, and begging us to move at least one of the ships down opposite that town for convenience of their going to and fro. It presently was evident that these officials came to arrange about an interview on shore with an envoy from Yedo who they observed had the answer from the Emperor to deliver; and that as the

President's letter was of so polite and pacific a character, the reply would likewise be favorable, and they hoped we should be able to arrange amicably for this interview. They then said that Hamakawa, a town in the Bay of Simoda near where the "Macedonian" grounded, was a very convenient and large place for it, but this town was decidedly rejected. At last they intimated that as the town of Uraga had been selected by the government at Yedo they had no authority to change it; though they had come to settle the preliminaries of a meeting there. They urged that as we had made no objections to the place of meeting last season on a barren, uninhabited beach at Kuri hama, and had delivered the President's letter there, and that as Uraga was a large town set apart for the proposed interview, where officials resided, and where it would be more convenient for them to prepare for it, all propriety was in their favor and we ought to accede to them and at least move one ship down off Uraga. We proposed some place between the ships and Yedo, to which they declined, alleging that there was none suitable, and said we would state all they had said to the Commodore, which Captain Adams did by note. This gave a chance for a respite, and they all got up to see the engine and other parts of the ship, in which some took an interest in one thing, some in another. Our first visitor of last year, Saboroske, was here to-day, and took a minute admeasurement and plan of the big gun on the quarter-deck; he seemed to be a secretary and had a convenient set of writing tools with him which he used in his hand. Others also had these portable writing tools. A few of the visitors came into the wardroom where cake and wine were given them; most of the first they wrapped in nose-papers to carry home. A comparison of swords with ours was then made, and they seemed pleased that theirs were the sharpest. Many objects of wonder to them were exhibited, but they repressed all exclamations of surprise and talked little among themselves.

After a while we were all again seated, and as Perry had refused to stir lower down Captain Adams got them to take the

proposal ashore that an officer should be appointed with whom he would go ashore and select a suitable place, and they might return with the answer in two or three days. We suggested Kanagawa far up the bay, but that was negatived, and every period brought us around again to Uraga as the appointed and best place. If we had had one of Joshua's 24-hour sunshine days they would doubtless have tarried longer, and seemed at last dissatisfied with our refusal to go down the bay and take up with their place of meeting. They talked a good deal among themselves, but never confusedly, waiting each on the other, the two principal ones doing most of the confabulation.

Among other things they said they hoped no surveying parties would go out while negotiations were going on, but this desire could only be referred to the Commodore. We had a good deal of sport in exchanging cards and autographs, for which they seem to have always a strong desire, according to all travelers; their cards are always in running Chinese characters, if these are to be taken as samples, from two to three inches long and one to one and a half inches wide. A variety of articles were placed in their capacious bosoms, into which they found their way by putting their hand back in their sleeves. Some of the party had eight or nine garments on, one over the other, and all were clad warmly and all bareheaded. In the course of conversation the interpreter said that they understood that I was not coming back this year, but I have no idea how such an impression was received by them. On the whole the interview passed off pleasantly, and our visitors were apparently gratified at what they saw.

*Wednesday, February 15<sup>th</sup>.—*Bay of Yedo.

Preparations are making on board for receiving the Commodore on board this ship, but he is just now too unwell to move about much; it is rather inconvenient for him to be in another ship while negotiations proceed in this one. The weather is pleasant now, cold enough to make it agreeable walking on deck for a long time and yet not too cold for writing or reading.

The younger interpreter came to-day about two o'clock with a party of friends, most of whom had not been aboard before, and whose object was chiefly to see the ship. Among them was a third interpreter from Nagasaki who spoke considerable English with a good accent, though he did not talk much until we began to go over the ship, when his curiosity was so excited that he had questions to ask as well as much to see. The official part of the visit today was to inform Captain Adams that in case he wished anything, as wood or water, or to call for other officers, if he would send a boat inshore, persons would meet him and convey the message. No answer was returned about meeting a deputy to consult with him relating to the place of interview, and the visit was rather uninteresting. The forward deck was well crowded while the Japanese were looking at the guns, and another comparison of swords was gone through with; they hold ours in small esteem from their being so dull, regarding the metal as inferior.

Towards evening we remarked a large number of boats anchored inshore, at intervals, and a few outside, the whole looking like an attempt at placing guard-boats around us. If they persist in this there will be cause of trouble found ere long, I fear, for not to do something will render the boats ridiculous in their own eyes. The number of boats seen in the bay during the day fully equals the number seen last summer, but we are now out of the way of the ferry which plies across from Uraga, and only a few come around to see the ship. The gulls hover around the fleet in numbers, attracted by the oil. On shore we can see the people cutting grass and fagots of bushwood among the pines, bringing them off in all probability for firewood. No snow lies on the shores anywhere in sight, but the mountains in the distance northwest are snow-capped and almost rival Mount Fusi in elevation.

*Thursday, February 16th.*—Bay of Yedo.

About two o'clock Tatsnoske and a party of gentlemen came on board, none of whom were before in the ship, to my

knowledge. The leading officer was a pleasant but forward man and had almost nothing to communicate, the principal object of their visit being to see the ship. They told us that the high officer had not yet come from Yedo, but desired us in strong terms to move back to Uraga where communication could more easily be carried on. They said they were sent to beg the commander to take care of his health and to inquire after it. In due time the chief man brought out from his bosom a parcel of navy buttons which had been given yesterday to the boatmen alongside, and had been taken from them and now returned in this ridiculous manner. I asked them if they deemed us to be children that they trifled so with us, and told them such was not the conduct of men and friends towards each other. They told me to-day that the siogoun had died in the tenth month of last year, but that the nengo of Kayei was still continued and this was its seventh year, although a new incumbent had the seat. Such a mode of reckoning must throw history and chronology into some confusion; and it shows too the duplicity of the people, for no other adequate cause for such a step can be assigned than to deceive by confirming the impression that the same monarch still reigns. A day or two ago one of our visitors told me that the Mikado had resigned, but I did not ask him then whether the siogoun was dead, supposing from the nengo being the same that he had not died, as we heard reported. One of our visitors to-day was 71 years old, and I observed that the Japanese have the same habit of showing their fingers to indicate small numbers which the Chinese have. Most of the time till after four o'clock was taken up in walking about the ship, in visiting the wardroom where Dr. Maxwell tried unsuccessfully to electrize them, while others showed them pictures, swords, pistols and other things to entertain them, and in examining the machinery. Their numerous inquiries to see the engine indicate the interest it has excited, and I told them that when we reached Yedo the Emperor and his councillors must come off to see it also; the look of doubt and surprise was



all of their answer which came outside. The manners of the chief man, whose name I've forgotten, were so pert, and he was so disobliging and acted so silly in relation to the buttons that the officers in the ship are not inclined to show them any more civilities when they come aboard until they exhibit some desire or intention to reciprocate. This was particularly offensive in this man when he refused to show a pretty bag hanging at his girdle containing some kind of medicine.

There was a grand review and inspection of boats to-day which afforded all some entertainment; perhaps 450 men were prepared for action, and the whole fleet made a pretty show.

A surveying party went out to-day, a few of whom stepped on shore and others had intercourse with native boats. The conduct of the Japanese will be tested as this survey of the harbor proceeds.

*Friday, February 17th.*—To-day was a rainy, chilly day and no visitors came off, nor were many boats seen in the bay. Whales frequently appear in these waters, probably cows which come in here to calve; some of them have been seen forty feet long. Gulls of several colors constantly play around the ship attracted by offal. On shore the young wheat, or some other green grain, begins to revive the summer garb.

*Saturday, February 18th*—Bay of Yedo.

A small party, of whom Saboroske was the chief man, came on board about one o'clock to-day, bringing among other news the information that one of the chief councillors and his coadjutors had arrived at Uraga, and wished the Commodore to go there and receive him and the reply to the President's letter. The same reasons were adduced and the same objections brought against this step as had been repeatedly gone over with; on this occasion it ended by giving them in writing the refusal of the Commodore to go down there, but he would send a ship and bring the commissioner up to this anchorage. The name given to the commissioner to-day differs from that handed in on Wednesday,

which was Lin, 林; now it is Hirayama Kenzirō, 平山謙二郎, and his title is less exalted, being styled Revisor of Documents and General Counselor and Director of Affairs of the Frontier of Japan, 日本國陸察參謀兼掌邊陲事. His two colleagues have no titles, at least none given to us; their names are Yamamoto Bonnoske, 山本文之助, and Mayeda Yōtarō, 前田右太郎. One might infer from the title of the Commissioner that it was given him for this occasion.

Saboroske brought a box of confectionery to-day, which consisted of a few varieties of candied jams of fruits. His activity of mind is remarkable, and he improves on acquaintance; to-day he took the measurements of the ship with a fish-line, and has previously taken dimensions of the guns on the deck and their appurtenances. He seems to be a secretary of Yezaimon, but does little else at our interviews than take notes. When the party left to-day after taking the written paper, Tatsunoske was told that the morrow was our Sabbath when we did no business. From their conduct to-day there is doubtless a decided determination to get us back to Uruga, and we shall perhaps have to give in and go down there.

The Commodore moved aboard the "Powhatan" to-day, but was too ill to do anything, and suffers a great deal of pain, the result of his cold caught on the passage up the bay. The "Southampton" went up the bay some five or six miles yesterday evening to assist the surveying parties.

*Sunday, February 19th.*—Bay of Yedo.

I attended service in the "Mississippi" this morning and heard Old Hundred sung by nearly all the ship's company. Notwithstanding our desire for quiet Kahiyōye came again about two o'clock with a party, bringing a present of radishes, greens, eggs, chickens, oranges, confectionery and onions, altogether amounting to 3000 articles and over. They were given some tea and biscuit in return, which they accepted willingly. After a good deal of circumlocution, drinking, walking about, counting the articles brought, looking at pistols and pictures, and doing other

unimportant things, the rest of the party left the room without apparent cause, Tatsnoske alone remaining, who drew his chair up and told us confidentially that it was the express command of the siogoun to the commissioner that the interview should be at Uraga, and all those interested in the matter on their part hoped no impracticable obstacles would be interposed to this plan on our part; for, as the Emperor at Yedo was willing to grant all we asked and permit a trade, this opposition would only impede what otherwise was likely to go on amicably. They understood our reasons for not wishing to move such ships into dangerous places, and would state them to him, and also our proposition that he himself should apply for further instructions to Yedo, if it were possible to have the place of meeting elsewhere. This colloquy was ended by our request that what he had told us might be given in writing to-morrow or next day, addressing Perry directly so that he might have a reliable document. They soon after all departed, leaving us under the impression that we shall obtain a great part of what we ask for, and this large cumshaw of provisions increases this view.

During the afternoon one of the Japanese complained of colic, and Saboroske took out a small box of tutenag having three compartments in which were gilt pills, salts and other medicines, the neatest homeopathic arrangement you ever saw. Taking another pill he mixed it in water and gave it to the patient who soon felt relieved; it was perhaps a preparation of opium. The skill of the man in preparing the dose showed that he was no novice at it.

*Monday, February 20th.*—Bay of Yedo.

The surveying boats have had considerable friendly intercourse with the people along the beach and in boats, to-day and on Saturday, and ere long there seems likely to spring up a pleasant understanding. The people are evidently willing to cultivate kind feelings with their visitors.

Kaheyōye and his friends came again to-day, bringing a

letter from Commissioner Lin and a number of his colleagues, in which they desired the Commodore to go to Uraga ; in reply he proposed to send Captain Adams down in one of the ships and bring them up if they wished to come. He stated his intention, also, in his reply, to take the ships up the bay to safer moorings, and added that as he was sent to Yedo by his government, to Yedo he expected to go, where also he could show the presents sent out and exhibit their mode of manipulation. They agreed to Captain Adams' going down. Kaheyōye also brought a cut shell as a private present for Perry who returned a lithograph of a steamer that seemed to please the official much. A hundred oysters in shells were also brought for Captain Adams. The day passed off pleasantly and they seemed gratified at the prospect of an amicable settlement and the opening of intercourse. Truly, we may say that God has gone before and prepared our way among this people, and I hope it is to be for their lasting benefit too. If a place of meeting is appointed further up the bay we may hope to reach Yedo, the goal of our expectations.

*Tuesday, February 21st.*—Bay of Yedo.

A deputation of some low-ranked officials came off about a quarter of eight, A.M., to see if Captain Adams was going to Uraga, and to accompany him there, but I did not learn whether they intended to take him with them. They wished me again and again to go with them, taking me by the sleeve, and wishing to ascertain the reason for not making one of the party. The "Vandalia" got down near Saru-sima where she anchored in the afternoon, a violent storm of rain preventing further progress ; so that the commissioners are likely to be kept waiting longer than they perhaps wish. The desire of these officials to get an interview at Uraga indicates the mind of the court, I think, not to do much to assist us to reach Yedo, knowing perhaps that they cannot make us as "respectfully submissive" as their Dutch visitors, and fear they will thereby lose caste among the people.

The people seem to have no such apprehensions, and an intercourse has commenced among them from the boats sent to survey which is plainly a voluntary exhibition of their goodwill and laudable curiosity towards "far-traveled strangers." The camellias, forty feet high, chestnut trees, a species of *Laurus*, pines, cedars and other plants new to us, all possess unusual interest on entering a land so long shut out. In fact the gradual entrance into so peculiar a land in the way we have come, one thing opening after another, is not the least of the charms of the Expedition.

*Wednesday, February 22nd.*—Bay of Yedo.

I thought that we should be unvisited to-day, but a large company of gentlemen came on board about half past nine o'clock, a part only of whom had been here before, to hear the salute fired by the ships on Washington's birthday. They rambled about as they pleased, and all seemed disposed to be entertained. One who had often been on board showed me a book of twenty leaves giving an account of cannons, guns, revolvers, swords and other arms, illustrated with neat and accurate drawings of each, diagrams of their various portions, so that a clear idea could be obtained of each implement. It was printed at Yedo last October, and I imagine that much of the information in it is a digest of what was seen aboard the "Susquehanna" last summer, though the author must have had some European work on gunnery to copy his drawings from. It was neatly printed, and the owner declined to let me have it on any account. He was carefully examining the guns while going through the ship. I endeavored to make the principle of the telegraph, which was set up to-day and in good operation, intelligible to one or two of our visitors, and made them comprehend that ideas could be conveyed along the wires by means of the machinery now exhibited, but how it was done was the mystery which their partial knowledge and my inaptitude on such a topic could not reach. However, what was understood is likely to arouse attention.

The party which went ashore found kind treatment, and

people of all sorts were curious to see the strangers. They went into a large village where the women were not behind the men in curiosity. Some laborers in a quarry were tattooed or marked on the right shoulder, which they pointed out as if it was a distinctive mark. The island we call Webster's Island, or Natsushima, is uninhabited, but affords a pretty ramble. The village of Kanezao lies inland west of it, and perhaps is the one visited to-day. The general condition of these villagers is not so comfortable, our officers think, as of those Chinese who live about Canton. Houses are neatly thatched, mostly of wood or mud.

*Friday, February 24th.*—Bay of Yedo.

Yesterday the wind blew so hard that there was no such thing as going ashore, nor did any natives come to the ship. I was busy all day in putting the press up and looking up the various articles belonging to the printing department which, however, are so few as to be of little use, especially the assortment of type.

This morning the steamers all weighed anchor to go up the bay, leaving the "Macedonian" to wait for the "Saratoga." The day was beautiful, and we passed up within a seeing distance of the shore, sounding all the time and feeling our way till we reached the point attained by the "Mississippi" last summer and anchored. The people along shore were much excited by the spectacle, and as soon as we stopped, boats containing parties of men and women came to look at the strange wheeled craft, many of them near enough to get biscuit and other things thrown to them. While two or three were thus pleasing themselves and us, a government boat came shoving into their midst, driving them off with cries, they themselves hastening off in all directions. One or two were overhauled and one man soundly thrashed with a stick as a memorial to the others. The Commodore was about sending an officer with orders, to be conveyed by Sam Patch, that if these government boats drove the people off he would drive them off. However, all sorts of boats were soon out of our reach, but the incident is not of promising augury in respect

to the feelings of the government at our coming up the bay, while it evinces the eagerness of the people. By the evening sun Yedo was plainly seen over the point in a northerly direction, the city reaching along a hillside and apparently of great area. Some of the surveying boats went near enough to see the sea wall of the city and its embrasures. This evening many fires are seen here and there and hundreds of curtains were stretched along the shore, all of which could not be for defenses or troops.

*Saturday, February 25th.*—Off Kanagawa.

Captain Adams came back this morning about nine o'clock from his visit to Uraga, leaving the "Vandalia" some way down the bay. He brought a reply in Dutch and Chinese from the imperial commissioner, signed in the former Hayasi Dai haku kami (or Hayasi, the great counsellor prince, or something like this), but in Chinese, as Lin, member of the imperial council, alone, with no other persons joined with him. At the interview Captain Adams asked for the cards of the officers he was talking with, but neither of the three were written like the title of the one who applied to the Commodore. This letter acknowledged the propriety of the reference to European and American customs in ambassadors from foreign countries repaying to the capitals of the country they visited, and there delivering their errands at court, but plead its inapplicability to Japan, as the Emperor had decided otherwise, that his commissioner must repair to Uraga where preparations had been made for the interview, and concluding by urgently requesting the Commodore to return to that place for this purpose. No alternative was, however, proposed in the paper in case we held out, such as refusing to see Perry elsewhere, or anything of a decisive nature. A longer letter from our old friend Yezaimon was also brought to Captain Adams in which the same things were adduced, no alternative being possible; this last letter was written in a friendly spirit and indicated, at least, that the Japanese were not prepared yet to break off negotiations in case we refused to go back to Uraga.

Captain Adams said that the place arranged was at the edge of the town, in a narrow place between two hills of no great elevation, one of which had been scarped at considerable outlay of labor to accommodate the buildings erected for the interview, these last being a few rods only from the shore. The buildings were larger than those at Kurihama and the tables and covered trays seen in some of the rooms showed that there were to be preparations made for an entertainment on a large scale. The meeting with Captain Adams was not long and, after delivering the Commodore's letter, turned on the propriety of the squadron returning to Uraga and the peremptoriness of the siogoun's commands on that point. In reply the same old reasons were alleged why the ships could not lie there, instancing the bad weather then extant before them all as an argument patent to all. Tea, sweetmeats and saki were handed around to all, the waiters kneeling when presenting the cups. Those who spoke to the prince, or chief officer, humbled themselves like slaves, and they were the highest officers who had been on board our ships where, however, no one kneeled to them. Such abjectness must humiliate the person who does it in his own eyes, or, if it does not, it only shows how deeply it has already abased him. The interview being over, all returned to the ship, though they thought it not unlikely they would have to stay ashore all night. Yezaimon sent Captain Adams a small present, parts of it proving the low opinion he entertained for us, or else showing how debased he was himself.

On hearing all these points and reading these communications, the question of returning to Uraga was discussed, the Commodore still holding to his views not to return down the bay at any rate. There was a great probability that the Japanese would hold off, but it was quite as important for them to obey the Emperor in holding the meeting, as it was to have it at Uraga. Of course, no one would blame him at Washington or elsewhere for finally going back there rather than lose the treaty, and every country had the right to choose what way it would



receive foreign officials ; but there was yet no risk of losing what Hayashi had said the Emperor had decided to grant, and no precedent could be drawn from European courtesy and reciprocal interchange of diplomats to illustrate one's conduct with a people which ignored all such relations. I approved the decision not to return, though I would rather have gone there than risk losing all. Yet I do not at all like the way in which this nation is spoken of by the Commodore and most of the officers, calling them savages, liars, a pack of fools, poor devils ; cursing them and then denying practically all of it by supposing them worth making a treaty with. Truly, what sort of instruments does God work with !

Much to our surprise, Yezaimon and two interpreters, one of whom, Namura Gohadjiro, has lately come into action and enunciates better than either of the others, came on board. They were received in the rear room on account of Captain McClung's illness, where tea and toddy and cakes were served as usual. He said he had come to get the answer to the letter brought up by Captain Adams, and it was promised to be ready by Monday noon. Intimations were given that if they would bring us wood and water we would pay for it, to which they answered that they could be furnished by bringing them up from Uraga, and hoped our boats would not go ashore to get them. We rejoined that we were not in need of such supplies and, as we knew wood and water could both be procured ashore near us, it was needless for them to bring such things from Uraga, and we would not go there to get them. They must themselves have seen two days ago how rough it was at Uraga and how impossible it would have been to receive supplies from off shore. All this talking occupied some time, during which several things were exhibited and an india-rubber globe which Perry made Yezaimon a present of examined ; he was quite as polite and chatty as usual and we were glad to see him, and he apparently to see us.

Again the question of going down to Uraga was brought forward, and declined. " Well, then, can you go ashore near





View of Yokohama Harbour when Commodore Perry was first sighted.  
(From a Japanese print of the time.)

here this afternoon and pick out a suitable place?" said he to Captain Adams. Thus the whole point was given in, and this was doubtless decided on by the commissioner at Uraga as soon as he heard the ships had gone up the bay. The manner in which it was done showed that Yezaimon was sent up to settle a place for the interview before we got any nearer Yedo, but it came in during the conversation, as a man gives up a desperate case, by a complete turn-round. A place was pointed out in shore where he supposed a good spot could be found, and it was decided to go immediately, it being now a quarter of three o'clock. Captain Buchanan went with Captain Adams in another boat, preceded by Yezaimon, and taking a southwest direction, we landed about five miles from the ships, sounding to ascertain the deepest water, at a hamlet below Kanagawa called Yokohama. The Commodore demands a locality which can be covered by the shipping. A vacant spot of ground was selected near the hamlet, now covered with a promising wheatfield, as suitable for the interview; it was coolly proposed before reaching this spot to demolish three or four houses in the village to make room for the new buildings necessary, Yezaimon seeming to think the property of the villagers of not the slightest consideration. He was always spoken to by them on their knees, none of them wearing swords and showing plainly their low condition by their dress and miserable habitations. The fields were highly cultivated, but the dwellings indicated little thrift, and the village was rendered unsavory by the numerous vats, thatched over to retain urine, compost and other manuring substances from evaporating, which lined the waysides. Many of the dwellings were built of dried mud and straw supported by cross joists and beams, a few of boards more neat looking than these, if not warmer, and the majority of posts and sliding doors. No regularity was observable in the streets or size of the lots which, consequently, gave the village the appearance of an incongruous collection of huts and sites, and not nearly so regular and pleasing as the villages around Napa. A few houses were

tilled, the ridges being smaller than in China and imparting a neater look to the roof which, as well as the walls, were white-washed white and slate in a pretty manner. The walls of these houses were fully two and a half feet longer at the base than at the eaves. We saw a machine made of two rollers inserted in a frame, having each a short screw at their ends working close in each other's thread, intended to clean cotton of its seeds, some of which were lying by it. The cotton had a very short staple. Many rude presses were seen to press oil from seeds and others from fishes, now not in use. One loom for weaving mats, a mere frame to stretch the warp on, was observed; but most of the houses were shut up. Hedges of living plants, or more commonly of dried bamboo branches or other trees, surrounded all the yards and gave a slovenly appearance to the farmstead, from the leaves and broken twigs lying on the ground, added to which the farm gear was left scattered in the yard. No windows nor chimneys were seen to admit light into the rooms, or for smoke to go out. The roofs were nearly the thickness of a foot, made of a sort of reed cultivated for the purpose; a fire breaking out in such houses would almost certainly involve all its neighbors in its flames. The camellia trees were in full flower and appeared beautiful when disposed in hedges; many trees were just bursting into leaf.

In one part of the village a large collection of a hundred gravestones led us to ask where the people were buried, and we were told that the bodies were placed outside of the village and their epitaphs here. Many of the inscriptions were in Chinese, and on one recent one I observed many characters resembling Tibetan, though I can hardly think they were so, but rather charms. Near one of the best dwellings was a domestic shrine made with a double door inclosing the adytum in a box some four feet high. No paint was seen on any building.

The men looked healthy and well fed, but the few women who let us look at them appeared oddly with their shaven eyebrows, and not very tidy. However, the cold weather would

induce all to put on whatever clothes their poverty would allow. No animals but cats and dogs were noticed in the hanlet.

*Sunday, February 26th.*—Rev. Mr. Jones held service on board ship to-day, but did not preach. The crew generally attended, but the marines were paraded on the quarter-deck out of hearing. For the first time on a pleasant day no Japanese came on board. The aspect of our affairs is now promising, and I cannot but hope that God will hear the prayers offered by his people, answered by the success of our Expedition. The peaceful opening of this country will be to this debased, inquiring people a great boon.

*Monday, February 27th.*—Yezaimon and his friends came aboard and, after considerable explanation and illustration, obtained an imperfect idea of the telegraph which was put in operation for their enlightenment. So mysterious a principle as the galvanic current requires more previous knowledge of electrical and magnetic powers than these people possess to fully understand this mode of application, even if we were enough acquainted with their language to convey a fair description of the machine to them. However, the result was understood, I think. Yezaimon brought a bushel of wheat done up in a straw bag as a present for Buchanan who had asked him for a specimen on Saturday evening. After a while he and his friends went on board the "Susquehanna" to see her captain and the working of the machinery while going in to the anchorage of Yokohama, and every part of the engine was shown which could be, much to their entertainment. The cabin furnished a new sight to Yezaimon, as he had no chance to see it last year. The usual variety of spirits was served out, cards exchanged and good wishes given and received. Two of the officers were from Yedo, and when I told them we must go with these steamers up to that city they said it could not be, that there was not water enough and the Government would not allow it. "How can we, who have come so far," asked I in return, "stop short of seeing his majesty?" It is doubtless disappointing to the court that we have reached

this point, and would have been still more so had Perry only gone higher up, as near as he could get. Some of the presents of shellwork from Ye-sima, not far from Kamakura, an island in the Bay of Simoda, belonging to Idzu, given by Yezaimon to Captain Adams were shown, much to our interest ; it is said to be manufactured there only and was really a pretty piece of art. Some of the glasslike, wiry byssus of the pinna were also seen, forming part of this present.

I went off to the "Susquehanna" at Yezaimon's request in his boat. The necessity of removing the official boats from guarding the ships against the people generally visiting them was strongly urged on him. It would be unpleasant to have a collision now as we are forming a treaty, or trying to do so.

*Wednesday, March 1st.*—Off Kanagawa.

Yesterday no one came on board in the drizzling rain, which I fear will now continue for many days, as the new moon has come in with a rainy mist. I was engaged all day on the revision of the treaty. This evening Captain Buchanan gave a dinner to Yezaimon and his friends which passed off very well, ten of his countrymen sitting down to table with six Americans for the first time in the experience of each party. The dinner was well served and the Japanese seemed to enjoy themselves like *bon vivants*, drinking healths and joining in the toasts as if they were used to it. Yezaimon proposed the health of the President in return for that of the Emperor, and the health of the Commodore, captains and officers of the fleet in return for his own, in all respects acting with perfect propriety. This officer certainly exhibits a breeding and tact in all the novel positions in which he is placed that reflects great credit on him and shows the culture of the social parts of the Japanese character. All of the guests except Saboroske behaved well, but his restless curiosity and impudence led him up and down the room at a great gait—putting on Captain Buchanan's cap and looking at himself in the glass, hopping behind Yezaimon to take notes, bawling across the table, asking the English name for this thing

and that, and making himself conspicuous as a braggart can. Yet his cleverness shines through all his quirks, even if he did pour out a glass of sweet oil to drink it for wine. All the guests took parts of the dinner home in their nose papers, wrapping turkey, pie, asparagus, ginger sweetmeats and other things one after the other; Namura added two spoonfuls of syrup to his ginger and thrust the parcel in his bosom. Altogether it was a good move, I think, and after dinner they soon returned home at sunset, inviting me to go and spend the night ashore, which, however, I thought best to decline on account of the work just now on hand. Before parting one of them sung a song to which another added the refrain or chorus, but such music! The Japanese can be no better than the Chinese if such singing pleases their ears.

*Thursday, March 2nd.*—Off Kanagawa.

No officials came near the ship to-day, and the guard boats which have rowed round the ships to prevent natives coming near us have disappeared, though doubtless the restrictions are as close as ever, given from on shore, as no boats come near us. The draft of the treaty we propose for them to accept is nearly ready, and also Perry's letter to accompany it, a specimen of diplomatic special pleading and foreshortening quite refreshing to a beginner, though what is said is well enough, the points which are untouched being the completion of the whole subject. In the evening I accompanied Captain Adams on shore to see about the progress of the houses, arrange how to land the escort and get a walk if we could. There are five buildings, the materials being the same as those employed at Uraga which have been transported hither. They are to be shingled, and the floor matted; and several rooms like cloisters intimated their supposition that it would be necessary to remain in the buildings some days. They are cheap affairs and ought to revert to the unlucky owner of the despoiled wheatfield as a compensation for his crop. A flag was fluttering in front inscribed *Goyō*, 御用, to intimate that government had applied its power, and on the



limits was another marker called *Go-yio chio*, 御用場, or Arena used for the Emperor. Many villagers came down to see us, but a high officer from Yedo happening to arrive while we were there, the crowd drew off to see him. This magnate was followed on foot by a sword-bearer and shield-bearer, but we happened to be too far off to see him plainly. No such thing as a ramble was possible while so many officials were near, and we soon left.

*Friday, March 3rd.*—Yezaimon ate and drank so much at Buchanan's dinner he was unable to come off to the ship as requested last night. A new and superior interpreter came with Saboroske, named Moriyama Yenoske, who had recently returned from Nagasaki, whence he arrived in twenty-five days and hurried on at that. He speaks English well enough to render any other interpreter unnecessary, and thus will assist our intercourse greatly. He inquired for the captain and officers of the "Preble," and asked if Ronald McDonald was well, or if we knew him. He examined the machinery and at last sat down at dinner in the ward room, giving us all a good impression of his education and breeding. Saboroske brought a native map of the bay and region contiguous which was copied while he was on board. His principal business was to let us know the "Saratoga" was off the coast, to bring back a hammer found floating and to arrange respecting watering the ships. He says the houses on shore will not be ready for three days yet, so that we shall all have time enough to get ready. I suspect the nearness to Yedo will bring many spectators from thence.

*Saturday, March 4th.*—Off Kanagawa.

A party came to-day for the purpose of bringing an answer from the "Saratoga," which vessel anchored this evening. They remained on board almost two hours, drinking and eating, giving me at the same time some practice in talking with them, though I got no information from them of any importance. Their chief design was to get something to eat and a glass of toddy, if one might judge of their liking for the refreshments. One of them

took drawings of all the parts of a revolver, chiefly by rubbing india ink on a piece of thin paper laid over the things he wished to sketch.

This party afterward repaired on board the "Mississippi" and there got some more drink. Mr. Spalding was showing one of them a prayer book, and, as he turned over the pages, he came to a plate containing a cross drawn prominently, whereupon he dropped the book as if it had been a hot coal. Pity 'tis that this symbol is associated in their minds with all that is treacherous, dreadful and forbidden.

*Sunday, March 5th.*—Off Kanagawa.

Notwithstanding our request, Yezaimon, Moriyama Yenoske, and others came to-day. It is of little importance to them that it is our Sunday, for we still receive them; they ought to be refused if the fourth commandment was held in Jewish respect, but what would then be said? Yezaimon had recovered from his dinner the other evening and appeared in usual health. He said he would come to-morrow and, after examining the telegraph, would return on shore with Captain Adams to examine the house at Yokohama. He asked the number of Perry's escort which was placed at thirty officers and a guard similar to last year's, but was told that no refreshment need be provided for the guard. The flags we wished to make for doing honor to the siogoun and Commissioner Hayashi were minutely explained to him, and he promised to furnish the diagrams for both, and also a list of the officials and high personages to whom presents ought to be given by us, illustrating both these requests from us by telling him that if he was in America he would wish to learn such things to avoid blunders. The credentials of Hayashi were also demanded to be brought off for inspection by the Commodore, his own being already in their hands, just as those of the Prince of Idzu were shown last year. A mark of confidence in us would be given this year, for they know us better now, in that no Japanese troops would be marshaled, and we again assured him that the guard was merely to do honor to the occasion.

A request was made that if any vessels appeared on the coast, as Perry expected some, pilots might be sent off and he informed of their arrival. Yezaimon wished to know how much coal we should annually want, where we wished a port and what sort of provisions. It was replied that no one could tell how much coal would be needed, but a port on the southern coast, accessible by ships passing on to China or California, where such provisions as they had could be also obtained, would be wanted. He said the most and best coal came from Kiusiu, little from Nippon, and none from Sikokf. The Russians were supplied with some which was pronounced pretty good. Many of these items and requests, especially that relating to the ports needed, were deferred to the Commodore's decision; they were only fishing for answers on the principal points, I think, so that they might frame their replies.

*Monday, March 6th.*—Yezaimon and his company brought off the copy of the commissioner's credentials and his emblazonry, as he promised yesterday; the latter was given on one of his excellency's crape overcoats, brought for accuracy. The list of persons to whom presents are due officially consisted of him and his three associates preceded by the six councillors; but what a cloud of obscurity rests over the distribution of these things to them, from our utter ignorance of the persons here named! The day of meeting was fixed for the 8th, and, after minutely examining the telegraph and the ship, Yezaimon left in Captain Adam's boat for shore to examine the house and its capabilities. While on board Sam Patch\* was brought before him and questioned a little as to his antecedents, but the poor boy was in such a paroxysm of trepidation that he hardly knew what he did or ought to do. Prostrate on the deck, he murmured some incoherent words, and could not be induced to stand up, so terrified did he become under the stern eye of Yezaimon who hardly deigned to look at him. I suspect the Japanese stand in more awe, and are more abjectly submis-

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\* One of the shipwrecked Japanese sailors in the "*Morrison*" party.

sive, than even the Chinese when before their rulers and mag-nates. The company to-day was a peculiarly sociable one, and I was talking with them all the time, acquiring words and practice.

In the evening I made a visit to the "Saratoga" where I found the officers much less ill than I was afraid, from what I had heard of their cases. Mr. Wayne is the most of an invalid, and longs to get home; this homesickness is the attendant of men-of-war much more than I ever supposed, a natural result of the monotonous life led and the constant dwelling on the scenes of home.

*Tuesday, March 7th.*—The principal business of to-day has been the arrangement of the presents in due divisions according to the list of officers given to us, separating for the siogoun all those articles intended for him by the government, with others of less value, and distributing to the Empress, the six councillors and the four commissioners such things as the squadron can furnish.

Yezaimon came about two o'clock to ascertain more particulars respecting the escort and time of starting, and, what concerned himself quite as much, to get some of our cake and wine, in which these islanders show an entire belief. From this he and Moriyama went to pay Captain Buchanan a visit.

*Wednesday, March 8th.*—The Commodore's usual good fortune attended him to-day in a fine, clear day, not overmuch cold either. In the morning we observed a long line of curtains on the beach, and a row of posts each side of the house on shore extending down to the water, with curtains stretched along, and inclosing the space in front so as to exclude all the view. This rather annoyed the Commodore, since it looked like fencing us in, as had been done at Uraga with boards, which we desired not to be erected; and he sent Captain Adams and me to have them taken down. In fact, these curtains are designed entirely for show, and to do honor to an occasion; but Perry wants honor to be given in his own style or not at all. A fair breeze soon took us ashore, and half a dozen officials came

down to the pier which the workmen were laying of sand bound up in straw bags to see what we wanted. A few remarks from them showed that they feared the Commodore was sick, or something else had happened to prevent the meeting. I told them that he expected to be ashore at noon, and we had come to see the place beforehand, the jetty for landing, etc., and suggested that as there would be over thirty boats the curtains on each side had better be removed to allow more room along the beach for them to arrange. Instantly, the whole curtain was folded up, the stakes and ropes removed, and a clear beach for landing presented. So the Commodore had his way in this, and I think it was a good move, for thus no obstacle was placed in the way of a view or a ramble; but I put it all on the ground of a small space for boats, and this satisfied them. The rapidity with which the "fortifications" disappeared greatly amused the people on board ship.

Yezaimon and his party came on board about ten o'clock to conduct the party on shore, and amused themselves with the sailors and looking at the gay dresses of the marines. As usual, Saboroske was flying about, crying out at the top of his voice from whatever place he happened to be in. The various ships sent their boats first to the flagship, and by half past eleven all of the guard and officers were ashore, the Commodore leaving at noon under a salute from the "Macedonian." On reaching the shore, the band struck up, and, passing through the lines of the guard attended by Kaheyōye, the whole party went up to the reception hall where Perry met the five commissioners standing in a row in front of a screen of blue silk; we bowed to them, and the whole then filed around and sat on a bench covered with red cloth, while we were also accommodated on a similar bench opposite, the whole company disposing themselves along two rows with a low bench before them to serve for a table. Yenoske then separately introduced each commissioner, and a few others, to the Commodore, after which the former retired, each followed by his sword bearer; a plate

of candy was set before each with tea and fire for smoking. The centre was occupied by a few brasiers on stands, but there was no need of them and little heat in them. Soon after the confectionery and tea had been served to all, the commissioners returned, and invited Perry and his suite to enter a side room where Commissioner Lin had us all seated and, after a few compliments, brought out the Emperor's answer to Fillmore's letter, written on a few pages of coarse paper. It acceded to the demands for good usage of shipwrecked sailors, and supplies of provisions for ships needing them, and offered a port for trade, to be chosen by us, and a supply of coal to be there delivered as soon as we needed it. Five years were needed to complete their arrangements for trade at this port, but traffic in articles could be commenced soon.

A Dutch translation was handed in, but the original was not given at this time, as they had no signed copy with them. Our draft of a treaty and explanatory letter were handed to them, and the desirableness of their forming a treaty with us, which would fix our international relations with them on a clear basis, fully dilated on. Notes of several things to be considered were then handed to them, and they are to reply in writing. Moriyama was on the floor, shuffling from one side to the other, while these men regarded him with undisturbed countenances and spoke to him in a very low voice. Yezaimon, Kaheyōye and Tatsnoske were in the room, the latter crouching on hands and knees. What respect can a man have for himself in such a position?

The chief commissioner was an unintellectual looking man, dressed plainly in dark silk. The second is a gross, sleepy looking man, as much unlike a prince as if he was a chimney-sweeper, his next in rank taking the shine off all of them by his green trowsers and their gilt emblazonry, he having his coat-of-arms worked on each calf so as to be conspicuous. It was this man who met the party at Uruga, appearing there even brighter than on this occasion. The fourth and fifth commissioners said

almost nothing, and did not present anything attractive; all of them doubtless looked at us as carefully as we at them, regarding us with more interest, doubtless, as they had more at stake.

We were entertained by the two princes while the others went out to look at the papers. Two trays of fish differently dressed, surrounded with boiled seaweed, walnuts, carrots shredded fine, and eggs, were served, with saki, tea, soy and vinegar. As little salt was used as by the Lewchewan cooks, yet the viands were not badly tasted, and I had a fresh supply of the kuruni, or walnut seeds, which tasted very pleasantly. A decanter and glasses were brought in, with Madeira wine, which were obtained doubtless of the Dutch. No great outlay was made for to-day's entertainment, if this was the criterion; but it evidenced good feeling on the part of the Japanese, and was a vast advance on last summer's meeting.

When the other commissioners returned they were all invited to dinner, and accepted the invitation finally, as soon as the intimation was given that the machinery would be set agoing for them. The case of the death on board of the "Mississippi" was then introduced, and a request made that a place be set apart for interment. First, they wished to know whether the deceased was an officer; then they requested that we take the body to Uraga, whence they would take it to the burial ground at Nagasaki. This being denied and Perry proposing Natsushima, they raised scruples respecting the proprietary of the land, and, after a deal of backing and filling agreed to let the body be buried ashore to-morrow, they sending guides to point out the location. All this discussion took up three quarters of an hour, and allowed the officers outside to see a good deal of the neighborhood, some of them walking a mile or more.

Nothing could be obtained from the commissioners respecting leave to go ashore, and the replies to this and other points in the notes were to be given soon. I have given the leading points in this interview, but the slowness of the intercommunication, through Dutch too, prolonged it to weariness.

While we were inside, the crowd of Japanese outside entertained itself with the guard, the officers and the music, and got on very well together. There were about seven hundred foreigners on shore and lying off. After looking at the long shed for the presents, which required a new roof before it would be safe, Perry and his suite went off. When he landed salutes were fired in honor of the Emperor and Commissioner Lin, a mark of respect the latter seemed to understand; these were fired by the boats.

Escorts of Japanese soldiers, crossbow-men, matchlock-men and servants were standing around the building, but the crowd was never in the way, and both parties mingled freely with each other. The meeting passed off pleasantly in every respect, and towards evening a dozen boxes of oranges and casks of spirits were sent off to the flagship for distribution.

*Thursday, March 9th.*—Moriyama and Kaheyōye, the deputies from the commissioners, came about half past one, P.M., to deliver a certified copy of the answer read to us yesterday, and a Dutch translation. It is a mean looking style to return the answer to the magnificent boxes in which Fillmore's was handed them, though this matters little to the contents. These papers were handed to the Commodore, and a short time allowed for dinner, during which some good daguerreotypes of the visitors were taken, and then we went off to the "Mississippi" to consult on business. The deputies had Hiraiyama Kenzhi-rō for their advisor and secretary, but yesterday he acted an equal part with Kaheyōye, and must hold high office. The chief matters settled were: the landing of the presents on Monday; the best way of procuring provisions through a purveyor who was to bring them all to one ship, where they would be paid for, weighing coin against coin, equal weight being equal value; and the nature of the presents we wish in exchange for ours. We talked about ports to be opened; the place whence the cannel coal they had brought us was obtained; the desirableness and objections to our going ashore to walk;



and need there was on our part for patience in this negotiation which to them was so novel and heretofore so opposed to their laws. The princes and commissioners are unacquainted with us and our customs, and much of our success depends on the first steps.

While still in session, the funeral boats returned, Yezaimon coming back with them. The grave was dug near the burial ground of Yokohama, and, after Mr. Jones had gone through his services, a Buddhist priest who had joined the procession, all shaven and shorn, and in a yellow surplice of a fine quality, went through his services, having brought his bell and candle, *saki*, incense sticks and all his furniture to join in this Christian burial. His ritual was much the same as in China, and all present, including over two thousand spectators, regarded it all in quiet interest, somewhat doubting, perhaps, what they would see next. Thus did the United States marine, Williams, occupy his narrow bed within fifteen miles of Yedo, where Gongiu-sama declared once that no Christian should ever come; yea, that even the God of the Christians should die, if he came. Thus are old things passing away in Japan. Mr. Jones thinks he has done a great achievement.

NAMES OF THE SIX MEMBERS OF THE IMPERIAL COUNCIL  
AND THE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED TO MEET  
COMMODORE PERRY AT YOKOHAMA.

松崎満太郎	Matsusaki Michitarō.
鵜殿民部少輔	Udono, Mimbu Shiyoyu, assistant in the Board of Population or Revenues.
伊澤美作守	Izawa, prince of Mimasaki, in Sanyuto, w. of Miaco.
井戸對馬守	Ido, Tsus-sima no kami, prince of islands near Corea.
林大學頭	Hayashi, dai gaku no kami, one of the high councillors.

内藤紀伊守	Naiito, prince of Ki, in Nankaitu.
久世太和守	Kuzhei, prince of Yamato, near Idzumi.
松平伊賀守	Matsudaiira, Iga's prince ; east of Kaga.
松平和泉守	Matsudaiira, prince of Idzumi, opposite Ohosaka city.
牧野備前守	Makino, the prince of Bizen in Sanyuto.
阿部伊勢守	Abe, the prince of Ishi, in the division of Tokaido.

*Friday, March 10th.*—Off Kanagawa.

The answer to the reply delivered by Hayashi has been translated to-day, and in it, while Perry is pleased that the Japanese government has granted what Fillmore asked for, which was all the Cabinet at Washington expected to obtain, he says that it is by no means all *he* wants, nor all the President intended, and “will not satisfy his views.” The letter last year asked for one port ; now Perry wants five. That desired the Japanese to give assurances of good treatment ; now Perry demands them to make a treaty, and threatens them in no obscure terms with a “larger force and more stringent terms and instructions,” if they do not comply. The Japanese may be disposed to comply, but they may not. Yet what an inconsistency is here exhibited, and what conclusion can they draw from it except that we have come on a predatory excursion ? I hardly know just the position in which to place such a document as this, but the estimation of its author is not dubious. Perry cares no more for right, for consistency, for his country, than will advance his own aggrandizement and fame, and makes his ambition the test of all his conduct towards the Japanese. Yet if they will, either from fear, from policy, or from inclination to learn and see more of their fellowmen, open their ports and for once do away with the seclusive system, great good to them will result, their people will be benefited, and the stability even of the state increased, perhaps. Yet I despise such papers as this drawn up this day, and it may defeat its own object ; it certainly has lowered the opinion I had of its author.

Tatsnoske came to-day to see whether the presents would be ready, and to inquire respecting the supplying of water. If he came for wine and cake he was disappointed. We have given the visitors a large feasting, and it is time they reciprocated it. The arrangements respecting provisions are not very simple, but the supply of such a squadron where the interpreters are few is likely to be tedious, even if this part of the country has enough—a doubtful matter.

*Saturday, March 11th.*—Captain Adams took the papers ashore to-day and continued there consulting and arranging with Kaheyōye about the provisions and disposal of the presents. These are now all put up ready for transmission on Monday, and form a large collection, though not very valuable. I have had the chief management of their preparation, and the vexatious manner in which Perry can annoy those under him without himself caring for the perplexity he occasions makes me glad that I never was disciplined to the navy, where undistinguishing obedience is required. One gets into such a heartless way of doing everything that the whole soul gets callous; praise is never given when a thing is done well, and scolding plentifully administered annuls all desire to exert one's self to please a superior.

*Sunday, March 12th.*—The weather during the weeks we have been in this bay has been delightful, on the whole as healthy, I suppose, as any climate in the world. To-day has been cool and clear (thermometer about 42° F.), and as bracing as any temperature I ever felt. My health is good, and I have enough to do; my situation is not disagreeable, and I am mostly my own master—why should not my heart praise God for all his loving kindness, so infinitely beyond my deserts, and all the promises given in his dear Son? Mr. Bittenger prayed and read a chapter to-day, the Commodore having such a tenderness for the crew that he would not keep them on deck in the cold long enough to hear a sermon! He himself attended, but McCluney keeps away. Yet even this slight religious service,

which rightfully ought to be held daily, if a crew was properly taught, is made the subject of ridicule and scorn by officers and men, so perverse are they.

*Monday, March 13th.*—By eleven o'clock this morning all the presents destined for the Emperor and his councillors and the five commissioners were landed on the beach ready to take ashore. Unfortunately, the day was rainy, and the marines and officers were unable to do more than salute Captain Abbot as he came ashore, and accompany him into the house, when the former retired to the shed. Most of the presents were landed without injury and placed under cover, the agricultural implements forming the largest bulk. The engine and telegraph require some preparation to show them.

The presents for the Emperor were as follows :—

One 1/4 size miniature steam engine, track, tender and car.

Telegraph, with three miles of wire and gutta percha wire.

One Francis' copper Life Boat.

One surf-boat of copper.

Collection of agricultural implements.

Audubon's Birds, in nine vols.

Natural History of the State of New York, 16 vols.

Annals of Congress, 4 vols.

Laws and Documents of the State of New York.

Journal of the Senate and Assembly of New York.

Lighthouse Reports, 2 vols.

Bancroft's History of the United States, 4 vols.

Farmers' Guide, 2 vols.

One series of United States Coast Survey Charts.

Morris' Engineering.

Silver-topped dressing case.

8 yards scarlet broadcloth, and ps. scarlet velvet.

Series of United States standard yard, gallon, bushel, balances and weights.

Quarter cask of Madeira.

Barrel of whiskey.

Box of champagne and cherry cordial and maraschino.

Three 10 cent boxes of fine tea.

Maps of several states and four large lithographs.

Telescope and stand in box.

Sheet-iron stove.

An assortment of fine perfumery, about 6 dozen.

5 Hall's Rifles, 3 Maynard's Muskets, 12 Cavalry  
Swords, 6 Artillery Swords, 1 Carbine and 20  
Army Pistols in a box.

Catalogue of New York State Library and of Post-  
offices.

Two mail bags with padlocks.

For the Empress:—

Flowered silk embroidered dress.

Toilet dressing-box gilded.

6 dozen assorted perfumery.

For Commissioner Hayashi:—

Audubon's Quadrupeds.

4 yards scarlet broadcloth—a clock—a stove—a rifle.

Set of Chinaware—teaset; a revolver and box of  
powder.

2 dozen assorted perfumery—20 gallons of whiskey—  
a sword.

3 boxes 10c. fine tea—box of champagne—I box of  
finer tea.

For Abe, prince of Ishi, first councillor:—

One copper lifeboat.

Kendall's War in Mexico and Ripley's History of that  
war.

Box of champagne—3 boxes fine tea—20 gallons  
whiskey.

1 clock—I stove—I rifle—I sword—I revolver and  
powder.

2 dozen assorted perfumery.

4 yards scarlet broadcloth.

For Makino, prince of Bizen, second councillor :—

Lossing's Field Book of Revolution—10 gallons  
whiskey.

Cabinet of Natural History of New York—1 lithograph.  
1 clock—1 revolver—1 sword—1 rifle—1 dozen  
perfumery.

For Matsudaiira, prince of Idzumi, third councillor :—

Owen's Architecture—12 assorted perfumery.

View of Washington and plan of the city.

1 clock—1 rifle—1 sword—1 revolver—10 gallons  
whiskey.

For Matsudaiira, prince of Iga, fourth councillor :—

Documentary History of New York.

Lithograph of a steamer.

12 assorted perfumery.

1 clock—1 sword—1 rifle—1 revolver—10 gallons  
whiskey.

For Kuzhei, prince of Yamato, fifth councillor :—

Downing's Country Houses.

View of San Francisco—9 assorted perfumery.

1 revolver—1 clock—1 rifle—1 sword—10 gallons  
whiskey.

For Naïto, prince of Ki, sixth councillor :—

Owen's Geology of Minnesota and maps.

Lithograph of Georgetown, D.C. 10 gallons whiskey.

1 clock—1 rifle—1 revolver—1 sword—9 assorted  
perfumery.

For Ido, prince of Tsus-sima, second commissioner :—

Appleton's Dictionary, 2 vols. 9 assorted perfumery.

Lithograph of New Orleans. 5 gallons whiskey—box  
of tea.

1 sword—1 rifle—1 revolver—1 clock—box of  
cherry cordial.

For Izawa, prince of Mimasaki, third commissioner :—

Model of life-boat.

View of steamer "Atlantic." 5 gallons whiskey.

1 rifle—1 revolver—1 clock—1 sword—9 assorted  
perfumery.

Box of cherry cordial—small box of tea.

Brass howitzer and two carriages.

For Udon, fourth commissioner :—

List of post-offices—box of tea.

Lithograph of elephant—9 assorted perfumery.

1 rifle—1 revolver—1 clock—5 gallons whiskey.

1 sword—box of cherry cordial.

For fifth commissioner :—[Matsusaki Michitarō]\*

Lithograph of a steamer—1 revolver—6 assorted  
perfumery.

1 clock—1 sword—5 gallons whiskey—box of tea  
and cherry cordial.

These things were all arranged in the hall after the collation of tea and other eatables was over, and Captain Abbot delivered them in the Commodore's name on the part of the United States government, and the commissioners gave thanks for them ; they, however, restrained all expression of interest in them, and really knew almost nothing of what they were. The whole affair passed off very well, and if the sky had not wept so much it would have been a more interesting "funciao" than that of Wednesday last.

*Tuesday, March 14th.*—A boat's load of us went ashore this morning to open out and mark the presents, while others were to exhibit and prepare the agricultural implements, the telegraph, steam-engine and books. My errand was to open all the books and, with the aid of one of the Japanese, to write the presentation. He declined to break a single seal, and preferred that I should make out another triglott list which he would send

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\* Called by the Commodore "rather an equivocal character," and thought by him to be the Government spy upon the others. (*Narrative*, p. 347.)

in. Consequently, I had almost nothing to do, and after luncheon Dr. Morrow and I slipped out behind the house and reached the nearest hills beyond Yokohama without attracting the notice of any of our officials. Having attained this ridge, we started off into the country, selecting the copses and wooded hillsides as most likely to afford flowers and new plants. We rambled from one woodside to another, crossing fields of wheat and brassica to reach them, and found a few in flower; but we were rather too early, the old grass and leaves not yet being freshened by the coming heats of spring. The wheat was seen in great luxuriance growing in the richest, blackest soil I ever saw, and cultivated everywhere in rows by drilling. The landscape was beautiful, indicating great fertility and culture; from these hilltops few or no houses were seen, no farmsteads or hamlets, but here and there a laborer or woodcutter working solitarily, far away from their homes. There were few birds to be seen, pigeons and crows forming the chief part. The trees were beginning to swell, and in a week or more the country will begin to assume the hue of summer. We rambled along for several miles feeling as if we were let out of school, when we approached the seashore and descried a long village beneath us and a road leading to it, to which last we descended, avoiding the village. The charming prospect from this elevated point, joined to the idea of its having heretofore been hidden to all foreign eyes, rendered it one not soon to be forgotten. The high degree of tillage showed, too, that Japan hereabouts is able to support, and does, a dense population. Our list of plants procured was small, but among them was a kind of fern I never saw before, and perhaps new.\*

Coming down into the road, we were presently taken in tow by a gay dressed watch-officer whose guardhouse lay so as to examine everybody going in and out of the village, and

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\* Two new ferns were discovered by these collectors in Japan. One hitherto unknown variety of clematis was named after the author "*Clematis Williamsii*" by Asa Gray.



accompanied us towards Yokohama. He was a pleasant fellow and willingly told us everything, stopping as we stopped, and behaving kindly to all he met. The whole population of course sallied out to see us, for we now crossed a large, fertile valley, where every person could see us from all sides, and civilly were they behaved too. No flowers to speak of were seen except Camellias and Peaches, of which they gave us branches, and thus we went on towards Yokohama, escorted all the way by one and another warden of the paths, everybody being as social and happy at seeing us as possible. I did what talking I could, and asked such questions as I knew how. When near Yokohama one of our officials came up behind us puffing and sweating, telling us he had been a long way after us and rubbing the perspiration from his brow. I begged him not to injure himself by overfatigue, but to help us find some violets on the bankside, which he did, and we soon were merry together. In the village he procured a cotton gin to show Dr. Morrow its principle of working, and cleaned a few seeds; it consists merely of two rollers working on screws made at their ends, the threads of which interlock. On reaching the house Yezaimon was waiting for us, everybody having been sent for to return on board, and very politely accompanied us to the ship.

*Wednesday, March 15th.*—While Kaheyōye was in conference yesterday with Captain Adams, a messenger came off in haste on board the "Mississippi" to inform him that some of our officers were committing excesses on shore and going off toward Yedo in haste. On this being reported, Perry issued an order for all the officers and men on shore to repair on board instantly, firing a gun to add energy to the command, I suppose, for all who could receive the order could hear the gun. Only three were out of hearing, Bittenger, Morrow and I, and a note was dispatched for the former who had gone as far as Kawasaki and had caused all this hubbub among these "insulars." He was overtaken and, on receiving the order, came back to the ship about nine o'clock, having been well received by the people at

every place he came to. His stories of what he saw are somewhat doubtful, at least until further corroboration ; but the walk was an interesting one and showed the good temper of the people and the timidity of the government. In consequence of the order, a guard of four marines was landed this morning, and we all felt like prisoners ; the entire squadron is out against poor Bittenger for putting all the officers in quarantine, as there was likelihood of their going ashore in a few days ; but I doubt if the Japanese are likely to grant permission, though they would not interfere to stop us.

We were busied in arranging the steam-engine, laying the track ; translating the list of presents formed my business. Part of them were carried away to-day ; the Emperor's remain no longer. Mr. Brown took a few daguerreotypes, and the working of the garden engine amused us all for a time. On coming back in the evening, I had the draft of the treaty the Japanese propose in return for ours to translate. It is in eight articles, and proposes to commence a trade at Nagasaki the first of next Japanese year in coal, provisions and fuel, to be paid for in coin ; and to open another port in five years after ; no permission to be given to go about, and shipwrecked sailors and vessels are guaranteed protection and transmission of themselves and such property as is saved to their countrymen. Concerning trade at Napa and Matsnai, there is no permission, but the phrase is, "We cannot now cavil at it." This would intimate that the latter place was more independent than we had supposed, and perhaps the whole of Yesso is ruled by a tributary prince, as Lewchew is. The treaty is by no means well worded, and leaves many points open, though its framers doubtless mean to settle them themselves.

Art. I.—When ships of the United States come to Nagasaki they shall be supplied with wood, water, provisions and coal ; and if they lack anything else for their necessities it shall be supplied them as far as we have it. The time for this going into effect is during the first month of next year ; after five years we will

open another port for their accommodation. *Note*.—We may mention that the prices of these things shall be according to those paid by the Dutch and Chinese, and that they shall be exchanged for foreign gold and silver coin, and for no other article.

Art. II.—Wherever ships of the United States may be thrown or wrecked on our coasts our vessels will assist them and carry them to Nagasaki, and hand them over to their countrymen there; whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored. *Note*.—After the five years, when a new port is opened, that which has been saved shall be taken to the new port or to Nagasaki, as is most convenient.

Art. III.—As it is not easy to ascertain certainly whether those who may be thrown upon our shores are good men or are pirates, they are not to be allowed to go walking about at those places as they please.

Art. IV.—The Dutch and Chinese who dwell at Nagasaki are under old regulations which cannot suddenly be altered; therefore, all Americans resorting there cannot be permitted to go ashore as they please.

Art. V.—After the other port is opened, if there be any other sort of articles wanted, or any business which requires to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle them.

Art. VI.—As Lewchew is a distant frontier dependency, the matter of opening a port there cannot at this time be caviled at by us.

Art. VII.—As Matsmai is a distant border place likewise, and is ruled by its hereditary prince, the matter of making a port is also hard to cavil at this time. When the ships of the United States come to Nagasaki next spring, this point can be leisurely discussed and arranged.

## 條約

一 亞美理駕合衆國船到長崎港時應與以薪水食糧石炭若其有欠乏者亦應以我所有者給之且期以來春正月爲始五歲之後應開一港以容之

其講價一准唐山和蘭例而抵以洋金洋銀不以他物

一 合衆國船遇風漂到我邦不論何處使我舟護而導之長崎港還附其人漂民所携諸物件亦并還之

五歲開港後則護送新港或長崎各從其便

一 漂到船隻難保其果爲良民與海匪所在不許恣意行走  
一 長崎港唐山和蘭人所寓有舊例難遽變者故合衆國人到此者亦不許恣上岸

一 開港之後應給以何等物品及事宜條件要應反覆商議以定之

一 琉球島屬遠境其開港之議非當今所能辨  
一 松前亦係遠陲且有世守之侯開港之議亦難立辨俟來春貴舶到長崎港徐議之

*Thursday, March 16th.*—The intended meeting between the Commodore and the commissioners has been postponed till to-morrow on account of the storm; it is a cheerless place on a rainy day in that rude house. The condition of the common Japanese is not so comfortable as I had anticipated finding it, from what I had read. The villages I passed through exhibited evidences of poverty in every form; the houses are slight, the utensils scattered around few and rude; the domestic animals few, no hogs, cattle, ducks, geese, or sheep being seen, and only a few chickens, dogs, or cats; the people dressed in cotton and in tattered raiment, though well fed and healthy looking. The

houses are dark, when shut up, and this must prevent a good deal of in-door work in gloomy weather which our glazed apartments permit us to do. Temples are common, and gods of stone are numerous, some of them like the Briarean images of the Hindus, others as if only deified men, or deceased persons whose friends had put them up. The idols of the Buddhists were usually seen prominent in these collections, and *Ometo Fuh* was inscribed in many places. Tibetan letters were seen in two places, perhaps only the common inscription, *om mani pudme om*, which becomes the more mystical the less is known of it.

We entered a shop for a drink ; its contents were sandals, pattens, vessels containing fish, sauces, and other things, spirits, and an assortment of clothing, the whole not worth ten dollars. I gave a few cash to a girl who brought the water, but our official conductors made her give them back. The people were respectful to these officers, yet not cringing ; and probably this custom forms one of the strong bonds to keep the people in subjection.

*Friday, March 17th.*—The Commodore left the ship to-day at one o'clock, and was received on shore by the marines and an escort, with music, and met the four commissioners in the house. The conference was altogether about three hours and a half, and conducted very pleasantly by the Japanese. The refusal to go to Nagasaki at all was met by the proposal of another port, when Perry mentioned Uraga, and they Shimoda, pointing it out on the map. This place has a fine harbor, and the Commodore agreed to it provisionally, saying that he must first examine its location, and would send the "Vandalia" and "Southampton" down there immediately to inspect and survey it. It was surveyed in 1849 by H. B. M. Brig "Mariner," but no chart of it is in the squadron. Matsmai is to be consulted about, and an answer will be given at the next interview on Thursday, while they can say nothing regarding Lewchew ; this, therefore, seems to settle the question respecting the political independency of that island as of Yedo, whatever may be its relations with

Satzuma. Sailors thrown ashore are not to be caged or confined, and to be restrained only after they are found guilty.

Thus most of the objections made to their treaty are likely to be met in a friendly spirit, and I hope nothing will arise to mar the beginning of a new era for them. When we were talking respecting the visit of surveying ships to Shimoda, Kaheyōye inquired if Mr. Bittenger was going, which rather amused us ; and then I asked him if he was afraid of him, and this set the commissioners laughing. He said he was not afraid of him, but he made a great muss.

The oysters to-day were supplied abundantly, and if it had been a little warmer the visit would have been very agreeable. The telegraph wire is up a mile, the railroad will be ready for exhibition on Monday, and the various agricultural implements attract much notice. To-day, after Perry had left, a man of elegant manners and high rank (for everybody went down on their knees wherever he moved) landed and inspected everything with undisguised satisfaction. The commissioners came down from Kanagawa in a large barge, ornamented with banners and official umbrellas, and bearing the American flag on the side, a compliment I never heard of the Chinese doing. The boat was prettily painted and rather a gay thing.

*Saturday, March 18th.*—I have spent the whole day on shore, taking a list of the agricultural implements, and assisting in exhibiting them to the people around us, many of whom appeared interested in their manipulations. The most of these machines are far too expensive and complicated, I fear, for the majority of the agriculturists and gardeners of Japan. The operations of the tillers of the soil here, as in China, are on too small a scale for them to afford the cost, and human labor for these same too abundant to need such implements ; and it will take much time to introduce them. The power of machinery, however, can find large fields for its exercise in these remote regions when once it is allowed full play.

The day passed rather tediously, as I had not much to do.

and the knowledge of the language is too limited yet to enable me to talk readily. I had a good opportunity to tell a considerable number of the spectators something about the resurrection, a matter totally new to them, and which struck them as wanting much evidence to lead one to believe it. During a walk to the marine's grave we saw a few new things, among which the extensive use of charms at graves written in Tibetan and Chinese characters was one. None of our friends knew what the former meant. Many new guard houses have been placed in Yokohama since we came, some of which are filled with persons bearing the coat-of-arms of the prince of Sinano.

Many of our visitors to-day are new, and I learn that several of those formerly here have been relieved by a second set, the others having gone to Uraga, among whom are Yezaimon and Saboroske.

*Sunday, March 19th.*—With the disregard of the Sabbath usual in this fleet, the "Southampton" was kept coaling during the night and most of the forenoon, in order to get her ready to leave for Shimoda with the "Vandalia." The "Supply" came up the bay this morning, disappointing more than she satisfied when her letter bag was distributed. Mr. Jones held service on board the flagship, Captain McCluney as before declining to attend. It is a matter of gratitude to hear of the welfare of dear friends, and get letters in Japan from Utica to December 1st. Mr. Contee's letter describing the landing of last year has been the chief sport for the fleet since the "Supply" came in.

*Monday, March 20th.*—Many changes in the officers of the squadron are ensuent on Dr. Gambrill's death and the return of the "Saratoga" with several invalids; Dr. Wheelwright and Mid. Stockton leave this ship. The Japanese came aboard twice yesterday, Isaboro being now the chief spokesman in place of Yezaimon, and an inferior man in all respects. To-day I have been ashore all day and, as if I was known now, no Japanese interpreter came to the house the whole time. This practice, of course, is just what I want, troublesome as the impertinent and

reiterated questioning sometimes becomes. There were very few visitors to-day, but many questions when the railcar will be in readiness to move. Some new plants were collected in a short walk, and shells, but we are a month too early for botany.

*Tuesday, March 21st.*—Dr. Morrow and I went off this morning on a search for an appropriate place to exhibit his hydrostatic ram, but after rambling two hours along the base of the hills back of the village, we returned unsuccessful. The officials who accompanied us were not much pleased with the tramp through tangled underbrush and boggy paths, for their straw sandals are ill fitted for getting over rough places. The season is not yet advanced enough to make these rambles pay in botanizing. The locomotive and tender were started on their circuit to-day, and went scudding round and round the circus like a Shetland pony, to the great pleasure of every spectator. The Japanese are, I think, more pleased with this thing than anything else we have given them.

*Wednesday, March 22nd.*—Another unsuccessful search for a proper place to exhibit the hydrostatic ram; but we came across some petrifications in the rocks at the base of the cliff, and procured several specimens. The rock was in situ one hundred and fifty feet above water mark, in a friable conglomerate, colored with iron. Some plants were dug up that promise something. Our companions to-day were not well disposed to an extension of the walk, but I managed to keep them in good humor, especially on the matter of procuring a couple of ducks we saw in a yard.

A large party came to-day from Yedo and Kanagawa to see the locomotive and telegraph. We managed to communicate through Namura's aid by writing the sounds in Japanese and sending them literally. It satisfied them, however, and all appeared to understand the idea, though not the mode of its operation. This party of people were not a whit superior to any of the previous companies of visitors we have had, and I know not that they were of any higher rank. On reaching the



ship in the evening, we found that it had been agreed on to send the revised articles of the Treaty on board to-morrow, and deliver the return presents on Friday.

*Thursday, March 23rd.*—Hiraiyama Kenzhiro came off this morning with the following paper:—

鶴 殿 民 部 少 輔  伊 澤 美 作 守  井 戶 對 馬 守  林 大 學 頭	嘉 永 七 年 二 月 廿 五 日	爲	秋	月	事	境	來	港	者	倘	貴
		之	七	故	不	僻	請	而	准	缺	國
		始	月	應	得	遠	之	給	於	食	過
		矣	我	邦	以	不	設	旨	之	我	料
			數	來	費	置	然	當	箱	薪	船
				年	時	諸	彼	如	館	水	隻

“Ships of your nation passing by, and being in want of provisions, fuel and water, are permitted to procure them at the port of Hakodade, which we desire may be regarded as consonant with the desire expressed in the letter received from you. But as it is a distant place, and time will be necessary to prepare and settle everything there, it is arranged that the 7th month of our next year (Sept. 6th to Oct. 5th) be the date for opening the port.

“Kaye, 7th year, 2nd month, 25th day (Mar. 23rd, 1854).

“Hayashi, Dai-gaku no kami

“Ido, Tsus-sima no kami

“Izawa, Mimasaki no kami

“Udono, Mimbu shiyoyu.”

This gives permission to our whalers to repair to the port of Hakodade near Matsmai for supplies, and the time appointed for opening it will probably be as soon as arrangements can be made. Whether it will prove a good place for furnishing these ships with supplies remains to be seen after a few experiments have been made. It is probably a small and unimportant place

now, and time will be required to attract traders and provisioners there.

*Friday, March 24th.*—The “Susquehanna” started for Hongkong early this morning, much to the regret of most of her officers, especially the captain, who are thus disappointed in seeing more of the country of which they will be expected to have learned almost everything; and, what annoys them still more, they are unable to get any articles of rarity of Japanese manufacture, or see what is more to be seen of their customs. The Commodore reached the shore in his barge about noon, the four commissioners having been there some two hours before him. On reaching the hall, we found the return presents from their government spread out on the mats, lying in pretty pine trays, and making a pretty show in consequence, far more so than ours did, done up as the most of them were in brown paper and rough boxes. Some of the pieces of lacquered ware in raised gold figures were beautiful, and the silks were rather fine, especially the heavy crapes; the patterns of these last were quite unlike anything now made elsewhere. The list will exhibit the variety.\*

1st.—From the Japanese government to U. S. A.

1 gold lacquered writing table, writing apparatus, paper box and bookcase, four pieces. 1 bronze cow-shaped censer, with a silver flower on top—1 set plates or trays—1 bouquet holder and stand—2 braziers for charcoal—10 ps. each, white and red pongee, and 5 each, figured and dyed crape.

2nd.—From Hayashi to U. S. A. government.

1 lacquered apparatus and paper-box—1 box paper, of flowered paper, and 5 of stamped note paper—4 boxes assorted 100 kinds sea shells—1 box holding a branch of coral and a silver feather—1 lacquered

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\* It is rather curious that the author makes no mention of the “four small dogs of a rare breed sent to the President as a part of the Emperor’s gift,” (*Narrative*, p. 369) which the Commodore tells us “always form part of a Japanese royal present.”

- chowchow box—1 box set of 3 goblets—7 boxes cups, spoons and goblet cut from conch shells.
- 3rd.—From Ido, prince of Tsus-sima.  
2 boxes 4 lacquered waiters—20 paper umbrellas—30 coir brooms.
- 4th.—From Izawa, prince of Mimasaki.  
1 ps. each, red and white pongee, 13 dolls, box of woven bamboo articles, and 2 bamboo stands.
- 5th.—From Udono, member of Revenue Board.  
3 ps. striped crape, 20 porcelain cups, and 10 jars of soy.
- 6th.—From Matsusaki.  
3 boxes porcelain cups, 1 box figured matting, and 35 bds. oak charcoal.
- 7th.—From Abe, first Councillor.  
15 ps. striped figured pongee or taffeta.
- 8th-12th.—From the other six councillors.  
10 ps. striped figured pongee from each councillor.
- 13th.—From Emperor to Commodore Perry.  
1 lacquered writing apparatus and paper box, 3 ps. red and 2 ps. white pongee, 2 ps. flowered and 3 ps. figured dyed crape.
- 14th.—From Commissioners to Captain Adams.  
3 ps. red pongee, 2 figured crape, and 24 lacquered cups and covers.
- 15th.—From Commissioners to Perry,\* Williams and Portman, each.  
2 ps. red pongee, 2 of dyed figured crape, and 10 sets cups and covers.
- 16th.—From Commissioners to Draper, Danby, Gay, Williams† and Morrow.  
1 ps. red dyed figured crape and 10 lacquered cups and covers.

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\* O. H. Perry, the Commodore's son and secretary.

† J. P. Williams, telegrapher, the author's brother.

17th.—From Emperor to squadron.

200 bundles of rice and 300 chickens. Each bundle contained five Chinese pecks or 斗, *tau*.

There are in all 132 ps. of silk. Everything was brought off, and, except the chickens, are all to be sent to Washington.

After the exhibition of the presents, the commissioners invited Perry out in front, and soon ninety naked *rikoshi*, or athletæ, paraded in front to show their brawn by carrying the bundles of rice in various ways; some, two on their heads, others, one in their teeth, at the end of their arms, or on their backs. These fellows are trained to such feats and were all stout-limbed men; the biggest stripped to let Perry punch him in his paunch. They were brought to this village from Yedo, and we regarded it as a good sign that the commissioners should take some pains to amuse us. From this spot the company repaired to the railroad, where the locomotive was soon ready to run its race around the ring, a spectacle which interested the natives greatly. On returning to the house, the company was seated facing the inner yard, where the strongest of the athletæ were brought forward to exhibit their prowess. First, the whole body of them stood in a circle and went through a sort of drill, or manual, slapping their breasts, rubbing their hands, arm-pits, and knees, with other motions, after which they marched off. A second company, dressed a little with long fancy aprons, then circled the ring, going through with similar motions. The match then began, two and two coming into the ring. First, squatting on their feet, opposite each other, the two began to rub themselves with dirt on the palms and arm pits, and then advanced to the centre in a steady step. Here, each stretched out one leg after the other, holding his knee with a close grip and planting his foot in the earth with a heavy groan, or grunt, several times, again rubbing his hands in the gravel like a bull pawing the earth. All this took up a minute or more, and then each, seizing the other's shoulders, endeavored to push his antagonist over; one butted his head with all his

force against the other's breast, while that one only tried to throw him by turning his body, and generally succeeded in doing so, he coming to the ground with a thump that showed the force exerted. In only one case was there anything like wrestling. All the men were heavy, and seemed strong too; the biggest remained victor. Some of them rushed up screaming like mad, but these generally proved to be weaklings. It was a curious, barbaric spectacle, reminding one of the old gladiators. Indeed, there was a curious *mélange* to-day here, a junction of the east and west, railroads and telegraph, boxers and educated athletæ, epaulettes and uniforms, shaven pates and night-gowns, soldiers with muskets and drilling in close array, soldiers with petticoats, sandals, two swords, and all in disorder, like a crowd—all these things, and many other things, exhibiting the difference between our civilization and usages and those of this secluded, pagan people.

The interview lasted two or three hours; at the close of it, Commissioner Lin gave Perry two swords, three matchlocks and two sets of coins. All the high officers seemed in good spirits, and everybody left for the ships much amused with the day's show. Oh! how desirable that our opening intercourse may produce different results, calculated to elevate and purify the Japanese, so that they may learn the real source of our superiority in the momentous truths of the Bible.

*Saturday, March 25th.*—M. Yenoske, Isaboro, Kenzhiro and others came to see Perry to-day, while we were all hurried here and there to pack and mark the presents received yesterday. They wished him to defer his visit to Matsmai for one hundred days, but he refused to do so more than fifty; they said interpreters must go there via Yedo, and the dialect differs so much there that I cannot understand them. The Japanese are unwilling to allow consuls, as they say the governor and interpreter can manage all things with the captain of the ship. The discussion respecting trade after the treaty, walking about, furnishing coal, and the immediate opening of Simoda, was on

the whole favorable. In the course of the interview, it came out that, owing to Pellew's foray into Nagasaki harbor, and the suicides of the native officials, great fear was entertained of the designs and violence of the English. It was agreed to-day that a tariff of prices of merchandise, coal, provisions, and other things be made out, for the purpose of informing our people that ships may know what they are to pay and what they can get in Japan.

*Monday, March 27th.*—There was nothing done in the ships to-day but make preparation for the entertainment given here to Hayashi and his colleagues, with other officials; the five former were provided for in the cabin, and about sixty came to the tables on deck. Good humor prevailed and the whole appeared to be gratified. The commissioners first went to the "Macedonian," where they saw an exhibition of the manner of training, loading and firing great guns, and all the other evolutions of a ship's company at general quarters. When this was over, they left that ship under a salute, and were received by Commodore Perry on the quarter-deck and conducted over the ship, including the engine, which was put in motion for their entertainment. It greatly surprised them, and apparently bewildered some of them. Dinner was now ready, and above and below all prepared to taste the good things provided for them. Captains Abbot, Lee, Adams, and Walker assisted the Commodore, and they furnished the Japanese with a sample of everything on the table, sipping wine, tasting meats, preserves, pastry and other rarities, until they were all very well satisfied. I managed to tell them the names of nearly or quite everything, which also seemed to increase the interest in the feast. But the appearance of four large cakes, each having a miniature flag with the coats-of-arms of the four commissioners on it stuck in it, was the best hit; they received the compliment as a well-timed one.

About half-past five o'clock all went forward and listened to a performance of singing and dancing by the minstrels until it

was too late for them to stay longer ; this exhibition was a source of great merriment to them and every one present, for the acting was excellent. About two hundred Japanese altogether were on board, and the day passed off without accident, and to the gratification of everybody.

*Tuesday, March 28th.*—At noon the Commodore met the Japanese commissioners on shore and discussed some of the points he had drawn up, including those which had been accepted. That for opening Simoda as soon as the Treaty was signed was objected to so strongly that a compromise was agreed upon, which amounted to deferring all trade there, except for this squadron, until the President had promulgated his orders and notices that the place was available. Another hesitancy was seen in the limits to which Americans might go from the ports, and it was at last limited to seven Japanese miles, and a man was to be back the same day. “Temporarily” was also inserted before the word “residing” in this article, as they did not see the use of putting residents on shore there. A good deal of discussion of a friendly nature was carried on to-day upon several points of the Treaty, and all its points and articles were settled. How much has been gained over what I expected last spring when I was asked to come here ! How thankful ought we all to be that no collision has taken place !

*Wednesday, March 29th.*—Doing up specimens of American coins, and preparing articles of the Treaty all the morning, which Yenoske cavilled at when he came in the afternoon, accepting some and altering or rejecting others. All the management of the Treaty seems to have been transferred to his hands by the commissioners, for Kenzhiro and others with him said almost nothing. In all these consultations Yenoske seems to possess decisive authority, and he is pretty well fitted for it. Objection was made to the distance allowed for rambles, and the point was conceded for Simoda, starting from a small island in the harbor, and for Hakodade, when the Commodore has been there. A curious objection was made to the ratification of the

Treaty, as the Emperor needed only to approve what his commissioners had done, and then it would be evermore obeyed. This people seem to be bred into a full idea of the "right of kings divine, to do just as they have a mind," and to liberate them from such a thralldom can only be brought about by the Gospel. The discussion of one point and another, the appointment of consuls, the opening of the port of Simoda, and the distance to which Americans may ramble there, prolonged the interview till dark. During the afternoon Kenzhiro wrote the following as either expressing his dislike or predilections :

"In the vast expanse of the world's extent, are not all the tender children of the 天帝, Heavenly Ruler? Among them, courtesy, good faith, kindness and justice ought to rule as they do among own brothers; but if, covetous of gain, things are carried to an extreme, all ought to be ashamed of it and not speak thereof; yet to discourse of warlike affairs and the necessary modes of commotion, slaughter and battle is not unworthy of continual talk and research." If he alluded to the deliberations then going on it was a hint that we were rather quiddling.

*Thursday, March 30th.*—The same party came early to-day and, after going over their Dutch version and making one from it and Mr. Portman's, all the articles, twelve in number, were agreed to, some other points being put into a supplementary letter, one of which was that Simoda is not actually to be opened till next autumn; and another respecting consuls. Yenoske, in return for all that Perry had given him, brought a box of sweetmeats; and it was a pretty box indeed. In return he took away a box of Lowell cottons, and also the presents for Kaheyōye, and a promise of a brass howitzer for the two princes, Izawa and Ido, for which they had been asking again and again. It is not for want of cumshaws to the Japanese that we shall fail of making a treaty, especially drinkables of all sorts; though I suppose this is the way to do such negotiations the world over.

*Friday, March 31st.*—Last evening Kenzhiro came about



eight o'clock with the Chinese version of the Treaty done from the Japanese, and, after some alterations and the correction of one important error respecting the distance allowed for rambling at Simoda, the whole was agreed upon. This morning a fair copy was made, and about a quarter of one o'clock the Commodore left the ship. On meeting the Japanese commissioners, they exhibited three copies of the Japanese version and one each of the Dutch and Chinese, while we had three copies of the English and one each of the Dutch and Chinese. They first opened theirs at the seals to show the rubrics attached to the name of each commissioner, instead of a seal, and then the Commodore signed the three English copies in their presence. The two copies of the Dutch version were then compared and found to be the same, when they were exchanged, one being signed by Yenoske, the other by Mr. Portman. After this, the Chinese copies were compared, and one character erased in one of them, but when I wished them to sign their copy and date it a difficulty arose, for they wished only to date it in Kayei's name and year, while I required both theirs and ours, as in the Dutch. They declined to write the characters for "our Lord Jesus Christ," and the Commodore allowed the omission,\* after which they dated it, and Matsusake Michitaro signed it with his rubric; and I signed the other and gave it in exchange. Thus completed the negotiations and signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa, the first one ever made by the Japanese. Long may they rejoice over the blessings it will bring them, and may the Disposer of nations and events make it the opening whereby his great Name may be declared unto them. After so many years of seclusion, He has inclined them to listen to this application to loosen the strictness of their laws, and I sincerely hope they will never have occasion to repent of the privileges granted on this day.

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\* No mention is made of this in the *Actes*, where the phrase occurs in the English copy of the Treaty. The ninth article of this Treaty containing the "most favored nation" clause was suggested by Dr. Williams.

The Treaty being signed, a dinner was brought us, though it hardly came up to our expectations. The first course was composed of tea, candy tied in knots and sponge cake. The second, of raw oysters, mushroom soup, boiled pear, eggs pressed together after boiling into cakes and then cut into strips, seaweed cooked with sugar, raw ginger, boiled walnuts, and mushrooms, hot and cold saki served as occasion required. The third, of boiled bream, large crawfish, shrimp, sliced fish, bean soup with greens, seaweed in fine threads, greens, boiled bamboo and onions, with the long yam, a vegetable I never saw before. The fourth, of fish soup, taro, blanchmange, with the word *shai*, or longevity, on it in a cypher in red, boiled chestnuts, and one or two other unknown matters. As a whole, it was not equal to the dinners given at Shui, and would doubtless have been better served at Yedo or even Kanagawa.

Dinner being over, a long discussion ensued respecting the visit to Yedo, to which the Japanese made many objections, and requested the Commodore as a personal favor not to go up the bay; but he told them it must be done, as the President had ordered it, even if they did not let him go ashore. It ended by the closing of further useless alternation of arguments, and each wishing the other good-bye. Commissioner Lin said that it was the firm determination of the Japanese never to open the port or Bay of Yedo to foreign ships. At leaving, Captain Adams handed over the list of the presents still on hand.

*Saturday, April 1st.*—The list of agricultural instruments and seeds was given to the interpreters this morning, and a number of carpenters were ready to begin to pack them up, as well as the telegraph and locomotive. This being done as far as we had anything to say, Dr. Morrow and I started off to collect plants, though the slight frost and cold weather lately had rather retarded than hastened their development. We went up the creek and crossed the bridge, where we saw a fellow throwing a net in which came up a fine surmullet, a silure, and a sort of perch, but we had no means of carrying them off. Proceed-

ing northward across the valley, we reached the hill and went onward for about three miles, finding little to repay us, but much to see. At one farmhouse we procured a little cotton seed, while no one has seen the cotton growing hitherto. In the next valley we reached the highroad leading westward from Yedo, and came into the village of Hodangya stretching along both sides of it for a mile. The people were all abroad, and all pleased to see the foreigners as we were to see them. The shops were low buildings, with nearly the whole front open, displaying only the common necessities of life. On one sign we noticed the name *Vroum von Metter* in Roman capitals, and on another the efficacy of a medicine introduced by the Dutch from abroad was extolled. A few two-storied houses, with the gable ends to the street, seemed to be the dwellings of the better sort; their window blinds were made of two-inch plank trebled; some windows were grated. A covered way stretched along the whole street, but not so as to protect foot passengers from the rain; it was merely a shelter for the individual householder. The road was nearly a macadamized one; a few packhorses were seen, but no vehicles, and almost no animals. The crowd gave way as we went on, everyone preserving the utmost order; among them the women, with their black teeth, looked the more repulsive the more they laughed, and three or four naked fellows who had run out from their work looked odd amid the dressed crowd. As a whole, the line of shops and houses did not equal a similar row in China, and the people were not, I thought, as large on the average. Dr. Morrow and I were almost a head above them.

#### A COPY OF THE TREATY OF KANAGAWA.

The United States of America and the Empire of Japan, desiring to establish firm, lasting, and sincere friendship between the two nations, have resolved to fix in a manner clear and positive, by means of a Treaty or General Convention of Peace and Amity, the rules which shall in future be mutually observed

in the intercourse of their respective countries ; for which most desirable object, the President of the United States has conferred full powers on his commissioner, Matthew Calbraith Perry, Special Ambassador of the United States to Japan ; and the August Sovereign of Japan has given similar powers to his commissioners, Hayashi, Dai-gaku no kami, Ido, prince of Tsus-sima, Izawa, prince of Mimasaki, and Udono, member of the Board of Revenue. And the said commissioners, after having exchanged their said full powers and duly considered the premises, have agreed to the following articles :—

- I.—There shall be a perfect, permanent and universal peace, and a sincere and cordial amity between the United States of America on the one part, and the Empire of Japan on the other part, and between their people respectively, without exception of persons or places.
- II.—The port of Simoda in the principality of Idzu, and the port of Hakodade in the principality of Matsmai, are granted by the Japanese as ports for the reception of American ships, where they can be supplied with wood, water, provisions and coal, and other articles their necessities may require, as far as the Japanese have them. The time for opening the first named port is immediately on signing this Treaty ; the last named port is to be opened immediately after the same day in the ensuing Japanese year. *Note.*—A tariff of prices shall be given by the Japanese officers of the things which they can furnish, payment for which shall be made in gold and silver coin.
- III.—Whenever ships of the United States are thrown or wrecked on the coasts of Japan, the Japanese vessels will assist them and carry their crews to Simoda or Hakodade, and hand them over to their countrymen appointed to receive them ; whatever articles the shipwrecked men may have preserved shall likewise be restored, and the expences incurred in the rescue and

support of Americans and Japanese who may thus be thrown upon the shores of either nation are not to be refunded.

IV.—Those shipwrecked persons and other citizens of the United States shall be free as in other countries, and not subjected to confinement, but shall be amenable to just laws.

V.—Shipwrecked men, and other citizens of the United States, temporarily living at Simoda and Hakodade shall not be subject to such restrictions and confinement as the Dutch and Chinese are at Nagasaki; but shall be free at Simoda to go where they please within the limits of seven Japanese *ri* or miles from a small island in the harbor of Simoda, marked in the accompanying chart hereto appended; and shall be free in like manner to go where they please at Hakodade, within limits to be defined after the visit of the United States squadron to that place.

VI.—If there be any other sort of goods wanted, or any business which shall require to be arranged, there shall be careful deliberation between the parties in order to settle such matters.

VII.—It is agreed that ships of the United States resorting to the ports open to them shall be permitted to exchange gold and silver coin and articles of goods for other articles of goods, under such regulations as shall be temporarily established by the Japanese government for that purpose. It is stipulated, however, that the ships of the United States shall be permitted to carry away whatever articles they may be\* unwilling to exchange.

VIII.—Wood, water, provisions, coal, and goods required shall only be procured through the agency of Japanese officers appointed for that purpose, and in no other manner.

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\* Are in the published text of the Treaty.

- IX.—It is agreed that if at any future day the government of Japan shall grant to any other nation, or nations, privileges and advantages which are not herein granted to the United States and the citizens thereof, that these same privileges and advantages shall be granted likewise to the United States and to the citizens thereof without any consultation or delay.
- X.—Ships of the United States shall be permitted to resort to no other ports in Japan but Simoda and Hakodade, unless in distress, or forced by stress of weather.
- XI.—There shall be appointed by the government of the United States consuls or agents to reside in Simoda at any time after the expiration of eighteen months from the date of the signing of this Treaty, provided that either of the two governments deem such arrangement necessary.
- XII.—The present convention, having been concluded and duly signed, shall be obligatory and faithfully observed by the United States of America and Japan, and by the citizens and subjects of each respective power; and it is to be ratified and approved by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, and by the august Sovereign of Japan, and the ratification shall be exchanged within eighteen months from the date of the signature thereof, or sooner if possible.

In faith whereof, we, the respective plenipotentiaries of the United States of America and the Empire of Japan, aforesaid, have signed and sealed these presents.

Done at Kanagawa, March 31st, 1854, and Kayei, 7th year, 3rd month, and 3rd day.

*Sunday, April 2nd.*—Mr. Jones did not come aboard the "Powhatan" to-day, but I had opportunity to go to the "Mississippi." Notwithstanding our repeated requests, a party of Japanese came aboard to-day and remained drinking and talking

most of the afternoon. The interpreters have doubtless learned at Nagasaki that the Sabbath is only a longer holiday and nothing of a holy day ; and doubt not they will find it so here too. They brought Perry five pieces of crape to-day in return for the pistols, cloth and wine he has given them.

*Tuesday, April 4<sup>th</sup>.*—The “Saratoga” left this morning, carrying some invalids and Captain Adams with his Treaty. I have hardly ever been so affected by any music as I was to-day by the “Mississippi’s” band playing Home, Sweet Home, as the “Saratoga” passed her ; it brought tears to some eyes.

*Thursday, April 6<sup>th</sup>.*—Commodore Perry and a party landed to-day for a walk. The howitzer and its two carriages, and ten boxes of tea were taken ashore as the last presents to be made to the officers here. The gun will doubtless be regarded as a great prize ; the first question was, “Where is the powder and shot ?” and “Let us see you fire it off.” I suppose the Japanese will soon begin to cast others like it, and think themselves able to resist foreign aggression as soon as they have made guns. After a few cups of tea had been served, the party started, going towards the old telegraph house, and then into a small *mia*, or Buddhist temple, having three images and some tablets. The chief image seemed to be cut out of the root of a tree. The inscriptions were all in Chinese, but there was no time to get their explanation.

From this we struck across the rice fields along the dyke, and ascended the hills west of Yokohama and down into a pretty dell, where we rested in a small temple for some time. It was a charming spot, and the camellias, peaches and plums, all in full flower, gave it a gay appearance, while the delightful temperature made everybody feel happy. The people living here came out to see the foreigners, but our official escort repelled them to a distance. We saw the tea plant growing in this nook, the first row of it I have noticed.

From this the Commodore returned to the village and paid the headman a visit, as I had suggested to him, to conduct us

round that way. In his yard was a curious pine tree, the trunk of which was about four feet high, and the top spread out like an umbrella twenty feet or more in diameter ; it was the result of thirty years' labor and culture, and was in a healthy state, full of flowers. It was not so large as one we saw last Saturday near a village up the valley, that being on the loamy bank of a stream. Besides this, our host had a fir tree bearing several branches of pine grafted in, which he evidently took some pride in. During the visit his wife and daughter came out, one bringing his grandson, and making themselves part of the party. It was instructive to see how utterly regardless of the man and his family Yenoske and his fellows all acted, sitting on the mats smoking and laughing among themselves. I suspect the lower ranks of life in Japan are kept from rising by an iron hand ; and yet how totally unprepared they are for asserting their rights is too plain to everyone. This man has been obliged, probably, to accommodate several officers since we came, and perhaps much of the cost of entertaining us and them has fallen on the village. We left and returned on board altogether, leaving nothing behind at the house.

To our surprise our host of this morning came aboard the " Powhatan " about half past eight o'clock, bringing with him a fan and a dozen sheets of paper to get my teacher to write him some autographs. He had heard that we were soon to leave, and this was his only way to see the ship. We gave him a few presents, and he departed mightily pleased with his reception ; he is a general favorite, especially with Dr. Morrow and me, whom he has accompanied most cheerfully in many a long ramble. I hope he may be able to keep what he took with him, for he told me that he had been forced to give up some of the seed formerly given him.

*Saturday, April 8th.*—Yesterday was a rainy, cold day, and the quiet of the ships in the blasts which now and then swept by us showed the excellence of the anchorage and the security ships can expect in this place. A heavy storm doubt-



less was felt on the coasts, but this morning opened clear and invigorating, refreshing everybody by the bright sunshine. Mt. Fusi and all the high land at its base was covered with snow, showing the little advance yet made in the coming on of spring compared with what might be inferred from the vegetation along shore. Some of the snow had disappeared before night. The water has been all delivered now to the ships, for which the Japanese will take no pay. No provisions have been brought us for many days, and many a chicken and duck came to an untimely end by the cold last night, so that it is about time to be moving. In fact, our official purveyors have given us very few eatables, and not exerted themselves to supply us with what could be obtained ; at least, this is a reasonable conclusion from their conduct. Perhaps live stock cannot be easily obtained hereabouts, but fish, vegetables and shell-fish can ; and these are not brought off any more than the others. In the Japanese is to be seen the same curious mixture of politeness and unmeaning assent, half-promise and non-performance, that is exhibited by the Chinese, and I think by all heathen people advanced to any degree of artificial society. The promise to perform and the excuse for not performing are alike heartless, and can only be removed, I think, by a sense of fear. Probably it is indisposition to exert themselves which prompts this conduct, though, too, they may not be willing to tell us all the reasons and circumstances of the case.

*Sunday, April 9th.*—The misty drizzle of the forenoon quite prevented all services on deck, but there was no work going on to speak of. The Commodore was taken up by a long discussion with Yenoske and Kenzhiro about going up the bay. He says the President ordered him to go to Yedo, and he told the commissioners a month ago that he was going, and they made no objection ; other oft-repeated arguments were brought up, but no consent could be got out of them. They said Japanese laws were very strict, that great commotion would ensue, that the bay was shallow, that the Treaty was signed,

that the Emperor would be irritated, that, as we had professed friendly feelings for them, they wished us as friends not to go, and would regard it as a personal favor, and, lastly, that very serious personal consequences might result, intimating almost jeopardy of honor and life, if we thus implicated them. It was agreed that the ships would not anchor unless they grounded, and then the whole party, as if willing to draw good from an evil, asked permission to go up in the steamers with the Commodore that they might see the working of their machinery!

The fact is, the presence of such an armament, in the view of the officials, involves the intention and will to use it; for this they would do. Consequently, mere curiosity to see Yedo cannot be motive enough in us to go, because it would not with them. The exposedness of their capital has startled them, and every subterfuge must be practiced to keep us from seeing more than the surveying boats saw, for what motive can we have in such a nearer view than ultimate conquest or pillage or ransom? Judging us by themselves, our former forbearance, while possessed of so much power, can now be explained as having been exercised until the Treaty was signed; now we wish to learn modes of approach for future use, if we do not at present contemplate violence. Conscious weakness induces many a cunning fetch which can only be explained by trying to place ourselves in the position of the weaker party; and the fear of ultimate designs is, I think, the leading motive of their strong objection to our moving up. Yet after every dissuasive had been exhausted, it was not the less characteristic of them to ask a passage, not only to excuse themselves by the plea that they had done all they could to detain us, but to see what they had long desired to see in the working of the machinery.

*Monday, April 10th.*—By eight o'clock this morning the whole squadron were on the start, and bound for Yedo. The day was tolerably clear, and our Japanese visitors seemed to have little fear to any dreadful result of the day's excursion. By noon we had gone about ten miles from Yokohama and seen the

suburb of Shinagawa pretty distinctly, and its numerous rows or detachments of boats, not so many by far as I expected. The beacon we had so long had in view proved to be a tower of a temple inland and near Kawasaki, called Kawasaki Daishigawara, a place of resort and note. We went within about eight miles of a long row of stakes stretching along in front of Yedo, but not so near as to prevent large junks lying inside of it, and turned about in one hundred feet of water! If a man is a Commodore I suppose he can do as nobody else would, in order to show that he can do as he likes; and after all that had been said about going to Yedo, to say that we had left off four miles short of the surveying boats, and fully eight of the city, was rather an imputation on common sense on our part. I was much disappointed; for, except a line of stakes and a long row of trees above Shinagawa and a smoky cloud above, with plenty of junks and boats below to indicate the probable position of the city, I saw nothing satisfactory. As one of the officers said, it should have been on the First of April instead of the Tenth, to make such a humbug appropriate. I have upheld and approved the Commodore's acts in most cases, where others have sharply ridiculed them, but this day's work was small enough. I have now been three times bound for Yedo, approaching nearer each time, and perhaps the fourth trial will land me there, or at least near enough to see it.

The "Lexington" drifted on shore when getting under way this morning, and the "Mississippi" returned to tow her off and bring her down to join the squadron. The scenes on board are said to have much amused the crew.

*Friday, April 14th.*—American Anchorage.

No intercourse allowed with the shore here, and no visitors allowed to come near us, every native boat being kept away from the ships by a guard-boat, armed with authority to maintain non-intercourse. The "Macedonian" went to sea on the 11th early in the day, supposed to be bound for the Bonin Islands, as she took some agricultural implements. The "Sup-

ply" and "Southampton" went down the bay this morning, perhaps to Simoda. Surveying the anchorage goes on slowly by reason of the rough sea, and we are likely to be quarantined here a few days longer. It is rather wearisome to be in sight of fields and headlands so long as we have been, and be debarred from seeing and rambling over them.

Went aboard of a junk lying off, stationed to guard us, in order to deliver a letter for Yenoske, informing him of the sailing of the two ships. We were kindly received and shown whatever there was worth looking at, which was little enough. Nothing to eat, nowhere to sleep, and nothing to do, was about the whole of the matter for these sailors. They asked us when we were to leave, to which we replied they need not tarry any longer on our account. The main room had a thick deck and a tent-shaped roof; a dull fire was burning in a brazier or hearth in the middle of the deck, in a depression made for it, over which we found five or six of the crew crouching and smoking. The lockers, beams and furniture of the cabin were all lacquered, and kept pretty clean too; but some of the lockers they opened for us were dirty. The capstan to hoist the big rudder was unshipped; it worked in two holes in beams, and was shaped like an oblong nine-pin. Six four-pronged grappling irons formed the ground tackle, and two well made coir hawsers; the tassel which hangs from the prow was made of hair-cloth rolled around a mat. The tiller was larger in proportion even than the Chinese, and similarly hung; there were more points of resemblance to Chinese junks than I had supposed, and not a bit more of comfort.

*Monday, April 17th.*—Spent the forenoon in rambling over Natsu-sima, or Webster Island, as we have named it. The position of this islet off Kanazawa facilitates its cultivation, and the moist part of its surface is covered with thatching grass, but whether this useful *Arundo* grows from wild stock or is cultivated here could not be determined. Two fields of barley in ear and a patch of vegetables are all the tilled spots. On the

northwest corner is a shrine and a grave, both of them having rude statues, the latter covered by a shed and having a bell hung near. They were both places of worship, and we met a fisherman and his family ascending the hill to offer their orisons. Some cash and bits of rags were laid near each of them, but no other offerings, nor any places of ashes, as in China, from which I infer that incense sticks and paper are not as commonly burned. The suspension of rags around graves reminds one of the custom among Moslems, but no one which I have seen has the great number seen in the Mohammedan *welys*.

We collected crustacea, fish, shells, insects, plants, everything which was worth carrying away, but the beautiful actinia were in too deep water to be easily procured; they looked very pretty, spreading their arms in every direction to collect their prey, and were so numerous as to give a gay appearance to the bottom. The low tide brought some dozen or two people to dig for clams, and the unblushing effrontery of these fishermen, as indeed of most whom we have seen, shows how much Japan needs the gospel of purity and love.

*Tuesday, April 18th.*—Simoda Bay.

The anchors were at the cat-heads before sunrise this morning, and the two steamers under weigh, coursing down this Bay of Yedo, probably for their last time. The day was smoky, so that we saw but comparatively little of the coasts, and were quite unable to discern any smoke from the summit of Oō-sima, which was wholly free from snow, and looked much less beautiful than when we passed it in February. A visit to this volcano would well repay the trouble. Approaching the eastern shores of the peninsula of Idzu, we sailed near enough to discern the village along the sterile beach, but the background exhibited the industry bestowed upon it in the vast extent of terracing, which here far exceeded what we had hitherto seen. In one place, fifty steps of fields were counted, all covered with wheat. In the intervals, doubtless a large population is found to furnish hands to accomplish all this work.

About three o'clock we came into the harbor of Simoda, and all were surprised at the variety of scenery and picturesque character of the shores. The hills rise to a height of a thousand or fifteen hundred feet, many lower ones covered with trees, lining the beach and adding a pleasing foreground in contrast with the barren and loftier mountains behind. The village of Simoda lies on the southwestern shores, and that of Kakisaki, or Persimmon Point, on the northern end of the harbor, both of them small towns compared with what we had been led to expect.

*Wednesday, April 19th.*—The interpreter, Tatsunoske, came again this morning, but produced none of the things he promised yesterday; in reality he is one of the most shiftless fellows we have to do with, and takes no trouble at all to get anything we ask for. In company with him came the prefect Kaheyōye and another officer named Nakadai Nobutaro, probably his spy. There were in all a dozen officials all of whom as usual were glad to get a smelt of toddy, wine and cake in the cabin where they lingered a good while, talking and excusing themselves from doing or promising anything. The trip to Oōsima was spoken of, but they had no instructions respecting it and could say nothing; the way is to go first and talk about the arrangements afterwards, so far as asking permission goes. In the afternoon Mr. Portman and I went ashore to carry a list of provisions to be obtained, most of which Tatsunoske said could not be got, and a walk through the town confirmed his denial, so far as such a glance could prove anything. The town lies at the opening of two valleys, down one of which a small creek makes its way through the town, and forms by its mouth facilities for landing. At the landing place is a small shrine under a large pine, and near it a hillside covered with trees invites one to explore its grassy slopes. The town is regularly laid out at right angles, each street having a gate at each end, much more slightly made than in China but guarded with more care. The streets are wider than in Chinese towns, which makes the

houses appear lower. The most of the shops and dwellings were of plaster, the roofs of tiling, and the fronts worked in raised white checker work on a blue ground. The tiling is made of blue-black thick tiles which lap over each other on the side, one edge being made doubly thick and umbo-shaped, so as to catch the thin edge of the next row; the ridges are therefore much smaller than in China, but more likely to leak, as the overlapping cannot be so well secured. A few houses were two-storied, but none presented indications of wealth, nor was there any place which seemed to be a market. The shops, so far as we could see, furnished a beggarly catalogue of sandals, groceries and such stuff, and a total absence of the bustle of Hodangya proved the poverty of the port. The cancer of the social system was seen in the contempt shown to the women, but the power of the government was exhibited, too, in the sway exercised upon the crowds which thronged us. We went to the Riozhen-zhé, 了仙寺, a temple of the Buddhists of considerable extent, having five priests in it and many ancestral tablets; on these last are many names written, and most of them were varnished or gilded. Perhaps they are orbate tablets. There was a graveyard near this establishment, and a small attempt at a garden with a pond spanned by its tiny bridge leading to the top of a huge boulder. The grounds and house were scrupulously clean, and the priest, named Nichizhio, 日淨, or Clean as the Sun, received us courteously. From this we went to four other *tera* or Buddhistic temples, and one where a deified hero, called Goman-taro, of Yoritomo's time is worshipped. Votive offerings were hung around, and in a sort of porch were many pictures of shipwrecks, persons struggling with the waves, or just clambering ashore, and under them dozens of pigtails strung along a board, the sacrifice of these rescued sailors which they had cut from their heads to evince their gratitude. It recalled to mind the offering of Berenice when Ptolemy was saved from shipwreck. Besides these, we saw a sword, a bow of large size, tablets and pictures, all given

in as votive offerings, rendering the whole an interesting spot. The idols of the Japanese show more study and just idea of sculpture than the Chinese, so far as my observation goes, though neither are founded on just principles.

All the temples were situated back of the village, alongside of each other, approached by paved walks mostly lined with large trees. A row of magnificent mowtans proved that it was at home in Simoda; one flower was ten inches across. A tree like a maple in its leaf, a purple magnolia, a spirea, a plum, red and white azalia, and a tree like the funeral cypress, were the principal plants observed. All these establishments looked rather effete, as if they had once seen better days; and perhaps they were built when Simoda was the port of Yedo, instead of Uraga, and maintained a large train of customs officials.

*Thursday, April 20th.*—The storm has entirely prevented all visits nor have any Japanese come near us, but the security of the harbor has been well proven, at least for all north winds. The people of Simoda do not go out fishing much, and its shipping interests are plainly at a low figure.

In our walk yesterday we were followed by most of the population, and all seemed healthy and well-fed. Ophthalmic complaints are prevalent, and small-pox has made its mark; the children are seldom pretty and, of the two sexes, the boys are the most inviting; a few goodlooking girls hardly made amends for the scores of ugly or plain females—but a Houri or Hebe would never be able to stand roll-call after blackening her teeth and shaving her eyebrows. The women kept in the back of the crowd, as much from necessity as choice, I thought.

In one of the temples we saw six horses that were haltered by a nose curb tied to each side of the stall; it held them securely, as was proved by their restive struggles at seeing us. Two gun carriages were also noticed here, apparently old and well taken care of. The insides of all these temples were varnished; nor have I yet seen a painted board or utensil in



Japan. The priests we saw were cleanly dressed, too, and one took pains to show us all over his domicile. Many prayer-books were observed in one of them, and their general furniture mostly resembled Buddhist establishments in Canton.

*Friday, April 21st.*—The Commodore went ashore to-day with a small party to return the visit of the prefect, and was conducted to the 順法寺, Law-loving Monastery, until he could be informed of our arrival. The Japanese officials said we had come off earlier than had been mentioned, though they themselves had reached the "Powhatan" some time before we left it, bringing a lot of provisions for us. At the temple we were received as civilly as the place afforded means, and when Kahyōye appeared he did all he could to entertain us, among other things sending out to let the people come into the precincts. About five hundred or more persons came crowding around, fully one half of whom were women and girls, a few of whom were good looking. I do not think that Japanese features are as agreeable, when one sees hundreds of faces thus spread out before the gaze, as Chinese; the women's dress is not more graceful than the Chinese, and exposes the bosom more when the uncouth great girdle is loose and the dress has been disordered. How many of these females were proper ones could not be known, but I rather think curiosity had drawn everybody out of doors to see us, and no restraint is put on their going out and in. Three or four of the better dressed, with their full proportion of girdle, more than a foot wide, and a knot behind that looked like a knapsack, and the hair done up neatly with a bow knot flat on the top of the head, were brought into the room, and they poured out a cup of saki for each. The discolored teeth of the oldest became more repulsive the nearer one could see them.

On leaving this place, we visited some other temples and walked around through several streets back to the boats, a large crowd of quiet spectators everywhere attending us with the utmost order. One or two of the women most noticed at the

temple contrived to put themselves at several corners on our way in order to attract more attention.

*Saturday, April 22nd.*—General permission was given this morning to the officers of the squadron to go ashore, two and one-third months since arriving in these waters. A large number went ashore during the day, some of them taking long stretches and arduous ascents, which tired out the officials who were uselessly appointed to accompany us. The design of the Japanese authorities seems to be to watch us so carefully that no native shall supply us unauthorizedly with the least article until the punishment of a few offenders shall deter all from violations of these restrictive prohibitions.

Dr. Morrow and I started for flowers and whatever else we could collect, taking the northerly valley from the town, and attended by four or five satellites, the chief one a well behaved man from Uraga, who had been at Yokohama, called Nakada Kadaiyu. The people thronged the streets as they did yesterday, but did not follow us. In one shop we induced a woman to resume her weaving. She sat on a stool and, tying the woven end of the web around her body by means of a string passing from the end of the beam, she fastened one treadle to her foot, the other being secured to the floor; the loom was also made tight to the ceiling or the wall (I forget which) so that she should not pull it over. The shuttle was about fifteen inches long, sharp on one edge, and was used for both shuttle to deliver the thread through and a sley to set it home, the thin edge being forced down upon the thread. The foot was drawn up under the other leg to alternate the threads and make the web, which was of blue cotton fifteen inches wide. The rudeness of this loom was doubtless owing to the poverty of the weaver, for better ones would be required to make the silks we have seen worn by officers.

A little further on, a blacksmith's shop presented a similar rude assortment of machinery; the anvil, forge, bellows and other things were so much like the Chinese as to excite surprise,

for I should have thought some improvement would have been made. The men willingly showed us as much as we wished to see, and handled their tools like workmen.

Going out from the town, we reached rice fields, now beginning to be turned over by the hoe, and took the chief road leading to the end of the valley. The waysides were covered with a carpet of little flowering plants, exhibiting a most beautiful variety of colors, and so abundant as to change the dun color of the ground as the eye glanced over it. A high stone gate-way on the top of a stone-walled plinth formed the entrance to a temple on the top of the adjacent hill, nearly half a mile off, and concealed in the woods; the hill was fancied to resemble Fusi, and the god was named Fusi Shengen Daibosats. If adoration paid at this gateway served the same as going to the top of the hill, the contrivance was a good one, however much against our notions of architectural unity. The village of Hongöü, of a hundred houses, was beyond this gateway, where the headman came out to meet us and showed us his house, well built and having stone basement walls. Here wayside idols and pillars with Nammio Amida Bosats carved on them showed, as they had everywhere else, the prevalence of idolatry. A bowl containing young ferns in soak, called *warabi*, for food stood near by the pillar. The pretty stream of Inedza-gawa ran through the village, the banks lined with shrubbery and showing many marks of freshets here and there.

The walk was very pleasant, and we rapidly filled our book. The officer in attendance was sociable, and the people were not driven off; but to see one's fellowmen ordered about like dogs, their curiosity thwarted and convenience disregarded as if no more consequence than a spaniel's, humbles the race in one's own eyes, and imparts a feeling of reproach as belonging to the same race, from merely beholding this outrage on the dignity of man. A people that will tamely submit to it must have been schooled a long time by their rulers and given up at last in despair.

*Monday, April 24th.*—Mr. Bent went ashore betimes this morning to see the prefect. One of the objects of the visit was to advise him to issue orders that the officers of the squadron be not followed by Japanese officials in their rambles through the country, nor have the people shut their houses up and run when foreigners came in sight. The prefect replied that he had left Yokohama so long before the Treaty was signed as to be unaware of the views of the commissioners respecting the attendance of officials when the Americans went into the villages, and he must report for instructions; at Yokohama it had been done, but he, himself, having much confidence in us, was inclined to try how it would work, for it was a serious burden on the officials under him to accompany us here and there. As to people running or staying when they saw us, it was a matter he could not control altogether, but he would issue commands to let them know they had nothing to fear from the foreigners, but were to report any misdemeanors. Another point was to procure a junk for the accommodation of a party to visit Ohsima and examine the volcano; and also to get three or four rooms in town for the convenience of the officers. The rooms in the temple of 願法山 at the back of the town were visited after the interview was over, and made an offer of by the priests, somewhat to their inconvenience, I guess, judging by their looks. The disposition to accede to our requests on the part of these officers augurs well to pleasant intercourse. They seem to be more particular respecting trade than anything else.

After this, a party of us started to follow up the valley south of the town, and took a course along the beach for a while, and then struck across the hills till we reached a place called Nabeta in a secluded dell, where not much of this world's riches or ambition have yet come, and the inmates of its seven houses proved that no great amount of its cotton fabrics had reached them. The valley was soon to be turned into a huge rice field, and one man was ploughing with a simple plough made of a beam with a crooked handle to sustain and guide a

share shaped like a big spoon, which turned over the earth five inches with much effect. It was not so effective, however, as the deep hoeing of two or three lads with the ploughman, whose three-pronged dung-rakes turned over the wet land very easily.

A short walk carried us to Okagata, a hamlet of about sixty houses, beyond which was a large temple inclosed in almost a complete solitude, where contemplative Buddhists might drone away their lives in total listlessness. It was called Shio-riu zan 小走山, the temple Soōto yin. Buddhism must have a deep hold upon the minds of the Japanese to induce them to erect such structures in wilds like this, so far from the abodes of men. The five priests living here keep the houses and grounds in clean condition; one of their acolytes was only four or five years old. Near the place, as we left it, a wayside god, called Doōso-jin, attracted our notice from his holding a sceptre in his crossed hand, and his head being covered with a sort of crown, from which a broad eape descended to cover his back and shoulders. Many of these terminalia offer curious subjects of speculation.

From this, a rugged mountain path led us over to the valley north of Simoda to the village of Hongo, where we met many officers walking, and joined them. This valley is incontestably the most beautiful in this vicinity:

*Tuesday, April 25th.*—Two Japanese came aboard last night to get a passage to the United States in our ships, but the Commodore declined to receive them, unless they had previous permission from their own rulers to do so. They had previously sent a well written letter intimating their desire to go and willingness to do anything on board. This letter was to the following purport: "Two scholars of Yedo in Japan, named Isagi Koōda, 市木公太, and Kwanouchi Manji, 瓜中萬二,\*

\* The assumed name of Yashida Torajiro (or Shoin), the hero of Robert Louis Stevenson's paper under that name in his "Familiar Studies of Men and Books." The incident is narrated in the Narrative of the Expedition, where Dr. Williams' translation of the letters appear to have been submitted to the hand of an editor, and in Spalding's "Japan Expedition," p. 276.

present this letter to the high officers and others who manage affairs. That which we have received is meagre and trifling, as our persons are insignificant, so that we are ashamed to come before distinguished persons ; we are ignorant of arms and their uses in battle, nor do we know the rules of strategy and discipline ; we have, indeed, uselessly whiled away our months and years, and know nothing. We have heard a little of the customs and knowledge of the Europeans and Americans, and have desired to travel about in the five great continents, but the maritime prohibitions of our country are exceedingly strict, and for foreigners to enter the 'inner land,' or for natives to go to other countries, are alike among the immutable regulations. Therefore our desire to travel has been checked, and could only go to and fro in our breasts, unable to be uttered, and our feet hampered so as not to stir. This had been the case for years, when happily the arrival of so many of your ships anchoring in our waters now for many days, and our careful and continuous examination of the kind and humane conduct of your officers and their love of others, has excited the desire of years which now struggles for its exit. We have decided on a plan, which is very privately to request you to take us aboard of your ships and secretly carry us to sea, that we may travel over the five continents, even if it is disregarding our laws. We hope you will not regard our humble request with disgust, but will enable us to carry it out ; whatever we are able to do to serve you will be considered as orders as soon as we hear it. When a lame man sees another walking, or a pedestrian sees another riding, would he not be glad to be in his place ? How much more now, since for our whole lives we could not go beyond 30 degrees east and west, and 25 degrees from north to south, when we behold you come riding on the high winds and careering over the vast waves, with lightning speed coasting along the five continents, does it appear as if the lame had a way to walk, or the walkers an opportunity to ride ! We hope you who manage this business will condescend to regard and grant our

request ; but, as the restrictions of our country are not yet removed, if this matter becomes known, we shall have no place to flee, and doubtless must suffer the extremest penalty ; and this would greatly grieve your kindness and benevolence of heart to your fellowmen. We trust to have our request granted, and also that you will secrete us until you sail, so as to avoid all risk of danger to life ; and when we return here at a future day, we are sure that what has passed will not be very closely investigated. Though rude and unpracticed in speech, our desires are earnest, and we hope that you will regard us in compassion, nor doubt or oppose our request. April 10th."

Inclosed was this note : "The inclosed letter contains the earnest request we have had for many days, and which we tried many plans to get off to you at Yokohama in a fishing boat by night, but the cruisers were too thick, and none others were allowed to come alongside, so that we were in great uncertainty what to do. Learning that the ships were coming here we have come to wait, intending to seize a punt to come to the ship, but have not succeeded. Trusting that your honors will consent, to-morrow night after people are quiet we will be at Kakisaki in a punt at a place where there are no houses near the beach ; we sincerely wish to have you come to the spot to meet us, and thus carry out our hopes to their fruition. April 25th."

They came up the ladder by the help of the quartermaster, but unluckily their punt slipped away, as they left it, and drifted off. The Commodore was told their errand and about the above letter, but he could not take them without violating the spirit of the Treaty. It was a severe disappointment to them, but I told them that other ships would come here in which they might get off, and that they must not be oversorry at this refusal. They were put ashore in a boat and directly to leeward in order if possible to get their own, but it was too dark to see it. They were more ordinary looking men than I had expected to see, but evidently men of education, twenty-three and twenty-five years old—neither parents or children to keep them in Japan

—and were probably just what they said they were, eagerly wishing to go to the United States, though some said they were thieves, others spies sent by the officers to see how far we would keep the Treaty, and others that they were refugees from justice. I am afraid the loss of the punt containing their swords, etc., will involve them in trouble; it was picked up by one of the cruisers in the harbor, and some officials came aboard to inquire about it, but of course we told them nothing.

Mr. Pegram and Mr. Jones went with us to-day to Susaki, a town of two hundred and thirty houses, situated near the beach just outside of the harbor, and offering nothing of interest; much stone and firewood were lying along the beach to export, some of the former glistening in the sun from the quantity of crystals of pyrites in it. A short walk, during which Mr. Jones returned on board, brought us to Soto-ura, a miserable hamlet of thirty or forty houses, the inmates of which received us pleasantly. Beyond this was a quarry where large blocks of bluish amygdaloid were slid down the hills on a tram road; this rock would make a fine article of export to California for building. Going on to Shirahama, we tarried awhile in a temple, the walls of which were nearly covered with paintings of various sorts, all labeled 奉納, and showing the low state of the fine arts, if nothing else. The officials were, apparently, glad of a chance to do something in this village, for they made many efforts to keep everybody away from us, and accompanied us over the hills to Hongo. The walk was a pleasant one, and afforded more chances for picking up new words than new flowers. It was amusing to see the women skulking under the banks to get out of our way, and still desirous of getting a look at the dreadful men.

*Friday, April 28th.*—The rate at which it is arranged that our coin shall be taken renders the price of all articles which are procured more than double what they are usually sold at. The Commodore has agreed upon 1200 cash as the worth of a dollar, while the people pay nearly 1000 as the equivalent of the



same weight in silver ; when, therefore, we buy articles in the shops for silver the people reckon the money at their valuation of cash, but when, according to the arrangement, the shopman takes them to the guardhouse where the official comprador has his office, the other rate of exchange is adopted, and cheating is supposed to be extensively carried on, while in fact much of it is owing to this unequal valuation of the dollar. The complaints of the men who buy with silver are loud, while those who take cash ashore have no complaints to make, because they have already paid their discount on board. Articles of fine workmanship are few here, but the best are rapidly sold, and if the officials only took a moderate percentage on them I would let the shopmen have the profit of the exchange for a while, until a just valuation was made out.

*Saturday, April 29th.*—Dr. Morrow made a small collection of algæ and soft corals to-day along the beach ; the existence of the latter in this latitude shows the warmth of the seas. An excursion was made by the surveyors to the rocky islets off the mouth of the harbor, which were found to be much greater protection to it from a south and southeast swell than had been supposed. This harbor survey is now nearly finished, and the two sunken rocks in it are to be signalized by buoys, in doing which the Japanese claim the duty of bearing a part of the expense. This proposition on their part shows a higher sense of care and protection for shipping than we had given them credit for, and more than the Chinese have ever exhibited ; the same desire to improve will soon do away with the restrictions which now impede the natural extension of their commerce. How much, too, can be hoped from the introduction of true knowledge and religion, which I can hardly doubt are in some way to be brought among them.

In going about among the shops, I found that the household was almost always under the same roof, and the female part of it had something to say respecting traffic. In most shops the goods are kept in drawers when they can be, and only

coarse crockery, grain, bamboo-ware, and other coarse, cheap articles, were seen. There is no counter, but the two parties sit on the same mat to trade, and few precautions are apparently taken against theft. No money changers line the streets as in Canton, nor do we see anything hawked through the streets; a few peddlers are met in our rambles, but there is much less of such trade than in China, and not nearly such an air of industry and bustle. Only one school has been found, and the boys who throng around us are seldom able to read, so far as I can ascertain. In respect to slovenly habits, they and Chinese lads of the same class are about the same, while both sexes, old and young, are, if anything, more degraded in respect to morals; the dress of this people is far more exceptionable and less modest than the Chinese.

*Sunday, April 30th.*—In consequence of a threatening squall there was no service on board this or the other ships, and the day was quietly spent. Large numbers of officers and men went to Simoda where trading was briskly carried on, as if the obligations of a Sabbath had no stringency here, and there was no need of observing it. If officers ever set an example of regard for a Sabbath the effect would be better than the promulgation of any law.

*Monday, May 1st.*—Before going out of town, we went into a few shops, in most of which we found nothing worth buying or hardly worth looking at. The common ware is very much like that used by the Chinese, nor do the shapes of the dishes differ very much from those seen in China, the same customs inducing the same forms. The common lacquered cups and trays at meals present nothing unusual in style or excellent in workmanship. In one shop a good-natured pair showed us most of their wares, sold us a lot of raw hemp and a box, and exchanged eight large cash for the same worth of Chinese coin. The tidy daughter was standing by, a good comment on the housewifery, to whom I gave a picture book I had, much to the joy of the mother. We saw nothing worth

notice until we had reached the village of Nakanozhe, where we wished to inquire what direction to take for the paper tree, but no one would show us or go with us. However, we got a sight of a rice-hulling mill, and were talking with the owner, when a woman came running up and began to tell me she was the shopkeeper's wife of whom we had bought the flax and box, and had been ordered by the officers to get back the large cash she let me have and give up the picture book too. She had run a mile to overtake us, and begged me to let her go back to Simoda with the eight cash, holding up the string I had given her; of course, she could not be refused, but this exhibition of littleness on the part of the Japanese officials shows the character of their espionage and oppression. I could not learn why she had told them of the transaction at all.

Going up over the hills beyond the village of Rendai-zhi, the boys showed us the paper-tree just in time to find flowers and fruit on it. We saw the tools for beating the pulp out and jars for holding it, and molds, with a heap of the fresh paper, some wet and some drying on boards in the sun.

The people received us kindly in all the hamlets far up the valley over the hill, and we stopped at a bridge where the Inodza River was about a good leap across, being pleasantly told by a peddler that there was nothing at all beyond, not the least thing, and the day was far spent. It was one of the best rambles I have had, the people accompanying us along the path asking us for cash, for autographs, or for information, in the most courteous manner.

*Tuesday, May 2nd.*—The "Macedonian" came in from the Bonin Islands this evening, having been three days in returning from Port Lloyd, where she left an anchor and brought threescore turtles—all there were to be had. The population has decreased since last year, and the United States consul left there by Perry has gone off in search of better quarters, making thereby a good move. All the stock left there has disappeared, nor have the seeds come to maturity, and, except

the turtles and potatoes brought away, there is little new or interesting added to our present stock of information or stores.

In a small cove near the village of Oōura, where we went to collect seaweed, we found tiapreck in regular pentagonal basalt, the columns divided from each other distinctly, dipping about  $80^{\circ}$  S. The rock was not coarse grained, nor was it very hard, many perforations being seen in the base made by shell fish. In another place, the trap was very coarse, full of cells, and resembling scoria.

*Wednesday, May 3rd.*—Our walk to-day led us by a small plat of the *Bignonia tomentosa*, or *kiri* of the Japanese, which they cultivate for its oil to use in varnishes, mixing it with the juice of the varnish tree. Several patches of the tree have been seen at various times in our rambles. Near the town we passed a small shrine or *mia* dedicated to Shio-ichi-inari-dai-mio-jin, which possessed nothing of interest except two doorway guardians of foxes, carved in a passable manner, with very bushy tails. The shrine itself is on the hilltop, reached by a flight of stairs and, as usual, surrounded by trees, recalling to mind the idolatry of the old Jews among their groves and under every green tree. Why these demigods are enshrined in hill-tops is not very clear, unless the people choose pleasant places for themselves in worshipping dumb images. The next thing of interest to-day was a visit to a schoolhouse in a temple, where fourteen low writing tables were spread about the room, high enough to write on when sitting on the floor. The boys come at eight o'clock and go home at eleven o'clock; the afternoon session is from twelve to four P.M. In all about fifty boys come, and the teacher receives presents from his pupils as they please. In the room stood a gigantic image of Buddha, with the past and future Buddhas at each side; all were of copper, the largest about twenty feet high, the others nearly man's size, all in a sitting posture. No priests lived here. There are five other schools in Simoda for boys, where they learn writing, keeping

of accounts, and different styles of epistolary composition. Two others have been met out of town.

*Thursday, May 4th.*—The “Lexington” left the harbor this day for Lewchew, where she is to remain until the rest of the fleet joins her. It rained most of the morning, and after dinner I went ashore to see the prefect respecting letters of introduction to be sent to Hakodade by the three ships which the Commodore sends ahead of the flagship. The necessity of doing all that the time allowed in supplying the bazaar was also urged, and of taking off the restrictions which impeded the free intercourse, to which he gave partial assent. The power exercised over the mass of people by their officers must require a large force to uphold it, or else the fear produced by this system of espionage renders each individual so isolated and conscious that he has no alternative but entire submission, that the police is less than would be necessary in any other country. What requires a powerful army in Austria is done in Japan by rendering every person isolated, and thus accessible by a single order backed by only the messenger who takes it. Yet the introduction of free opinions here would soon show the rulers the need of changing their policy, and perhaps a revolution would gradually be made by the diffusion of such sentiments among all classes without a convulsion.

*Saturday, May 6th.*—One of the men fell from the foretop-sail yard about noon yesterday and was so dreadfully bruised that he died about sunset, having his reason to the last, for in his fall his head was untouched. This morning the officials came off to inquire respecting the casualty, and our wishes in respect to the funeral and burial. Mr. Portman and I accompanied them ashore after breakfast, and they stated the matter to the prefect, who said that at present only temporary arrangements could be made for a burial ground, and he must await the arrival of the commissioners before definitively setting apart a spot of ground for a foreign cemetery. He and the others decided on burying the body at Kakizaki, and a place

was cleared in the cemetery attached to the Yoku-zhen zhi 玉泉寺 in that village, and the funeral took place about five P.M., the whole population being present to see the ceremonies. At the same time the Commodore was entertaining the townsfolk at Simoda with the band. The tombs and inscriptions in this cemetery were different in many respects from those at Simoda, though on the whole alike. On many of the epitaphs the phrases, "returned to the original," 歸元, "returned" or "joined to the company," 同會, "gathered to the original," 皈元, "annihilated" or "absorbed," 空, were inscribed instead of the exclamation "Wonderful Buddha!" The words 信士, "believing scholar," and 信女, "believing woman," were joined to the name followed by the word 座, "seat;" some epitaphs had a space left for the wife's name to be added, and many gave the names of the children as well as parents, all on one face of the stone. The grove of pines on the hill renders the spot a sheltered one, and it is a more desirable place than one in Simoda. Here, surrounded by Japanese, lies the body of poor Parish who had run away from his parents in Hebron, Connecticut, and had given them no notice of his course since, an instructive commentary on the rashness of disobedience to parents.

*Sunday, May 7th.*—Rev. Mr. Jones gave a discourse on the casualty and warning Providence just fresh in our minds, which was calculated to do good, and I hope will be blessed to some of the man's mates. The Commodore heard last evening that the two men who had come off to the ship on the 25th ult. were caged on shore. Mr. Bent and I went to see them this morning, but were too late, as they had been taken off to Yedo at daylight. The keeper of the house told us they were imprisoned for going aboard our vessels, and had been detained here until orders were received from Yedo, but I learned nothing as to the probable punishment they are likely to receive, though I fear the worst. The cage was about six feet long by three wide and four and a half high, quite large enough to sit

and sleep in, and entered by crawling through a low door ; it is probably just such a cage as McCoy and his fellows were at last shut up in. It seems that criminals are not examined in Simoda, but are sent to Niraiyama, a town about twenty *ri* north, where Tarozaiyemon, the deputy of Toda, the prince of Idzu, lives, and judges them. The present case, however, did not come under his jurisdiction.

*Monday, March 8th.*—Mr. Pegram accompanied us up the valley beyond Eenday-zhi, in which we met many well disposed people and some new plants. The farmers were preparing their rice plats for sowing the grain, and laid a layer of dock and other soft leaves on the watery mesh which was so soft that it was easily trodden beneath the surface by a man walking over it with a pair of snowshoes, which he held upon his feet by means of a string passing round the forepart, his feet bearing down on the back. This subsoil would soon be decomposed and furnish support to the growing shoots whose roots would thus be more easily lifted. It was a singular operation to see the naked fellows dabbling about in the mud and preparing these plats. Many sick persons applied to us to day for relief, and we could only ask them to come aboard ship, which I am afraid none of them will be allowed to do. One was a case of bronchitis, one of rheumatism, and several ophthalmic cases as well as other diseases of a minor kind. I told the people I thought many of their ailments of the eye were ascribable to the custom of shaving the eyebrows of the women, and that to keep them clean would be one way of curing them. A physician would find a large field for his efforts among the Japanese, but I doubt his being allowed to practice.

A pictorial representation of our squadron and description annexed, and an account of the war between England and China, were seen to-day by officers, but neither of them could be purchased ; the authorities are so whimsical in their conduct that it is impossible to follow them or account for the orders by the actions of the people. A lot of ginseng was

bargained for at 160 cash, but Tatsnoske would not let it go for \$3.40.

*Tuesday, May 9th.*—Three of the officers went on a hunting excursion yesterday, and managed to kill one live pheasant, shoot off a tail feather from another and buy a dead fox, for which they had a tramp of twenty-five or thirty miles. Getting back to Simoda about nine P.M., they concluded to remain ashore all night, but, though the priests were willing enough, the officials and interpreter were not, and came in to order the party to go off to the ship, using violent language and behaving in a most impertinent manner, besides calling in a guard of soldiers and having lamps placed in the room. Every effort was made to appease them, but unsuccessfully until one of the sailors was told to get out the arms, whereupon the men and the lantern bearers soon vanished, their superiors having gone before. The guard remained outside of the room all night, and at dawn the officers came aboard. The whole transaction was so impudent that notice was taken of it as soon as it was convenient, and Mr. Bent with Nicholson and Tansell were sent in uniform to report to the prefect. Tatsnoske was half drunk last night, and it required some sharpness to make him speak out to his superior, who at first wished to shift the matter to the commissioners and to inculcate us as also having done wrong in stopping ashore, as having violated the Treaty, and also as having mistaken their design in placing a guard. However, the night being on our side, the right was too, and by a threat of going to Yedo an apology was drawn from the prefect with a promise that such usage would not be repeated, and the officers might stop ashore whenever they pleased all night. In truth, the insolence of the officials was the principal point to be checked, and they will soon learn we are not going to be treated slightly with impunity.

Of all heathen nations I have ever heard described, I think this is the most lewd. Modesty, judging from what we see, might be said to be unknown, for the women make no attempt



to hide the *bosom*, and every step shows the leg above the knee; while the men generally go with the merest bit of rag, and that not always carefully put on. Naked men and women have both been seen in the streets, and uniformly resort to the same bath house, regardless of all decency. Lewd motions, pictures and talk seem to be the common expression of the viler acts and thoughts of the people, and this to such a degree as to disgust everybody. Alas for the condition and excellence of a simple, heathen people, dreamed of by moralists who never saw what they prate of!

*Thursday, May 11th.*—Yesterday a driving storm of rain kept everybody on board ship, and not till this afternoon could we easily go ashore. I saw to-day a board obtained from the two imprisoned men which seems to have been written for our inspection, though the language is guarded, and would be almost inexplicable without knowing the circumstances:—

“When a hero fails in his designs, his conduct is then regarded like that of a thief or outlaw; (we have been) seized publicly and then guarded, darkly imprisoned (here) for many days, treated roughly and proudly by the village elder and headmen, whose harshness is very great. Yet we can look up without reproaching ourselves, and it can now be seen whether a hero will act like one.

“Since a journey through the sixty countries (Japan) was not enough to satisfy our desires, to travel in the five great continents was once our hearts’ desire; but suddenly we missed our aim and are now fallen into a half-sized house, where eating, sleeping, resting, sitting, are all difficult, and escape impossible. If we weep, we appear like fools; if we smile, we are deemed to be rogues. Alas! silent we must rest.”

No clue will probably be obtained to their fate while we are here.

*Friday, May 12th.*—Everybody who could leave the ships

went ashore this morning to buy or settle for things they wished, and to take a final walk through the town. I went a way through the valley with Mr. Pegram and Lanier, and enjoyed the ramble as well as found some new plants. On board many hundreds of dollars were paid to the official for the supplies furnished, which at the high rate of exchange left them an enormous profit, as much as three hundred per cent in some cases. This unfair mode of trade doubtless will henceforth be changed by making our coins worth more cash.

*Wednesday, May 17th.*—Hakodade Bay.

The two steamers left Simoda early on the 13th and had a very pleasant trip to this port. A shoal, supposed to be coral from the examination of the lead, was passed near Cape Blanc, and so alarmed the Commodore that we saw nothing more of the coast till near Cape Sambu, and then again Cape Nord-Est, and the entrance of the straits. A strong current or tide was with us up the coast, and coming into the entrance of the straits, it turned against us so strong that it was only to be stemmed by steamers. The well-defined shores of the entrance render it easy to make the ship's position as soon as the fog or mist allows the captain to see his headlands.

The boats from the three ships were soon alongside to show the steamers to their berths, and as the harbor opened to view everyone was surprised at its security and spaciousness, and the easy access to it. The town lies on the eastern side of the harbor, twenty-five *ri* east of Matsmai, and is reported to contain a thousand houses, some of which appear like warehouses for size, as seen from the ship, and all show better from their position on the slope of the hill than Simoda. The hill rises behind the mass of the dwellings, protecting it on the east, but the land slopes down to a plain on the north of the town and bay, stretching away miles to the base of some high ridges whose tops are now covered with snow. To the east stretched a low, long point, defining the western side of the harbor, backed by high land. The snow on these and the hills beyond

the straits gave a wintry aspect to the scenery, quite invigorating to us who had just left the warm valleys of Simoda.

At noon a party of officials came aboard with whom Mr. Bent and I went to the "Macedonian," where we gave them the letter for the authorities here, which had been written by the commissioners at Yokohama. The bunyo, called Kudoō Mogoro, had been much terrified by the arrival of the three ships and, in the absence of Namura and Kenzhiro (who had not yet reached the place with instructions) he was utterly at a loss how to act and had refused to see Captain Abbott, though wood and water had been supplied to him. Our explanations and a perusal of the Treaty illuminated their minds more to the purpose, and they seemed gratified at the prospect of intercourse, a meeting being appointed on the morrow on shore to see the bunyo. No tidings of the Treaty had reached them, and a journey of thirty days was necessary to come here from Yedo, prolonged or shortened at times according to the season; of course a trip of only four days surprised them a little.

*Thursday, May 18th.*—Four or five of us went ashore this morning and were received in some state at a sort of public reception room on the beach, the entrance to which was by steps up a stone sea-wall into a yard secluded from sight in the boat by a guard house. The path across this yard was laid with mats, and a guard of a dozen stood, in order to do honor to our entrance into the hall, dressed in blue leggings, swords and ceremonial jackets. The officials who received us were the four whom we saw yesterday, and they politely asked us to be seated on square forms covered with red felt, handing tea, pipes, etc. The room was matted, two sides were partitioned off by screens, and one side was apparently made with closets in the wainscot, as recesses in it were two feet deep; the ceiling was eight or nine feet from the floor and formed the floor of a loft. In the yard were a few dwarf pines and a pretty bronze water jar, a finer piece of such work than I had before seen. After our names and titles were all taken the three officers came in,

and our conference began. The various advantages of trade, houses on shore, liberty to ramble about, and whatever had been allowed us at Simoda, were all recapitulated, and the same demanded of the officers here in compliance with the provisions of the Treaty. The non-arrival of the envoys from Yedo had prevented them from ascertaining the views of the Court, and they wished for time to consider upon our demands and representations, to which we assented till nine o'clock to-morrow morning, leaving all the papers with them, except one in which they referred to the stringency of their prohibitions. The interview was rather tedious by reason of its having mostly to be written in Chinese, for I did not like to trust to talking, and after settling the hour to-morrow for an interview with the Commodore and the highest functionary here we proposed a walk, to which they willingly agreed.

Going through an alley by the side of the house, we reached the street where stood four horses saddled, on which the officials had probably ridden to the house. The street was twenty or more feet wide and partly macadanized; the dust had just been laid, and runners were sent before to lay the people too, for on both sides of the street they were kneeling in rows as we passed. The shops and houses were all shut, not so entirely on our account, it would appear, as to keep them warm, but the constant succession of papered windows made the streets look dull. The houses all had a porch towards the street, behind which rose the gable end of the roof thirty feet from the ground; the roofs were thickly strewed with cobble stones, and each ridgepole bore a bucket of water with a broom in it, which, with other buckets in the way, were preventives of fires. No women or children were seen among the crowd, which was not very large or noisy.

In our walk we went to a large temple, called the "Protecting the Country's Hill," which exhibited a finer specimen of Japanese architecture than we had before seen. The tiled roof rose rapidly fully sixty feet from the ground, and was supported

by an intricate system of girdles and posts resting on varnished pillars; the carving and gilding was superior to anything heretofore seen, and the neatness of the hall added to its elegance, or more properly constituted it. The general arrangement resembled those formerly seen, but on the six stone guardians placed in the little shed at the entrance were as many Chinese-shaped skull caps, put on as if to keep them warm, and looking so odd as to set us a laughing. Another temple, also Buddhistic, was visited; it was much out of repair and, like the large one, had no tablets in it. In some of the temples the images are furnished with a nimbus of copper, and one image of a female had a bambino, as if a copy of the Virgin. Our stroll took us through several streets, and we returned to the landing to go aboard, on the whole gratified with the reception. In the evening a few officers took a similar walk, in the course of which they came upon a masked battery of three guns, evidently just armed and probably commenced since the arrival of the "Macedonian." They were kindly received by officers and people both, shown into some houses, and no hindrance placed in their way to going anywhere. The town presents a better appearance than Simoda, and the robust people we see proves a healthy climate and plenty of provisions.

*Friday, May 19th.*—At the interview on shore this morning the bunyo handed in a long document in which replies were made to the points stated yesterday, and most of them granted; the paper was drawn up very well, and the dilemma in which he was placed by the non-arrival of orders from Yedo stated, especially in reference to the demand we had made for three houses, which by a singular usage of the Chinese word used they had understood as meaning official residences and court. This impression was removed and evidently to his satisfaction. The other points were conceded and, after ascertaining the rank of the officer who is to visit the Commodore at noon, Matsmai Kageyu, a relative of the prince, Matsmai Idzu no kani, we went back to the ship. At the time, he and the three officers

whom we saw reached the "Mississippi" almost seasick with the motion of their shallop, and not over easy at venturing into such a place, as they now for the first time saw. I guess their first idea was, at seeing the marines drawn up on deck, that they had been entrapped, but ere long they were put at ease. A copy of the Chinese translation of the Treaty was given them, and the Japanese original handed them for perusal, after some other points were settled. After the Commodore left the Japanese remained till evening, and were amused in many ways, greatly to their instruction and quietude, so that when they left they were put wholly at their ease respecting our designs. The engine, the guns, cables, rooms, and equipment of the ship, were explained as well as they could be, and everything done to make them aware of their neighbor across the Pacific, with whom they were now to come in contact. We were all much pleased with the gentlemanly bearing and intelligence of the two chief men who were in some respects superior to most of our official friends at the South.

I was told that the Ainos have all been driven or moved to the north of Yeso, none of them living here; their number was stated at 30,000. The Japanese occupy the southern end of Karafto, or Sagalien Island, and one of the clerks present had been there some years since, glad to return from such a cold, uncivilized region. No coal is found in Yeso, and he took two pieces ashore as a muster. The principality of Mutsu, and Dewa too, on the opposite shore of Nippon furnish gold and silver; the former is a large and rich state.

*Saturday, May 20th.*—At the interview this morning, the inability of the prince to come here from Matsmai and the difficulty of seeing him even if the Commodore went there were expressed in the most decisive terms, while also the position of Matsmai Kageyu as his deputy, invested with as full powers as he could have to manage all affairs connected with us, was explained. If the Commodore pleases to think that all this is false, and that he can get the prince to come by ignoring the

powers of his deputy, it seems by far the best way for him to go to Matsmai as soon as he likes. The officers here are willing temporarily to allow us to trade, the stipulations of the Treaty showing them that that has been agreed to; and to-day it has been begun in a manner which must rather surprise them, and will doubtless equally please the shopkeepers as any other course of conduct. The valuation of our silver dollar, half and quarter was placed at 4800, 2400 and 1200 cash, while a comparison of our gold coins with theirs made a gold dollar worth only 1045 cash, showing that gold to silver here is only about 4.7 to 1, a most extraordinary thing, if their coins are of equal purity with ours. Copper must be very cheap, but this does not surprise us like the other. After the interview we went to three places, which were selected for the same purposes as those at Simoda, and also into two or three shops to explain the manner of trading to some officers we saw in them. The authorities seem to be pacified and now, their fears allayed, will, I think, be ready to manage things better than if Namura and his "cross-looker" had come. All this gives me considerable practice in Japanese, and I am in hopes to make the people somewhat acquainted with our character and intentions and aware that really they have nothing to fear. Some few women were seen to-day, and more children, but the people have not thought it altogether safe yet to bring their families back to town. It is unpleasant to see how they bow down when the authorities pass by, though it should be remembered that custom has made this, which appears abject to us, the natural exhibition of obeisance. In their own intercourse the officials are far more familiar than at the South, and treat us, too, very friendly. With the chief man, Yendo Matazayemon, we have become almost intimate, and with Ishizaka Kanzō and Kudoō Mugoro well acquainted; the last is called bunyo, and neither he or the other talk much. Some of the writers are affable, and among all there is a degree of respect and courteousness towards each other and us which contrasts well and favorably with the

people at the South. It is more agreeable, too, to see a well dressed crowd than such almost nude men and loosely attired women as Simoda presents. The people here are on the whole larger, I think, than there, and indeed should be, as the climate is colder. In a walk through the streets we saw many fireproof granaries or warehouses, and the precautions against fire show the fears felt. Provisions are not plenty now, salmon, skate and plaice forming most of the fish brought; crabs and clams are to be had, but not many vegetables. The Irish potato is grown here, not in season now, though we have got a few; we know not how it was introduced, but probably by means of some of the ships stopping for supplies.

*Monday, May 22nd.*—The Commodore and two captains went ashore this morning to return the visit of Matsmai Kageyu whom we found ready to receive us, and mild as usual. The credentials were given from his prince, empowering him to come and receive the Americans and treat them politely, but after he had shown them and made a translation into Chinese, he committed himself by declaring that he had full powers to settle everything; since the question of defining the limits was one he could not settle. We had a tedious conversation respecting it; ten *ri* was given them as a limit, but this distance would reach to the opposite shore, and therefore seven *ri* was proposed as at Simoda, but even this was beyond his powers. He evidently is a man of little energy, afraid of taking any responsibility, and yet gentle in all his refusals, as if desirous to oblige us by assenting. In an hour and over the Commodore became tired with the slow progress, and gave him till evening for an answer, moving at the same time to go on a walk over the town. We went to two or three temples and through the streets which were quite bare of people, and most of the shops shut. Two or three negroes were standing near a shop and struck Yendo with surprise, asking several times if their faces were not painted, for he had no idea the *korumbô* were anything like them. In the evening we got the same reply that the limits could not now be



defined, and also a long paper of complaints against the conduct of Americans on shore yesterday—a heathen prince complaining of the bad conduct of Christians in his town on the Sabbath, gambling in the temples, climbing over walls to get into houses and yards, carrying off things out of the shops, and acting like madmen! Such is a decent moral man when the restraints of society are taken from off his natural heart.

*Tuesday, May 23rd.*—In consequence of this complaint all officers were kept on board to-day, and the matter endeavored to be rectified by requiring of the officers, and among the petty officers, that any debts due on shore be mentioned, and all swords purchased given up, as it was said this in particular had been complained of. A lot of presents for the prince of Matsmai, his deputy and the three local officers were taken ashore, and an answer given verbally to the complaint this morning. It is probable that these officers were alarmed at the rush on shore and, knowing their own dangerous responsibility if anything disastrous should happen, they made the most of the ill conduct which disgraced a few to keep all away. Investigation was demanded, and offers made to return what had not been paid for, or pay all demands. It will doubtless be remembered by the officials and people too, and time only can efface the bad impression now made. In the afternoon the Commodore came ashore and took a quantity of articles which had been brought there for his inspection, none of which were very fine, though presenting a considerable variety. The old patterns of silk and cottons are as curious as anything offered.

*Wednesday, May 24th.*—An effort was made to bring together a number of things for the officers, and by three o'clock Mr. Bent and I managed to induce the collector to get a broker to bring in a tolerable variety of articles, not nearly so many as we wished, but still measurably gratifying to the purchasers, and in the same degree satisfactory to me, as I was afraid I should not at all satisfy or please. In the morning Yendo and Ishizuka Kanzo had their portraits taken, and they were hugely

pleased to see themselves on the plate with their retainers behind them holding spears, caps, and bearing their distinctive coat of arms. No one here had ever heard of the art, and curiosity, wonder and delight were about equally exhibited in their manner and questions. The day was good and the result pleasing to everybody.

An answer was returned this morning to the long representation made upon the ill conduct of some from our ships, in which Perry declared that seven *ri*, or sixteen miles, must be also considered as the limit within which Americans might ramble. I think no more trouble will now arise, as the mode of conducting the bazaar seems to give general satisfaction to all parties.

*Thursday, May 25th.*—The shopkeepers in the street, finding that their customers are all going to the fair, have begun to try to better themselves, and to invite customers into their shops, in order that the government broker may not get all the profits; this competition will of course improve the market, and call out the goods from their hiding places, and, if it does not again produce trouble, will be an improvement. The goods were much more numerous to-day (though some sorts of lackered ware were not to be had) and more people were satisfied; the variety of fabrics was greater, and some pains had been taken to collect a good stock. The seller had a paper before him with the various coins offered all drawn as accurately as he could make them, and placed each one on the drawing to see if the size corresponded, and then compared the effigies.

We paid a visit to Yendo to arrange about burying a man in the place who had died on board the "Vandalia" last evening; he acceded willingly, and soon after went to one temple near by, but no suitable vacant space could be found in its compound. This temple was the Koriō zhi, 高龍寺, or High Dragon temple, so called probably from the carvings over the doorway of two scrambling dragons. Not succeeding here, we went out of town through the seaside gate, and about half a

mile out came to an old graveyard in which a small plat was set apart for the use of Americans. The place is in full view of the harbor and will contain twenty-five persons, allowing each room for a tombstone.

There are four large Buddhist temples in the town, each of which exhibits the religious zeal of the people in its carvings, gilding, and numerous fine sculptures. The Zhiogen zhi, 淨玄寺, is by far the most elaborate; the Zhetsu-gio zhi, 實行寺, where Brown takes daguerreotypes is well kept, but ancient and inferior; the graveyard near it is an interesting place, full of grotesque and handsome monuments, most of them well carved; the long poles, covered with prayers, standing near them, or lying down, give a singular aspect to the yard. The fourth, the Shio-mio zhi, 彌名寺, is old and possesses little interest. In addition to these there are three large Shinto temples, the Shimmei, 神名, the Hachi-man, 八幡, and the Penten, 辨天, but judging from the second-named and largest, less attention is paid them than to the Buddhist. If there are seven temples, there are also seven schools and girls are taught in them, but I can get no clear idea of what is studied. It must be vacation in all of them since we came, judging by the small number of children seen in the streets. Most of the dwellings and other houses here are built of boards standing up and made secure by long girders running along outside.

*Friday, May 26th* — The remains of the sailor were buried this morning, and I was able to find only a small stone on which to inscribe the epitaph, for all the square, handsome ones seen in the graveyards were, I was told, brought from Sado Island and other places in Nippon. The body was brought ashore at the landing and carried by sailors through the streets to the spot designated, numbers of the people lining the roads, all in the greatest quiet looking at the unusual procession which Yendo himself accompanied to the grave. In all these interments the Japanese officers have behaved with great decorum, but his kindness of manner has exceeded the others, and no law

was quoted by him about looking at the corpse, as was the case with the impudent Isaboro at Simoda.

I spent most of the day endeavoring to get up a bazaar for the Commodore, but did not succeed very well, as in fact the assortment is pretty well exhausted in town. There were some new things, many of which exhibited new features of Japanese art, and many were there desirous to get the articles as soon as the Commodore had made a selection. Owing to a misunderstanding, he did not reach shore till almost sunset and found several officers there (happily most having gone just before) to whom he expressed some dissatisfaction. He took some articles and went off, whereupon such a grabbing for this and that ensued as was quite surprising to me, and not creditable to naval officers. I was called here and there by natives and foreigners at once, unable to answer half their demands, much less get aught even if I had wished it. I was ashamed at such an exhibition of American character in the eyes of the Japanese officers looking at the eagerness and bustle before them.

*Saturday, May 27th.*—The broker who attends at the bazaar was told this morning that he might sell such articles as he had whenever he brought them there, and manage their sale as he pleased; everybody has had a chance already, and I am desirous of getting clear of the affair. It seems, from the conduct of the shopkeepers, that this broker has taken some means to intimidate them or to prevent them selling much, for it is difficult to get many fine things to-day, and their prices generally are very much higher, which is no wonder, considering the great eagerness manifested to purchase. Not having any particular business, Morrow and I took a stroll, going out beyond the graveyard, and so on to the end of the peninsula on which the town lies. We enjoyed the walk very much, found many plants, and saw a few people only. Some of the plants were old acquaintances, especially a Trillium, a Viburnum, an Anemone, a Mentha and others, growing naturally in the woods among the bamboo, a small species of which is common

here. The extent and variety of seaweed here is great, and vast quantities are used for food by the people. On our return we went through the grove of pines and cedars behind the town; a delightful place it must be in summer for the townsfolk to ramble in. The hilltop affords a fine view of the surrounding country, and the patches of snow on the western peaks showed us the latitude we were in. No terraces such as are seen at Simoda are seen here, and the plain north of the town is neglected, naked, and almost uncultivated, the pursuits of agriculture occupying only a small portion of the inhabitants. The country is not thickly settled in the immediate vicinity, and most of the supplies are brought from the south, Simonoseki, Sado Island, Yecligo, and Ohosaka being the chief ports, from which not only rice, wheat, cloths, porcelain, lacquered ware and cutlery are brought, but also common things, as gravestones and tiles. What these imports are paid for with I have not been able to learn.

The Commodore made some inquiries about shipwrecks on the coasts of Japan to-day, and at the same time invitations were given the officials to visit the ships, if the weather was fair on Monday. The more I see and am able to talk with these men the more favorably do they contrast with the same set of men at the south.

*Sunday, May 28th.*—Early this morning I was sent ashore to inform Yendo of the death of another seaman on board of the "Vandalia," G. W. Remick by name; he expressed a good natured sympathy with the death of a young man so far away from home and, pointing out a new wharf to land at just above the Commodore's house, where he wished the body to be brought on shore in the afternoon, asked if he should accompany the body, to which we, Mr. Bent being with me, said that it was not required by any of our usages. In the day Mr. Jones delivered a practical discourse on the first clause of the Lord's Prayer which made one feel too that to the Japanese the same Father extends his care, and I hope will ere long too send the evangel of salvation.

*Monday, May 29th.*—The rest of yesterday's Sabbath was pleasant in the extreme, and I was willing to begin again this morning. I shall not be so much harassed this week as last, for now trade is carried on at the custom house without my assistance. The officers and their friends were invited aboard the flagship to visit her and then to go over the "Macedonian," and spend the evening in seeing the performances of the Ethiopian Minstrels. All came but the prince's deputy, Matsmai Kageyu, who had a bad cold, and left for shore after nine P.M. much pleased and diverted with the show and the Commodore's entertainment, which was got up remarkably well for the means and time at hand. A lot of presents were also brought at the same time in return for those sent by Perry to them, paper, umbrellas, crapes, dried salmon, fresh fish, etc., altogether worth about a rifle and a pistol; to each of them had been sent a rifle, cavalry sword, pistol, box of tea, twelve barrels whiskey, twelve pieces cottons, perfumery and cherry cordial.

*Tuesday, May 30th.*—This has been a quiet day, for, after seeing Yendo to stir him up about the accounts of the ships and getting the answers respecting wrecked vessels, I took a pleasant walk with Dr. Gilliam after flowers, and went back to the ship to dinner, one of the few times I have had a good opportunity. In the afternoon I had to wait so long for the accounts of the "Vandalia" and "Macedonian" that I had time only to close up a letter for Canton by the former, and send Dr. Bridgman his book and some India ink. The weather has been so cold to-day as to make a fire comfortable; the climate must be much colder here than in the same latitude in the United States where no snow can now be found on hills no higher than those hereabouts, the highest of which may perhaps be 3500 feet and not bare on the summit, so far as the glass can decide.

*Wednesday, May 31st.*—My commissions multiply apace, as I am requested by one and another to procure things for them on shore, most of which are not to be had. However, I was able to get some things for Maury and Maxwell to-day,

which showed at least my good intentions if I could not always succeed. An effort was made to get a block of stone here to take to Washington for the monument, which block Perry wishes to exchange for a map of that city. The "Vandalia" and "Macedonian" were out of sight before ten o'clock, leaving only a small show of two vessels in the harbor. This evening we learned that the commissioners had come from Yedo and would be ready to see the Commodore to-morrow. They have come so lately here that it is not yet time for them to learn what has been done, and it is rather too late for them to undo it. Mr. Bent and I went to the graveyard this evening, and found that a substantial fence had been put up in front of it. I got a shingle epitaph too, with a Thibetan inscription on it, and Mr. Bent procured a dog for which he had some difficulty to pay the man at the custom house; when he had been forced to take the money he went away and ere long returned with a pair of white ones which he made Mr. Bent take, and before the boat left for the ship five or six were brought down for him to carry off. The breed here is like the Chinese. Horses sell for eighteen to twenty-five dollars for common hacks and three hundred dollars or more for barbs.

*Thursday, June 1st, 1854.*—Six years to-day since I left New York, and now I am thus far from that city and on the journey of life.

Early this morning Fuzhiwara came aboard with a note from Amma Zhiunnoshin and Kenzhiro announcing their arrival at Hakodade, en route to Karafto whither their superior had already gone, and expressing a desire to meet the Commodore, and that the business in hand would not detain them more than three days. It was agreed that we should go ashore at ten to fix an hour for them and their suite to come on board. When we reached the house (Yamado) the hour of one P.M. was agreed upon, and I was left ashore while Mr. Bent went back to tell the Commodore. . Meanwhile, I started off with Yebiko Zhiro to find a suitable stone for the Washington Monument, and fairly

tired him out in the search. We went to the fishing hamlet of Shirasawabi east of the town, but none suitable could be seen around it. However, I saw specimens enough to induce me to get him to go up towards the hill where the stone is quarried, but it was another thing to get him to take so long a walk. Near this village most of the gravestones were covered with mats to preserve them from the effects of the frost during the winter, and the graves had just been swept and trimmed up, it being the 5th of the 5th month yesterday. The village was noisome from the drying and decaying fish in it, and I was in a hurry to get away. Pursuing our walk for a mile in the direction of a path which led up the hill, I came to a couple of long stones of red trachyte, just dug out, and had them marked, much to the gratification of my companion who was fairly used up, or else vexed. While we were so warm with the walk in the noontide sun, the sight of the snow lying on the opposite hills was rather tantalizing.

On reaching the house at one o'clock, the officials requested us to go to the other landing, thence to take the dignitaries on board. None of the new ones reached the place, however, till three o'clock and, as they would not go off without Kenzhiro, we went away without them. It was a curious sight, as these officials were announced to be on their way to the house, to see the attendants and common people arrange themselves along the path, squatting down with caps, staffs, and other insignia in their hands, and bowing their heads to the ground under the effluence of power as it swept by them in the persons of these men. We stood near the landing, but they paid us no notice as they went into the house, Yendo escorting them.

We had waited now so long that on the way back we met an order to return, and found the Commodore in high dudgeon, which we hardly had anything to meet by way of explanation. He ordered the marines in both steamers to get in readiness, and one hundred blue jackets to land in the morning with two field pieces, in order to show the Japanese that he was not to be



trifled with. About half past four o'clock Amma, Kenzhiro and others, with the local officers and Yendo at their head, came aboard ; the Dutch interpreter, Takeda Ayasaboro, had written out a few sentences stating that he was able only to write Dutch and could not speak it. He was the tallest and one of the best looking Japanese I have seen. The Commodore thought best to accept their apology, that it was owing to delay in the preparation of a present which had detained them (a good commentary on Prov. 18:16), and they were taken down into the cabin. The conference came to very little in addition to what had been before discussed with Yendo, and the final settlement of the limits to which Americans can ramble in the region of the town was referred to the commissioners. The disappearance of the women and children was ascribed to fear of us on our arrival, and this was now wearing away. The conference was slow but kindly, and the visitors from Yedo were gratified with the sight of the ship, Kenzhiro remaining in the cabin while the others went over the decks. He said the journey to Matsmai had been tedious and slow, often going only twelve miles a day, snow, cold, roughness and weariness being among the discomforts of the way. I suspect these Japanese officials endeavor to live such easy lives that when they are obliged to go through hardships they suffer much. From his white under-dress, we learned that Takeda Ayasaboro belonged to princely blood ; he seemed to be often referred to by Kenzhiro who hardly ever asked Amma about anything. His position and learning probably got him the place of interpreter. Before leaving, the Commodore told them he would return their call in state as at Yokohama, a proposition which pleased them all, especially Fuzhiwara who was glad to hear that the "sorudado" were coming ashore in their fine dresses.

*Friday, June 2nd.*—A fog soon bedimmed the prospects of a fine day, and before ten o'clock Perry had decided not to go ashore, which seemed to be the most judicious course, as the fog seemed likely to condense into a rain. Presents of a sword,

rifle, revolver, perfumery, tea and whiskey were prepared for Amma and Kenzhiro, and an apologetic excuse to explain his non-appearance. Mr. Bent and I found the house in readiness to receive the party, and an unusual attendance of servants showed that some preparations were making for the occasion; though the Japanese apparently took it in good humor, their disappointment was evident and great. Along the street, too, were many signs of the expectations of a gala and fine show among the people. It need not be said in what a pet the Commodore and most of the officers would have been if the Japanese had excused themselves from an interview for what appeared to be such inadequate reasons; and how many denunciations we should have heard! The presents were handed to Kenzhiro, but the answer to the Commodore's note was not ready. The purveyor's bill was paid as follows for the "Powhatan":—

100 baskets charcoal	...	...	...	...	\$ 5.25
100 pine boards, half inch	...	...	...	...	1.38
50 " " inch, 6ft. long	...	...	...	...	0.80
100 " " " 20ft. "	...	...	...	...	4.67
285 lbs. sugar @ 7 cent	...	...	...	...	19.85
1350 sticks of wood	...	...	...	...	10.69
500 brooms	...	...	...	...	3.65

Total	...	...	...	...	...	\$46.29
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1000 sticks for "Southampton"	\$7.92	} ...	15.63
976 " " "Mississippi"	7.71		
6733 " " "Macedodian"	36.52		
1891 " " "Vandalia"	18.20		
Provisions furnished "Powhatan"	...	...	34.12

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\$150.76

The prices of these things were repeatedly declared to be equitable and sufficient, but they were so low that the Commodore made the purveyor, Inagawa, a present of a box of tea, and the boatmen a larger one of 900 lbs. biscuit, 3 bbls. beef and pork, and 60 lbs. tea, for their labor in bringing wood and water. With this all parties were satisfied. The two blocks of

red trachyte came off in the afternoon, when a further small addition of provisions was made. Two of us went ashore to obtain the answer, for which we had to tarry till nearly sunset, when we took leave of the friends whom Mr. Bent and I had become quite attached to during the fortnight we had been in port. They also evinced very different feelings from those apparent at the first interview, and we parted with expressions of mutual goodwill. Three of the new-comers, Takeda Aya-saboro, Yushimi Kennozhio and Tsuji Kayemon, came off to the ship with us to see it more closely, and remained until it was too dark to see anything; they evinced considerable knowledge as well as curiosity, especially the first, whose acquaintance with Dutch had opened to him sources of information not accessible to the others.

*Saturday, June 3rd.*—Early this morning we were under weigh, but the fog came in so thick that both vessels came to anchor, and soon after a boat came alongside with Yebiko and Daishime to see why we had returned, supposing some accident had happened. They remained on board till we were ready to start, much interested in the appearance of the machinery in readiness to be put in motion. Thus ended our visit to Hakodadi, forming one of the pleasantest episodes in my life in Asia. I expected a dull visit at a miserable fishing village, while I found my time and abilities employed to their highest degree, the whole business of interpreting thrown on me, and the duty of removing from the minds of the officers their apprehensions and disinclination to act in the absence of orders from Yedo. Acquaintance produced mutual trust and, as they found themselves fully supported by the Treaty, it was soon seen that no little trouble would be avoided by meeting all our reasonable propositions. It was favorable to them that the lack of particular instructions from court left them more at liberty to follow what the Treaty implied, and it was more favorable to us that we had two such persons as Matsmai and Yendo to deal with instead of two petty minded and hesitating men like Kondo

Riozhi and Tatsnoske at Simoda. I have been repaid during the last fortnight for the years of study of this language.

*Wednesday, June 7th.*—Simoda Bay.

The passage hither occupied just one hundred hours, fully fifteen more than it would have done if a thick rain yesterday afternoon had not made it, in the Commodore's opinion, unwise to go to the west of Oō-sima. During the night a current carried the ship southeast and south, so that we did not anchor till nearly one o'clock; the weather turned into bright sunshine to-day, showing the green hills, with their naked summits and patchwork of reaped and ripe fields of grain adown their sides in pretty contrast. The stimulus of rain and sunshine has made surprising improvement in the face of nature here since we left it twenty-five days ago. The commissioners are all here, one load of coal has come, and part of the supply for the bazaar. We went to see the prefect in regard to an early interview, which is to take place to-morrow.

*Thursday, June 8th.*—According to previous agreement, the Commodore landed to-day at noon under a salute of seventeen guns, with as large an escort as the ships could muster, composing a force of marines and sailors with four field pieces, numbering in all, including officers and musicians, upwards of three hundred men. The day was unimpeachable, and the way from the landing to the temple was lined with the people whose talking, as we moved on, was not unlike many beehives in commotion; so that above and below all combined to make it interesting to all parties. It was very different indeed from the visit paid by the Russian ambassador Resanoff\* to the envoy at Nagasaki, when the people were kept away and all the streets lined with curtains to hide even the houses from the view of the Russians. The music sounded gaily as the line passed into the yard of the temple, and the whole formed an excellent subject for a painting when seen from a favorable standpoint at this moment. On entering the yard, the Commodore was received

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\* In October, 1804.

by Kurokawa and conducted into the main room of the building which had been so transformed and divided off by curtains and folding screens that it was not easy to recognize its former appearance—a use which shows that the Japanese apply their religious edifices to the same general uses as the Chinese. In this main room stood the five commissioners, with Hayashi at their head in scarlet trowsers, and two additional ones who have been appointed to the body. We were conducted into a side room, and the two parties seated opposite just as they were ten weeks ago at Yokohama, except that Mr. Bent had taken the place of Captain Adams. The discussion which was tedious, continued for three hours, and only a part of the subjects introduced decided on. Lin wished to put up guard stations at the limits prescribed to the rambles of Americans in the region of Simoda, but Perry wished to have it previously ascertained that they were not within the seven *ri* agreed on by the Treaty, and a deputation is to visit these spots and then report. The decision of the limits at Hakodadi was also more difficult than we had supposed it would be, for the Japanese were not ready even to make it the same there as at this place, nor to propose any distance themselves.

They wished, however, to get the Commodore to take away the big box he had placed on the southern side of the entrance to the harbor, and also to remove the buoys over the rocks. The only explanation we could give for such a proposition on their part was, that they had construed these proceedings with reference to some idea of our thereby taking possession of the harbor or, at least, driving a nail in that direction. He properly refused to remove the buoys, and suggested the appointment of pilots before the box was taken away, who could show ships the dangers it cautioned them against; and they agreed thereto. After this, the drawing of the Washington Monument was shown and the proposal made them to furnish a stone to put into it, adding that one had been procured at Hakodadi. These discussions and a collation of

cakes and fish filled up three hours, when the session was adjourned. Before leaving the temple the marines were marched and drilled, and the manner of using the field pieces shown, greatly to the satisfaction of the Japanese. The Commodore and his suite returned on board, but the men were marched down to Kakizaki, followed by a large crowd; it was a gala day to all parties except Lo, who got quarantined for not coming off when the ship's boats came back.

*Friday, June 9th.*—The slow progress yesterday induced the Commodore to send us ashore this morning to have a talk with Moriyama beforehand, in order to hasten matters to a conclusion, but it did not apparently have any effect, for the commissioners had their own matters to bring forward, some presents to spread out for acceptance in exchange for those received, and arrangements to agree on respecting valuation of coins and party to go and settle the limits of seven *ri*. How droll those seven bald shaven men looked stretched along in a row, as they sat opposite me to-day! Lin in his scarlet trowsers, and the silly, vacant-faced Matsusaki, one at the one end looking grim and dignified, the other at his end, sleepy and silent. These interviews are instructive, too, taking into account the circumstances under which we all have been brought together, and the Japanese officers seem qualified for their places, in the main. Some presents were given to Tsudzuki, prince of Suruga, and Takenoüchi Sheitaro, the two new commissioners—rifles, swords, perfumery, etc. Some of the articles sent in exchange for the howitzer were fine specimens of manufacture, mostly lacquered ware, and fully equal to it, taking them all together, in value. The conversation to-day was more general and pleasanter than we had before, touching on many topics. We learned that the first four commissioners are all merely titular princes, and have no authority over the principalities they take title from. Moreover, that there are over five hundred athletæ in Yedo alone, and hundreds in Ohosaka, all of whom get a living by exhibiting their prowess;

yet I think that the strongest one among the ninety we saw at Yokohama would not prove a match for some of the boxers of our country or England. They eat little or no meat, and develop more fat than brawn.

*Saturday, June 10th.*—Mr. Maury, Bent and I went early this morning to see Kurokawa respecting our trip to define the boundary to which Americans are permitted to go by the Treaty. We were received at the temple, and the matter seemed fully understood on all sides. After a while, Ido and Izawa sent in word they wished to see us, and soon appeared themselves, expressing their pleasure in polite terms and giving each of us a piece of silk for our wives, and four stone bottles of saki and a box of sugar-plums to beguile the wearisomeness of the way in the journey of to-day. So much for their hospitable intentions, and we went aboard to get ready for the terrible jaunt they had described. At noon we were at the landing house with attendants, instruments and baggage, but saw nobody ready there to take the latter, or signs of much preparation on the part of the few Japanese officials thereabouts. We got them to start in half an hour, however, and proceeded beyond the temple through the stone-cut gorge to a station house at the foot of the hill, where we were desired to stop, for this was one of the guard stations defining the limits of the jurisdiction of the governor of Simoda. It now appeared that there was a mutual misunderstanding, for the officers said we would now go to the next guard station, while we said we wished, and were ordered, to go to the end of the seven miles. Isaboro and Tatsnoske soon arrived and told us in no less plain terms that the commissioners had no idea of our going beyond the guard stations, and no preparations had been made to lodge us. Mr. Maury sent a note to the Commodore desiring instructions, and we went on followed by our cortege. The incident was a good illustration of the ease with which a confusion of purposes may arise where the medium of communication is so imperfect, and little pains taken to state the intentions of each side. Isaboro accused me of

misinterpreting and lying ; so Mr. Bent was addressed in a long speech in Japanese and, to make the matter plainer, Tatsnoske tried in vain to put it into English. They both returned with the Commodore's reply, by which time we had reached and passed another guard station, and seemed glad it was now cleared up, though I did not see wherein their responsibility consisted. We crossed over a number of hills into the hamlet of Hongo, where the station is to be placed, and returned to Simoda at evening. During the interview to-day some matters were settled and others brought up, which last showed the fears of the commissioners lest they had given or should give us too much liberty. From the general tenor of conversation we gather that they have been blamed for allowing so much extent of rambling as the Treaty states.

*Sunday, June 11th.*—It rained during the whole day, so that there was not only no religious service, but no coaling ship either, which it was intended should occupy the Sabbath in both steamers. Consequently, there was some rest for the men, though orders came for them to resume coaling at sunset. The "Macedonian" returned this evening, the "Southampton" having been in two days. The latter had a misty spell of weather at Volcano Bay, but Captain Boyle was able to make a survey of the harbor and go ashore a few times. The Ainos or Kuriles were more numerous than the Japanese there, but lived in a most wretched manner, destitute even of the comforts of the Japanese, subsisting almost wholly on the products of the sea and hills, and under the complete sway of the Japanese. The antlers of deer were common on the ground near their houses, and some deer were seen on the hills. They were very hairy people, as described by La Peyrouse, and with their scanty garments such additional covering would be comforting, though I would not say, as I amark would, that the hair on their backs grew two inches long because their jackets were so thin.

*Monday, June 12th.*—The conference this morning was more tedious than ever, and small progress was made. The



commissioners refused to let a party go to Oho-sima, nor would they consent even to three and a half *ri* as the limit of rambling at Hakodadi, less than which Perry declined to consent to. Three pilots were introduced, like spaniels on their four feet, to whom the business of conducting ships into the harbor was to be committed, and no pay was to be taken for this service; in this manner the government will have their spies on board our ships before anchoring. The project of going to the limit allowed was discouraged, but its introduction brought out the suspicions entertained lest we should remain on shore over night, and the commissioners seemed to think no Americans were ever likely to need to sleep in Simoda, notwithstanding the Treaty made provision for a consul. Of course it was disallowed, and they were told that they had better set up teahouses or taverns for the accommodation of seamen rather than try to keep them thus on board ship. While thus discussing, reports came in of misbehaving, and on going to the landing Perry found some of his bargemen and bandsmen so drunk they knew not what they were doing; a couple of bracelets met them on board, but it was a bad corollary on our discussion. Simoda, like Canton, is likely soon to have its Hog-lane, and the worst features of heathenism and Christian nations exhibited, making human nature more repulsive, before the excellencies of Christianity come to be known.

*Tuesday, June 13th.*—Mr. Spieden and Mr. Eldredge\* took me along with them this morning to assist them in the discussions respecting the currency, in which there is likely to be no little difficulty, arising in some degree from the mistake we made in offering to value our dollar at 1200 cash, and letting it go at that until we went north, but still more from the evident desire of the Japanese to force us to pay in our gold and silver at their arbitrary valuation. On reaching the temple, we found Kurokawa and the committee ready to meet us, eleven people sitting in solemn rows to take note of what we and each of them

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\* Pursers on the "Mississippi" and "Powhatan."

said. Setting aside what was done yesterday, we began by proposing an equal exchange of gold for gold, and silver for silver, and after no small delay made them produce two *ichibu*, whose weight we compared with our dollars; they agreed that three *ichibu* made one dollar, but refused to consent to an exchange, saying that their valuation of gold and silver was so arbitrary that no reference could justly be made to it in conducting trade. It was twelve o'clock when we had reached this point, and the Commodore came in, rather surprised that in three hours we had made no more progress. At this session which lasted till six o'clock with only a short interruption, the limits at Hakodadi were settled at five *ri*, though yesterday he offered them three and a half, which they would not accept, and they had before offered five, which he declined. The temples at Simoda and Kakizaki were offered as places of resort for the sailors, and the desirableness of establishing shops or inns was urged; and (what was characteristic of Japanese and Chinese sway) Lin desired the Commodore to give orders that no sailors should get drunk on shore as they did yesterday, as if this was our responsibility. Perry told them this was their lookout, and if the Japanese did not sell sailors *saki*, none of them would get drunk. A complaint was made against one officer for leaving religious books at one of the temples, upon which the Commodore said that, if they would point out who had done it and bring back the books, he would give orders in the matter. He then said that, if the priests at the temple had not willingly taken the books, none would have been left there, and made a complaint in addition against the obscene books which the Japanese had given the sailors and thrown into the boats, declaring that such things were worse. He said that the Americans had no desire to interfere in the religious views of other nations, as perfect freedom was allowed in those matters in the United States, where even the Japanese might have a temple if they chose, but that they would never suffer the Japanese to insult the Christian religion, and any attempt to cast reproach on it would be met

with opposition and bring down on them the anger of the American people; wherefore, it would be well for the Japanese to treat Christianity with respect. Another point they tried to get Perry to consent to—the accompanying officers with spies under the name of guides, attendants, interpreters, or servants—was rejected, and the entire freedom of Americans to go as they pleased within the limits, staying out over night even, was maintained as being granted in the Treaty. A letter was brought in, just received from Hakodadi via Yedo, inclosing some of our written conversations held there, and stating that Perry had declared that, if he could not have ten *ri* about Hakodadi as the limit, he would make the Japanese pay 10,000 cobans as damages. The matter was placed in its true relations, but I could understand enough to hear them charge Lo and me with misinterpreting on these matters, and making trouble.

*Wednesday, June 14th.*—The finance committees separated to-day, unable to come to any agreement, for the Japanese refuse to exchange our coins at the value in cash of silver, but, regarding our dollar as bullion, they give the nominal valuation at the mines, where weight is reckoned by taels and mace, and cheat us of just  $66\frac{2}{3}$  cents in every dollar. The currency is now perfectly arbitrary, for the *toō-hiaku* is probably not worth more than ten copper cash, while it goes for one hundred; and compared with silver it is as cheap again as our cent, being nearly four times as large and only rated at 2.05 cents. Silver compared with gold is actually about  $4800/1045$ , or only  $4\frac{2}{3}$  times dearer; but discarding weight for weight, supposing an *ichibu* as pure as a gold dollar, the prescribed valuation makes \$20 worth \$10.45, whereas \$20 silver would be worth \$6.66, or an ounce of gold worth \$8.448, and one of silver 33 cents, or 25.6 times cheaper. This most extraordinary valuation was acknowledged as forced upon the people by their rulers, but the latter would not take our dollars by it, though they paid the persons of whom we bought articles by it, pocketing the difference. If we disliked these terms we could stay away and

not trade. In giving gold, however, when compared with the prices paid by the people in cash, it must be depreciated as silver and therefore is actually worth only one third of the above  $52\frac{1}{2}$  cents per dollar, or only 17 cents, making our \$20, when compared with the rates of currency among the people, worth \$3.45! Yet the Japanese actually make five times a greater depreciation of our silver than gold, for while the latter is as 22 to 17, the former is as 33 to 100, so cheap is gold here compared with silver. Of course, we refused to agree to any such depreciation of our coins, and broke up the conference. In the afternoon the additional regulations were agreed upon with Moriyama, he standing out stoutly for discarding entirely the use of Chinese in all official communications, evidently, I think, so as to keep the whole intercourse in his own hands; it was compromised by allowing no Chinese when there was a Dutch interpreter.

*Thursday, June 15th.*—The draft of the Regulations was agreed upon to-day. They refer to guardhouses, pilots, public houses, mode of purchasing articles, limits at Hakodadi, and such things. The corpse from Yokohama was brought down to-day and interred by the side of Parrish at Kakizaki, the Japanese behaving very kindly in the matter. The weather is getting now very warm,  $75^{\circ}$  or so, the wheat and barley are reaped, and vegetation appears thriving. Irish potatoes are cultivated here and will furnish good supplies to ships if raised in quantities.

*Friday, June 16th.*—A third conference took place to-day between the parties in session upon the Regulations, which completed them. In the evening a concert was given on board of the "Mississippi" by the minstrels, at which fully three hundred Japanese and five hundred foreigners were assembled, making altogether a very respectable audience. The ship was dressed up, and the dinner was, considering our means, very good; the seven commissioners and three bunyos all sat down, leaving room for only a few officers, the rest being entertained on deck.

Everything went off well, and no fault could be found with the performances which were more spirited than at Hakodadi. The only drawback was a slight rain which incommoded us all during the singing, but nearly ceased before the party separated at about ten P.M. The Japanese were exceedingly amused at the dancing and tambourine music.

This entertainment and the similar one given at Hakodadi will, I think, produce the impression which we desire to make that we are willing to make all the efforts we can to please the people, who have done almost nothing of that sort of thing for us, not even inviting us to a common entertainment or amusement of any sort, or to go and see anything. The commissioners have shown themselves reserved on every point relating to the promotion of good personal feeling, confining themselves to official acts only; and the Commodore has set them a good example. The Japanese hardly know how to behave towards foreigners; they have been so long shut out from them that both officials and commoners are afraid of overstepping some regulation, whatever they do. This, in some measure, proceeds from fear, but a good deal more from haughty pride and contempt of others; the mutual ignorance of each other's language further opposes much intercourse.

*Saturday, June 17th.*—The Commodore sent his usual quartette ashore this morning to see the officials about the accounts and the stone and bazaar, and what not, but we made very little progress in getting anything, and the latter seems likely to prove a failure. The Japanese have not half the business tact which characterizes the Chinese, and more especially do matters of trade move slowly when the officials get hold of them. At three o'clock the Commodore went to see the officials and exchange the triglot copies of the Regulations, but they were not ready, nor were his sealed, and therefore no exchange was made. They expressed themselves greatly gratified with the performances of last evening, and were so doubtless. It was not till nearly six o'clock that we could get

off, by which time it was too late to think of taking a walk. The harmony of our conference to-day was marred by two of our crew going into a shop, pulling the spigot out of a barrel of saki, and drinking a basinful of it, letting the rest run on the floor meanwhile; as the owner tried to stop them, they drew on him and wounded him in the hand, themselves too being somewhat mauled in the scuffle. Such is one of the precursors of the trade with Christian America, though I hope the Japanese have discrimination enough to perceive and make a difference between the sailors who behave and those who act like fiends. It is amazing to see the lengths the thirst for rum will drive a man; five or six fellows are constantly at the stanchion for their misdemeanors growing out of love for liquor. The officers love it almost as well, but take their own time when to have a bout.

*Sunday, June 18th.*—The Commodore moved aboard the "Mississippi" again this morning, about fourteen months since he left her. The chaplain had service, but no sermon, and, as one might expect, there was not much quiet on board during the day, while there was a great deal of trading on shore. Truly may it be said that life in a man-of-war is too often like living on the outskirts of hell.

*Monday, June 19th.*—To-day was so stormy that nothing could be done, and the bazaar was deferred by Commodore Perry, as he himself was not desirous of going out in the rain. The articles were laid out indeed, but not marked, and we had them all labeled and their prices given, which at only 1600 cash to the dollar were exorbitant, making the greater part of the articles twice or thrice as dear as at Hakodadi; moreover, the variety was much less than we had been led to expect, deficient in many sorts of things which we had learned were abundant in Yedo, and not satisfactory in any department. The bad policy of their persisting in this unjust depreciation of the silver we paid them was again shown them, but either there is some reason why they would rather risk the loss of all trade, or the establishment here is placed on such a footing that it must have this high

commission for managing it, and they will not change. The Commodore expressed his indignation at this mode of doing business, saying that it was wholly opposed to their professions of friendship, and that he would have nothing to do with the matter if they did not change and make the prices of silver and goods more conformable. However, there is no likelihood of any modification.

We made some propositions respecting pilots and prices to be paid for them; also concerning some spars ordered by the Commodore, which we were coolly told were still growing in blissful ignorance of their fate on the mountains. In fact, these officials have become tired of supplying our reiterated wants which, with the provisions consumed by so many of their own officers, must be not a little troublesome, and perhaps expensive too, and not worth doing too much for.

*Tuesday, June 20th.*—The replies and dilatory actions of the Japanese were so unnecessary and impertinent yesterday that the Commodore quarantined the officers from going ashore at all, and sent a document to Lin and his colleagues, showing that they had violated their promises in respect to furnishing supplies and procuring articles wanted for the squadron and himself, especially in some dresses and the spars spoken of yesterday, adding that they were acting foolishly in their own view by not trying to do more to show their professed regard for the Americans, intimating his own opinion of such conduct and of the power he held in his hands. The paper was put into Dutch (no Chinese now being used in our intercourse) and given to Moriyama. How he rendered it to the commissioners we do not know, for he has the throttle valves of our intercourse in his hand, but in the evening he came off and said that the non-procurement of the dresses was his fault, and of the spars was owing to Tatsnoske's carelessness, as he had failed to attend to them. I suppose that at Desima no care for such requests ever fell to the lot of either of them, and they gave themselves little concern about them here.

After this message had been delivered, we made excuses for Perry's not coming ashore, which were mixed with as much moon-shine as usual on such occasions, and I suppose received by the Japanese in a diplomatic sense. They however gave us (Perry Jr. having gone aboard to report progress) the dinner which had been prepared for the Commodore, by far the most elaborate entertainment yet provided. It was served up on small lacquered tables and a set of little lacquered bowls and chinaware plates, the large articles being brought in on bowls and chargers and served out to each person by the prefect and his aids. Warm and cold saki was offered, the former in thin cups of porcelain brought in floating on water. Less fruit was introduced than among the Chinese, and no candy or sweetmeats. We made the entertainment pass off as well as we could, but both parties felt rather awkward, feeling that it lacked its chief objects, neither Lin or Perry being there. After dinner a variety of little articles were brought in as presents, not alone for the Commodore, but his suite and Captains Lee and McCluney. In the exchange of presents the Japanese have not shown themselves at all generous, whether it is owing to their entire ignorance of the actual cost of the things given them, and therefore inability to judge what would be of corresponding value, or to their petty characters. We stayed ashore till two o'clock, and I then went to see how the tombstones were being put up at Kakizaki, and found that the Japanese are very expert in stone cutting, but the material does not retain the inscriptions for many years. They have customs quite different from the Chinese in their rites of sepulture, one of which is cremation, as was seen hereabouts a few days ago. Among other events of to-day was the delivery of about sixteen tons of coal which the engineers decide against, even at the price of \$27.50 per ton, and of ten or twelve cords of firewood, a large part of it sticks from one to one and a half inches in diameter. These important supplies are therefore not so readily furnished as it was hoped they would be, and are inferior in quality.



Perhaps a constant demand may increase the quality as well as the quantity, and this will probably decrease the price. An exchange of cottons or other goods will doubtless make an opening for the barter of other Japanese articles.

*Wednesday, June 21st.*—The quarantine continued till three o'clock to-day, at which hour the bazaar opened. The Commodore sent Mr. Bent and me ashore early to make the arrangements for exhibiting the things against the time he landed, but when we reached the temple Kurokawa and Yenoske showed plainly that they were in high dudgeon, and that the scolding document of yesterday had made them angry. The prices which had been attached to every article yesterday had been taken off, and they proposed that, except a portion which had been set apart for the President, the remainder should be taken off to the ships at such prices as we pleased to pay for them. It was with much entreaty and explanation that I got them to alter their minds and restore the labels, and put their own prices upon the articles, declaring that the Commodore would not otherwise take a single thing nor allow the officers to buy—much less let them be taken aboard ship. After some hesitation and talk among themselves they came around to our views and began to restore the labels and spread out the articles. Those for the President were nuts, dresses, shell-work, plants and various birds. By the time we had made these arrangements and begun to number the goods and list them, Perry arrived, so that there was no need of saying anything respecting the matter. He chose nearly a hundred dollars' worth and had them sent off to the ship, by which time the commissioners were ready to meet at dinner. The two chiefs were seated opposite for the last time, but Lin has not much conversational power, and the others, especially Takenouchi, took the lead in talking. The construction and use of pistols and cannon and steamers formed the main topic of conversation, though now and then other points came up. The interview was a pleasant one, and I could not but pray God that the officers of this hitherto secluded

land, of whom so fair a representation sat before us, might be guided by him to change their views and policy in accordance with the new state of things now coming upon them and their country.

The feast was no better than that given us yesterday, and lasted about an hour and a half. We were only interrupted once, and that was with the usual errand by the orderly in waiting, telling the Commodore that the bargemen had run away into town, doubtless to get spirits. After leaving them Perry went aboard, and we made ready for the coming of the officers. The numbers were rolled up and put into a box, Mr. Perry giving them out; there were nearly enough to go around twice and, as is usual, the coveted things were drawn by those who least expected them, Mr. Caulk, the gunner of the "Mississippi," getting the large paper-box. However, no other way of getting the few fine articles distributed without dissatisfaction was available, and there were enough in all to let each officer get something. It was a busy time for me for about an hour or two to get the various articles drawn for by one and another, ten or twenty of whom drew what they could not find. Before night there was very little left unsold, only a part of the umbrellas, shoes and coarse baskets remaining, while ten times as much fine lacquer could have been disposed of if it had been there. The assortment was far less than we had expected, and I think less than any Japanese merchant would have produced if the affair had been entrusted to him alone and he had been told what we most wanted.

*Thursday, June 22nd.*—Various other articles were brought in this morning from the shops in town, and trade was quite brisk, three or four shopmen having the privilege of displaying their wares on the boards. The idea that all this trade and negotiation and discussion had been carried on in a heathen temple, as if the Americans had come and shown their disregard of Japanese superstitions, and the little dread they had of all the idols of the country shown by setting themselves down

in one of the fanes, putting the gods behind the screens in darkness and neglect—this idea sometimes came across me in singular juxtaposition to the actual proceedings. The Commodore sent some tea and glassware to the commissioners, and arrangements were concluded about the rates of pilotage, the prices of wood and water, and some other matters. The stone for the Washington Monument came aboard, and by mistake the bill for getting it out was forwarded, from which we learned that the officials were expecting the moderate sum of \$80 for this single block, only a cube of three feet! They charged \$72 for the two gravestones and \$32 for the fence around the yard, both of which rates showed their desire to make the best of our demands. The gravestones were neat pieces of work, and the inscriptions cut in good style, so that we had nothing to complain of on that score, but we made them take a reduction of \$12 on both stones, as it was stated before making them that the rate would be \$30 or \$25 each.

All official business being over, Morrow and I took a last walk up the valley, over the hill into the upper part of it, and around by the side of the river, walking nine or ten miles and finding many old faces and acquaintances along the road, most of whom, especially at Hongo, seemed really pleased to see us. The country looked charming, the rice was mostly transplanted and gave a beautiful green hue to the hillsides and terraces, the hills above were dressed in dark verdure and, altogether, we were constantly called on to admire the successive beauties of the scenery. We obtained fewer flowers than I expected, but the most of those near the paths had already blossomed and a few berries had become ripe, among which were those of the paper-tree. It was the only walk I had taken since our abortive expedition to find the seven-*ri* limit with Bent and Maury, and was all the pleasanter for its rarity. We got back to Simoda about sunset, which on this solstitial day was nearly eight o'clock, tired and gratified with the excursion. If there is anything which has rendered the expedition to Japan pleasant to me

it is the walks in search of flowers and the greater freedom of intercourse with the people thereby obtained; these have been taken, too, with an agreeable companion in Dr. Morrow, so that we have both been pleased with our rambles, with each other, and with the objects of our search. I shall always recollect them with him; they form the pleasantest remembrances of Yokohama, Hakodadi and Simoda, although elsewhere I have nothing to complain of. It is sad to see how few are the sources of enjoyment, occupation, or instruction which those around me have or find for themselves in such a spot as this, where the ordinary amusements and company found in seaports are wanting. They scold the Japanese, the Commodore, the ship, the Expedition, but their own evil tempers are never blamed; truly, it is sad to see such perversity and waste of time.

*Friday, June 23rd.*—Soon after breakfast all communication with the shore was stopped, much to the disappointment of many. Mr. Bent and I were sent there with final messages, which gave me opportunity to do some errands for myself and others, and to take a last look at Simoda. Many of the shopmen had articles arranged on their boards, having learned to exhibit them if they wished to sell them, and seemed rather disappointed at being told their customers were gone. I have found some pleasant people among these shop people, and have been surprised to see how much the women do in the management of trade. I got a crowd at the door in a state of great merriment by ridiculing a dull fellow with a shrewd wife for being forced to ask her opinion on the prices of things we wished to buy. In every shop, almost, a woman comes to the board, and in all she is present, for the family lives in the rear, which is not screened in any way from the shop or street. The custom of sleeping on the same mats which by day have served for eating gives more room in a house than with us, who set apart so much space for bedrooms. The loft, where there is one, seems to be more often used for storage than sleeping.

We returned aboard at one o'clock, the steamers having

gone out to the mouth of the harbor and made every preparation for an early start in the morning. The artists and others connected with the Commodore's suite have all gone to the "Mississippi," printing press, dogs, cats, bargemen, orderly, servants, boxes, birds, all except Mr. Perry and myself, for whom there is no room, and Dr. Morrow, who is in the "Southampton." The "Supply" and "Macedonian" are to go to Killon to find the coalmines, and then to visit Manila, chaplain Jones taking charge of the expedition. Mr. Boudinot goes aboard the "Macedonian," and Mr. Mish back to the "Mississippi."

In the afternoon Yenoske came aboard the flagship and brought off a number of parting presents, together with the birds and dogs for the President. He and Isaboro were in good spirits, and Commodore Perry entertained them with cake and wine. He asked them a variety of questions, too, one of which was about the results of the "Phaeton's" raid in Nagasaki harbor in 1808. Moriyama said that the governor, whose name he gave us, two of his colleagues (like Kurokawa and Ishia I suppose) and ten others, all committed suicide in consequence of the attack and detention of the Dutchmen. He said that all men of character avoided disgrace and capital punishment by suicide, ripping themselves across the belly and then cutting their throats, but that common people usually hung themselves. Regicides and murderers of superiors were transfixed with two spears and then decapitated as they hung on a cross; common criminals were dispatched by decollation, but crucifixion or starving on a cross was not common. He said he should readily make way with himself if he got into any trouble or disgrace, and the rest seemed not surprised at the assertion. When told that the captain of the "Phaeton" was now admiral at Canton, and might be up in Japan next year, they were much startled, but were recommended not to dispatch themselves, but rather make friends with him and drink his champagne. At leaving the Commodore gave each of them a bottle and they

went away, shaking hands all round. They had gathered up all the Chinese cash we had paid them and brought it back, preferring to return it at 1600 to the dollar, though they took most of it at 1200, rather than keep it.

I went with them to the "Powhatan," where they paid over some more cash and received some more presents. Moriyama and Isaboro gave me their names on a slip of fancy paper they had brought with them, from which it appears that the Japanese have the same custom of a 姓, a 名, a 字 and a 號 as the Chinese. The Siogoun, aged 44 now, is named Zhiun-na Soō-gaku Rio-in no Betto Genzhi no Chioja Ken Sadaizhin; the Mikado is an older man, but the Siogoun's name was so long I did not ask for his superior's. Isaboro's name in full is Genzhi Yoshimasa Tsu-shio Gohara Isaboro, 姓源氏名義適通稱合原猪三郎, the first two of which form his surname, and all the rest his given name or names. His present official title is Kan Simoda Bugio Kumi Noriki Ohoshets Gakari 官下田奉行組與力應接掛, and that of Kurokawa, his superior, Simoda Bugio Shi-hai Kumi Gashira 下田奉行支配組頭, that is, imperially appointed to be assistant colleague to the head (officer) at Simoda. He is generally called Bugio or Bunyo or Bungio, the difference being caused by the sound of *ng* given by some persons and not by others. These officers are now appointed under Izawa and Take-noūchi, and expect to reside here permanently.\*

Our visitors took leave about dusk, and this closed all intercourse with the Japanese for the first American Expedition to Japan, being within three days of a year, by their reckoning, since it anchored off Uraga.

*Saturday, June 24th.*—A supplementary boat went ashore this morning from the "Mississippi" to carry some printed copies of the port regulations and rates of pilotage in Simoda, to leave with the authorities, so that the last visit was on our part, after all, as the first visit last year was on the side of the

\* Moriyama Yenoske was found here by Townsend Harris in 1856.

Japanese. The day began so rainy and the sea was so rough we have lain at anchor all day, no communication being had with each other or the shore. I wished much to take another ramble over the adjacent hills, but there was no chance; they appeared more inviting than ever, and at any time they and the country about this port are not excelled by any harbor we have been in Japan.

On a review of the proceedings of this Expedition, no one can refuse his assent to the assertion that it has been peculiarly prospered by God, and, so far as we are at liberty to say it, was planned and carried out so as to receive his blessing as a step in his plans for the extension of his kingdom in this land. The appointment of a naval man as the envoy was wise, as it secured unity of purpose in the diplomatic and executive chief, and probably Perry is the only man in our navy capable of holding both positions, which has been proved by the general prudence and decision of his proceedings since he anchored at Uraga last July. It has been favorable to his unbiassed action that he has had no captain under him whose judgment and knowledge entitled him to the least weight in his mind; all, except Buchanan, spent their thoughts in criticising what he did and wishing they were going home. If the Commodore and the Envoy had been two persons, such a state of feeling in the officers might have at last crippled the firmest purposes of the latter and thwarted the whole enterprise. But such a dilemma was avoided, and Perry regarded all under him as only means and agents to serve his purpose, perhaps too often disregarding wishes and opinions of a comparatively trifling nature. But that extreme is almost unavoidable in minds of strong fibre, and bred for years to command, as he has been, such power has habit.

Further, the remarkable weather experienced since Perry left Macao for Shanghai last April—fair, pleasant and healthy in a degree to draw the attention of all, who have more frequently cried out, "See Perry's luck," than been disposed to acknowledge the hand and favor of God in it—has not a little

aided the Expedition. Four or five of the ships have grounded, but none have been injured; the "Supply" was ashore two days on the North Sand at Wusung, and thumped the rock in Simoda Bay, but apparently received no damage; the "Powhatan" narrowly escaped ruin near Labuan by striking a rock, losing only her fore foot; the "Macedonian" and "Lexington" grounded, but were soon relieved; and the "Susquehanna" got no damage by running on a bank in the Yang-tsz' kiang. The mistake made by the "Susquehanna" in coming to Yedo Bay, opening that of Sagami instead of Yedo, enabled the Commodore to tow off the "Macedonian" from her sand bank before she received any injury, and to go up before the town of Uraga in imposing array; three powerful steamers like the "Susquehanna," "Powhatan" and "Mississippi" carrying each another vessel, the "Vandalia," "Macedonian" and "Lexington," showed the Japanese the means we had at command, and may have inclined them to receive us now we had come, and not refer to the strong letter they had written Perry through the Dutch requesting him to stay away for three years. It seems to me that he who refuses to recognize the hand and blessing of God in these preservations, and involving his general approval, is unwilling to recognize it anywhere or in anything. The simultaneous arrival of the "Saratoga" and the steamers at Lewchew last year, and of the six ships at the mouth of the Bay of Yedo this year, prevented all delay; and so has the regular passage of the store-ships to China and back to Lewchew and Japan, to Hakodadi, to the Bonins, and to Simoda from Kanagawa, carried out the plans depending on them. The long passage of the "Saratoga" last March is almost the only case of delay, and this caused no embarrassment. The general good health of the 1600 persons in the squadron, destitute as almost all of them have been of fresh provisions since last January, and the good condition of most of the stores brought on, calls for particular mention, as the converse might have hampered the whole enterprise. The Japanese could not easily collect fresh



provisions for so large a body of people, and the extremity of sickness might have driven us to the extremity of forcibly supplying ourselves with food at some rate, even if the alternative was instant hostilities and the attack of Yedo itself. Such a procedure, necessary as we might have deemed it for our own preservation, and not to be thought of in almost any position, might have been resorted to by some one less patient, and (I can conceive) might have removed the peaceful opening of Japan to an indefinite period. Now, not a shot has been fired, not a man wounded, not a piece of property destroyed, not a boat sunk, nor a Japanese to be found who is the worse, so far as we know, for the visit of the American Expedition.

Some will ask what has been gained or done by this Expedition at all commensurate with the cost it has been to the United States. What ultimate results will be seen must indeed be estimated, and can only be, when time has disclosed them, both in respect to trade between the two countries and intercourse between their people, in respect to the facilities Japanese coal can give to connecting California and Asia, and in that of supplying whalers and other vessels with provisions and retreat from storms. But in the higher benefits likely to flow to the Japanese by their introduction to the family of civilized nations through the Treaty of Kanagawa, increased by the additional regulations signed at Simoda, I see a hundred-fold return for all the additional expense the American government has been at in sending out this Expedition, and a mode of expending her income which will redound greatly to her credit. By permission of the Commodore, I drew up a paper of a general character which was sent to Lin last evening by Moriyama. In it, I endeavored to show how Japan could learn much which would be of enduring benefit to her by adopting the improvements of western lands, and allowing her people to visit them and see for themselves; adding that it was to set before them the most useful and curious specimens of western art that the President had sent out to them such things as a steam engine, a

telegraphic apparatus, a daguerreotype, all sorts of agricultural implements, books and drawings explaining these and other things, and not merely curious articles or catables or arms, from which they might learn to make such, or obtain the assistance of those who could instruct them. The great change in the policy of western nations from what it was two hundred years ago was referred to as removing all grounds for fear of any evil consequences resulting to them by a greater extension of the liberty now granted, and that no one could wish them to do aught which would be injurious or hazardous. The paper closed with a hint respecting the danger, if Americans were followed by spies and officials wherever they went, and that all that was necessary was to have those who did wrong accused and properly punished.

Whatever results may ensue from this and many other hints given to the Japanese since we reached the Bay of Yedo, I think that on the whole the impression left on the people by the squadron has been favorable. More intimate acquaintance would show more good and evil traits in our character, and they have now probably seen a fair average. Erelong I hope and pray that the gracious designs of Providence in thus favoring this Expedition will be still further developed, and the light of revealed truth be permitted to shine upon the benighted and polluted minds of this people. The glorious promises, yet unfulfilled, of the days of gospel liberty are evidences enough of what forms, at least a part of, God's plans in opening the way as has now been done. Among a people so inquisitive and acute, it cannot be long before some will be able to break away from the trammels which now bind them to Japan, and see, for as long as they wish, what Christianity has done for other lands, and what it will do for their own. The day of God's visitation will be one of love, till the ignorant and degraded have had the paths of knowledge and purity laid open for them and the page of Revelation put before them in their own tongue. In all this I see a vast reward for the expenses of this Expedition, and a

gain to the cause of humanity and goodness beyond calculation in paltry gold or silver or traffic.

In reviewing the proceedings of the last few months, it is fair to give the Japanese officers the credit of showing none of that hauteur and supercilious conduct which the perusal of books might have reasonably led one to infer formed a part of their character. Compare the conduct of the Burmese when Crawford went to see them at Ava, or of the Chinese when Amherst went to Peking, with that of Hayashi and his colleagues, and down, too, in the subordinate ranks of officials, a class who are noted in China for their contemptuous treatment of foreigners, and everyone must admit their superiority in point of courtesy, their decorum, their willingness to receive suggestions, and their general good sense in discussing the matters brought forward for their acceptance. Perhaps more impracticable men could easily have been found, and these seven were probably chosen for their views being favorable to a change in the national policy, but the other qualities referred to may fairly be taken as part of the national character, since we have seen them among all classes to some extent. In no country could more agreeable and kind-hearted men be found than old Yendo and Fuzhiwara at Hakodadi, and if one could converse with all he would find some traits to please him.

*Sunday, June 25th.*—The whole squadron lay windbound yesterday, and we were forbidden to step foot ashore, though a ramble in the cool breeze blowing over the hills would have been most pleasant. Not a Japanese boat came near us, and night closed over the harbor without any other communication than Mr. Bent going ashore to take copies of the Regulations and pilot charges which had been printed for the Japanese in Dutch and English. This morning the five ships got under weigh, but the wind died away before the "Macedonian" and "Supply" could get an offing, and they had to anchor, although the former contrived to get the assistance of several native boats. In this position of affairs the steamers left them in the harbor,

we taking the "Southampton" in tow, and soon Japan was lost to view. Doubtless our departure was a relief to the overburdened town of Simoda, for during the last few days almost no provisions were to be procured; and yesterday morning we saw the long trains of Lin and his colleagues winding along the beach toward Kakizaki on their return to Uraga and Yedo. After such an exit the townsfolk would hardly recognize their own quiet village, if the presence of officials in Japan is as much a scourge to the common people as it is in China. There must have been a thousand people in the procession, and their various insignia formed rather a picturesque train.

*Saturday, July 1st.*—Napa Road, Lewchew.

The passage hither was over a smooth and pleasant sea, the southwest monsoon being just strong enow to keep the ships well ventilated. On the way down the "Mississippi" went near the island of Oho-sima, a large islet lying nearly a hundred miles north of Lewchew, to ascertain its size and whether any harbors existed. Mr. Maury went ashore in a boat to reconnoitre and, as he approached the beach, was met by a party of natives drawn up in arms to oppose his landing. One among them had a matchlock, and one, who seemed to take the lead, had a single sword; others were furnished with stones, sticks or spears. Sam Patch soon undeceived them, and stated the pacific intentions of the boat, when many of the men left and got ashore, and some provisions were brought down to the beach. Mr. Maury slipped away into a village from whence the natives had issued, and found it a most miserable collection of huts, the abodes of filth, ignorance and heathenism. The men wore pins in their hair like the Lewchewans, while the presence of swords indicated their proximity to Japan, with whose language theirs had more affinity. They present a more wretched condition, even, than any of those people whom we have yet seen, and cause one to notice how easily man deteriorates in a small community where every member is compelled to labor for a living, so that there is no surplusage of produce on which a govern-

ment can be supported, whose members, while they may oppress, still do much to maintain a higher state of civilization than the people under them do or would. These islanders, lying between Lewchew and Japan, are worse off than either, and it is probably because their little intercourse with either leaves them ignorant of what is most worthy of imitation, and the feeble energies of their untutored minds prevent all efforts to better themselves. The shores of the island offered many patches of cultivated fields, probably of rice, and the hilltops were mostly well wooded; between them a few valleys opened, in which something like orchards appeared.

Yesterday we spoke an English ship, the "Great Britain," bound from Shanghai to England, from which we learned the news of the declaration of war against Russia by England and France, and some of the first steps in the dreadful drama. She first supposed us to be Russian steamers, and the officers who boarded her found the captain and crew had been in a terrible fright, from which they had hardly recovered, though they had seen the American colors for nearly an hour.

On reaching the anchorage, Mr. Randall, Captain Glasson\* and Mr. Bettelheim came off to see the Commodore. The principal burden of their information was the murder of a seaman of the "Lexington" named Board, on the 19th ult., and the injuries received by another named Scott at the same time in the market-place at Napa. Scott and another comrade Smith were buying something, for which they had paid the money, when an official took it away from the woman, at which they became angry and began to drive him off. He called others, and Scott was soon thrown down and so bruised as to be left nearly senseless. Both the sailors were at least tipsy, but Board would take nothing and was not present when this attack was made, at least so far as they know, though he may have been coming up to their relief. Mr. Bierbower†

\* Lieutenant Commander of the "Lexington" which reached Napa in May.

† Bierbower and Randall were the master's mates who had been left in charge of the coal depot at Tsumi.

was informed at Tumai that two of the sailors were lying in the street drunk, and as soon as he could went there, where he found the man Scott too drunk and bruised to help himself. While getting *kago* to take both of them to Tumai, he was told that another was lying in the water near the causeway, and found the body of Board lying in a boat and frothing at the mouth. The Lewchewans said they had taken him out of the water, into which he had fallen and drowned. The corpse was removed to Dr. Bettelheim's house, and an examination by him and Dr. Nelson of the "Lexington" showed that the skull had been almost broken by blows, and congestion of the blood on the brain followed; no spirit was found in the stomach, nor any flesh wounds or cuts on the body. The testimony of the Lewchewans was so contradictory that no reasonable account of the cause, provocation, or mode of death could be obtained, while his fellows were too tipsy to say what they did see or might have seen, if they really did see anything, and, of course, we can get nothing satisfactory from them on the matter.

For some days after the market was nearly deserted, and for more than a week no one came to the house at Tumai. Mr. Bierbower had been stoned before this sad event, and Mr. Randall had written an earnest remonstrance to the Regent which Mr. Bierbower, armed with a cutlas, carried to the castle at Shui (or to that officer's house) and pounded away at the door till the paper was received. A reply came next day saying that it was a mistake, for the stones were not thrown at Mr. Bierbower, but the children had games of playing with stones, some of which fell near where he was passing! It was promised, however, that the children should be ordered not thus to play with stones any more, but to reverently retire when they saw Mr. Bierbower. I wonder he did not inflict summary chastisement on them when the deed was done.

The men left at Tumai have been supplied at stated times with enough to eat, and have spent their time in a quiet manner.

The temperature has been generally pleasant, but the houses have leaked, for they are old and tiled.

Mr. and Mrs. Morton came in a little while after we had left last February, and have thus far received no molestation ; they occupy the same rooms as Mr. Bettelheim did. Some letters were found awaiting us from China and the United States which were too gladly opened by their owners.

In the day, Mr. Bent and I went twice to the mayor's office to make arrangements for a meeting with the Commodore and Regent to demand the rendition of the murderer of Board, to ask for two stones for the Washington Monument, some flowers and birds of the country, the coins to be exchanged, and two pilots to go over to the Kirrima Islands with a party of survey. A strange catalogue this, but likely to be followed by something as strange, and perhaps more instructive to these impertinent islanders.

During our absence the grandmother of the prince died, when the people went into mourning for forty-nine days, wearing no hairpins, selling or killing no pork or beef, and pretending to close government offices. The orders respecting flesh-meats was evaded by the people, and Mr. Bierbower one day came across the pork market near the edge of a wood beyond Tumai ; so that it seems, here as well as in China, the people understand how much they are to value governmental edicts at in certain places.

*Monday, July 3rd.*—I was sent for by the Commodore at five bells this morning to draw up a paper respecting the murder of William Board, in which he demanded a satisfactory examination of the criminals, and proper punishment of the guilty. He had proposed himself to go ashore, but concluded to send this document instead by Mr. Bent and two orderlies, and straitly intimate to the Regent that he would not be satisfied with any subterfuges. The paper was strongly worded, and when we arrived there and refused to taste the provisions which were spread out for us, or to treat on any other subject, or to

receive the birds and plants they had prepared in accordance with the request of Saturday, and also that no provisions would be accepted or bought until this serious matter was adjusted, and gave them the document to peruse, the Regent began to see that we were in earnest. A long document was put into our hands, the same which had already been given to Captain Glasson, in which and in their reports, they adhered to the assertion that the man was drunk, and, after stumbling along as he went, had fallen into the water and was drowned. It seemed to produce no impression on them to repeat and reiterate, again and again, that it was impossible for a man to fall so as to give himself such wounds in front and on the back of his head; nor could he rise himself after receiving one of them, but would lie stunned. We remained till nearly noon and left them, to take the papers they had given us to show Perry, refusing to touch a drop or accept a single thing. In the evening we visited the two forts at the entrance of Junk river, to see their position, and then went by the spot on the causeway where Board was picked up, around through the streets to the mayor's office, where we found the Regent and officers still in waiting, and every dish remaining on the table just as we left them six hours before. They all looked anxious, and when it was intimated that the Commodore was not satisfied with their reply, and gave them only till to-morrow noon to make suitable explanation and give the real criminals up for trial, they were still more perturbed; in fact, their silence was very impressive. The same story was repeated, but we would not hearken nor taste a dish. Mr. Randall and Bierbower, with all the old sailors, are ordered on board ship, so that matters must look a little squally to these double-dealing people.

*Tuesday, July 4th.*—Our message and decided bearing last night had some effect on the Regent, for he and about a dozen attendants came on board the "Mississippi" this morning to see the Commodore respecting the case in hand, and get a respite of some days longer to examine some persons respecting the



murder, amounting to several hundreds, then to a hundred, and then to a great many. As we knew well enough from the papers already given in by them that this examination of so many was a mere pretense, the Commodore very properly would not listen to their request for four or three days, nor even till to-morrow night, but, on account of to-day being a holiday, he granted them till noon of to-morrow and, failing their rendition of the criminals, he threatened to take possession of the forts at the mouth of the river and stop their boats. They asked for two days, but went away with this final answer, having first been shown some of the cobangs and ichibus obtained in Japan, the like of which they were expected to exchange for the coins we left with them, though Ichirazichi had the effrontery to assert he had never before seen them in Lewchew. It is probable that they are not common, but this was going rather too far, for if the Lewchewans visiting Fuhchau have been known to have them, it is exceedingly improbable that one in his position has not even seen Japanese coins. However, his question, "If you have got them already from Japan, why do you now wish any more from us?" was a pertinent one, and I do not think Perry is right in pushing them so hard for coins which they do not make, when we know how stringent Japanese laws are on this point. The party left us in much despondency, but I do not pity them at all, since they have shown so much weakness and lying from the beginning as to take away all trust in their statements. For this homicide they ought to receive a serious warning which will leave those who come after us the safer, as well as Morton who is to live here. I am somewhat inclined to think the man Board may have been involved in a fracas with the Japanese crews there, and knocked into the water where he was drowned without any intention of killing him; and this still further embarrasses the Lewchewans who, like Balaam's ass, are between two walls. However, this is a supposition.

Fourth of July was kept by firing a salute of seventeen guns from each steamer, by reading the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, singing a song, music by the bands, and the best dinners which the larders afforded. The day was charming and proved more of a holiday than Sabbaths even have usually been, so far as work was concerned; in the moonlight evening our ship's company was entertained by the singing of the minstrels.

*Wednesday, July 5th.*—Work was resumed this morning early, coaling, watering, etc., besides a court-martial on a drunken engineer and the two sailors who made the row in Napa. I was sent for from the "Mississippi" and on getting aboard found Ichirazichi and his colleague with a card from the Regent requesting the Commodore to send some officers, and whoever else he pleased, to attend at the examination going on at the Napa kung-kwan. Mr. Bent and I went, and found the Regent and Chief Treasurer in the office, with two judges sitting by the entrance opposite each other, and assistants or clerks on both sides of them, seven people on the floor, two bailiffs below them, and still outside; on the ground beyond the porch, were two jailers with a criminal or witness between them, whom they were then examining. Heaps of ashes lay around the yard, an awning or tent drawn back was over the gateway, and a newly erected hut stood in one corner. Everything showed that we had finally set them really to work examining the case, and might now expect to get at the truth of the circumstances, so far as this deceitful people can speak it. After we had been seated a little while the man who was kneeling on the ground, his hands leaning on the porch, and uttering little more than repeated interjections of assent to the denunciations of the judges, was harshly seized by the jailer on his right and his arms tightly pinioned behind him, and then each jailer gave him a heavy blow on his soles, a blow which might well nigh have broken the bones had it not been so gauged that the end of the stick came down on the ground. However, rough as was this usage, the poor fellow gave forth no groan, nor moved his features, but repeated his responses of *ho, ho, ho*, to every interrogation or denunciation. As soon as

he was led off by the bonds to the neat-shed, I called Ichirazi-chi and told him that, as we could understand nothing of this examination conducted in the Lewchewan tongue, it was needless for us to remain any longer. He replied that they had been occupied since yesterday in reinvestigating the case, and had not been able to bring it to a close, nor could they possibly do so before to-morrow night, for the number of people implicated as witnesses or actors was very great, and must all be examined. The authorities of Napa had returned an entirely false report upon the case, which the Regent and Treasurer there present had now ascertained. The facts elicited now were that Board had gone into a yard or house to trifle with or lay hold of a woman, who ran from him, calling out to a person in sight to assist her; he came in and seized Board round the body, who then struggled to escape and got out into the street. Eight or ten natives had collected who, seeing the sailor pursued and learning that he had attempted this woman, seized stones lying about the spot and threw at him as he ran, hitting him on the head and body. He fled for the water and the populace, closing in as they heard the fracas, only made it more difficult for him to see any escape. Whether he jumped or fell into the water, or was pushed or thrown in, I did not learn, nor had the woman been examined.

This explanation of the causes and mode of Board's death was more likely than anything we had hitherto heard, but I upbraided him with the duplicity of the former report, its absurdity and imperfections, the supineness of the Regent in taking such a ridiculous report of a death and not investigating it for three weeks, nor as soon as we had demanded the culprits last Saturday, and told him the day of grace was up, the time allowed had expired, and we must return to tell the Commodore. It was nothing to us what investigations they were making, for all we wanted was that the criminals be tried, and the authorities of Napa knew them already. It was the business of the Regent to see that the reports of subordinates were trustworthy,

and if he palmed lies off on us we should hold him responsible. The life of an American was too serious a matter to be trifled with, however great was the provocation, and their nonsensical statement about the deceased having fallen into the water and nobody seeing it made it difficult for us to believe anything they said.

The people around were as still as mice while we told them these things, and both the Regent and the fine looking, venerable old Treasurer were so excited that they stood around the little table between us hearing it all. I have hardly seen any person in my life present a more dignified appearance than this old man; his white beard reaching to his girdle, his gold pins in a hoary head, and his clean, flowing, whitish grass-cloth robes, altogether formed a beautiful picture. I wish he was more honest.

We left the draft of a treaty in their hands, consisting of six broad articles, which Perry intends to get the Regent to sign as a pact between the two nations. Some of its provisions extend over others, as well as all Americans. As we came off another poor fellow was brought up for examination and pinioned as the former one.

*Thursday, July 6th.*—The Commodore made no move yesterday afternoon, though I think it would have been well to have landed a party of marines at the Ame-ku-dera to show that he was not inclined to longer delay, and when he set a limited time he meant to adhere to it. However, it was not till after dinner to-day that he gave orders to Captain Tansill to go ashore with twenty marines and take possession of the temple and yard at Tsumai, allowing no natives to enter or remain within the precincts. After these orders were carried into effect Mr. Bent went up to the Napa kung-kwan where we found the Regent and another Treasurer in sitting and the six judges and assistants, bailiffs, and all in order, as yesterday, but the jailers and witnesses absent. The awning was drawn over the yard, and more heaps of ashes were seen, indicating night sessions.

All looked serious, but the Regent rose to receive us, and we told him our message, that some marines had landed at Tumai, and the Commodore wished him to go to Ameku-dera (天久寺) at ten A.M. to meet him. The officers present had a long consultation among themselves, and then a list of six names was handed us, being persons who had been proved to have thrown stones, and were present in the mob, but it was difficult to ascertain whether these had hit the man, or who had instigated the mob. They implicated six others who had not been examined, and therefore more time still was demanded to bring the case to a satisfactory close, but we refused consent, as all the time they asked for had elapsed—that is, the shortest period they had stated.

I will give these islanders credit for much careful inquiry into this sad case, and we know that many poor fellows have been pinioned and pounded already in their inquiries, and the chains lying around might tell more fearful stories if they could speak. In a similar dilemma in China it is more than probable that two or three wretches, guilty of some other offense, would have been brought forward and given over to us to do what we liked with them, and the officers would thus have washed their hands of the matter as soon as it assumed a serious aspect. Indisposed as I am to let the Lewchewans off for their outrage on Board, or to excuse their mendacity in the report palmed off on us at first, I am willing to do all justice to their present efforts to get at the real points of the case, and even to infer that a criminal here gets as fair an investigation as anywhere east of the Ganges. The system of espionage is so well established that it prevents many a crime by rendering its detection so easy; and the rulers can therefore afford to do honorably, in their view, when a case comes before them. Great cruelty is exercised, doubtless, in our view, but a criterion of that sort does not suit this latitude, any more than we ought to blame Bacon for his judicial cruelties as much as we do Jeffreys.

One of the judges was called up by the Regent while we

sat by, and as he respectfully stood slightly bowing before him, his white beard reaching to his girdle, his hair neatly done up and his clean grasscloth flowing dress, altogether gave him, in our opinion, as venerable and dignified an appearance as we had anywhere ever seen, far more so than anything we had met with in Japan. Mean and simple as this Lewchewan courthouse is, such men as are here convened, to do what they deem (or feel) due to justice, raise one's opinion of the nation and add new respect for their institutions. And then, too, whatever may be the reality, either as to the provocation offered by Board to this woman, or her disregard of his offers or attempts, we certainly must place external morality in Napa greatly beyond what it is in Simoda, and Lewchewan officers above Japanese for decency and respect.

*Friday, July 7th.*—I was sent for soon after breakfast and, on reaching the "Mississippi," found Ichirazichi and his cross-looker there, and judged by their countenances that they had some serious matter on their minds, which the suspense the delay had kept them in had not diminished. The Regent had sent them off to propose a meeting on board ship to avoid the inconvenience to the Commodore of going ashore, but doubtless to save himself the mortification of visiting him at Ameku-dera, where armed men showed that he was no longer master of his beautiful island. The Commodore very courteously allowed the proposition, and Mr. Bent and I went ashore to tell him explicitly the terms on which he would be received. We found him and the Treasurer at the kung-kwan and informed them that the Commodore was willing to meet him if he brought the principal criminal on board and gave him up unconditionally to him, and was ready to sign the treaty which had been proposed to them. They were not quite prepared to do this, and brought forward the Commodore's declaration that he did not wish to try the criminals himself; but I told them that I had said nothing about trying them, and as one American was killed, only one Lewchewan was demanded, and they need not bring off the six.

After long consultation among themselves, in which most of the officials present joined, we left the office with this ultimatum, and that they would not be allowed to come on board otherwise, though they could not, as usual, be brought to say Yes.

At noon they were alongside the ship, the chief criminal with them, and were soon seated in the cabin, he kneeling pinioned before all. Not the least hint had been given them of what was to be done with him, and when, after I had given Perry the purport of the proceedings, in which the circumstances of the rape were given as the provoking cause of the mob, and that this man had been found guilty and been sentenced to banishment for life to Pachung shan, and the other five to Ty-pin san for eight years, he replied that he was now satisfied with the proceedings of the authorities, and with the examination and finding they had made, and now gave the whole six back into their hands to be punished as they had decreed, their surprise and relief was so sudden that the two chiefs and all the other officials immediately rose up to make their profound acknowledgments. They perhaps thought the least punishment would be imprisonment and death, but the Commodore had it in mind to take him to America, whence he might be returned at some future day, qualified in some measure to benefit his countrymen. However, he told them he should leave the matter in their hands, taking their sealed declaration that the sentences had been properly executed. Respecting the articles of the treaty, the Regent requested time to confer with the other Treasurers, and they would be ready to discuss the paper to-morrow and settle all its points. This was agreed to, and a meeting between the principals arranged for Monday. The Commodore also told them he wished a bell to hang in the top of the Monument at Washington; and I really believe he thought more of the procurement of this bell than the settlement of the case of murder and mob. The relief they had experienced led them to listen readily to the request for a bell, which belike

will be used in the Monument to call people together to hear Fourth of July orations.

Thus this difficult question has been satisfactorily settled, and in such a way, too, as to leave an impression on the minds of the Lewchewans that the lives of foreigners are not to be trifled with, but that we, at least, are willing to do justly by them and desirous to judge this matter fairly. This case was an aggravated one, and they are excusable, if any people could be, though to leave it with their merely making an apology would never do, and might be prejudicial to the safety of whalers or small vessels stopping here, if not to Mr. Moreton and his family. We of course cannot certainly tell what the authorities will do with the criminals, but I am inclined to think they will take a journey to the Madjico-sima.

*Saturday, July 8th.*—During the forenoon the Commadore, who is as uneasy as a man with the toothache, and seems happiest when stirring somebody up, was arranging and disarranging the presents he intended to send to the Lewchewan authorities, altering the lists, but never coming nearer to satisfying himself. A pailful of beautiful fish, among them Spari, Balistes, Merra, and Aulostomus, brought in by Maury, offered a new subject for him for some time, until he got the artists at work painting them, calling them off from their dinner, lest it should not be done soon enough. The variety and gay colors of the fish in these waters exceed anything I ever saw before, but those we get are mostly from the reefs, and coral reefs are noted for gay fishes.

In the afternoon we met the Regent and chief Treasurer at the Napa hall, and now were happy to partake of their good cheer, which evidently afforded them satisfaction. The birds and plants were brought out again, one of the former being supplied with a plateful of musquito larvae wriggling in a little water; if birds were only able to feed themselves with these insects, Lewchew could support as great an aviary as any country I ever was in. The sojourn of Tansill and his marines



for one night at Ameku-dera nearly used them up, such an attack did the musquitos make on them.

At the meeting this afternoon we discussed the various points of the treaty, they having carefully looked the document over. To our surprise, the greatest objection they made was to the preamble, in which it was stated that Lewchew and the United States entered into a treaty of amity, saying that this would offend the Chinese emperor, to whom they gave their allegiance, and who would visit his wrath upon them if they assumed an independent position, as this preamble asserted. In reference to Tuchara or Japan, they said that the trade with Satsuma was carried on mainly for the purpose of procuring rare and fine articles to carry with them to China when they took tribute to Peking. They wished to say nothing respecting the latter trade and evaded a reply when I asked them if they did not take tribute to Kagosima also. The admission of being tributary to China seemed to please them, rather than be a humiliation, and the real fealty they are in to Satsuma must be a sore subject and a grievous burden, or it would hardly be so mortifying to them to say aught respecting it. Of course, if they are willing to promise all we want it is likely to be held fully as binding to give the assurance in their own style. They tried, too, to get all the trade into the hands of the officials by making it the duty of the captain of the ship to furnish a list of what he wanted, but this was refused, though we altered the clause which they so interpreted as to oblige them to buy as well as sell.

They defined illegal acts, for which all citizens of the United States can be seized and taken to their captain, as including "rushing or intruding into houses, ravishing women, forcing people to sell things to them at their price, and going about streets at night," from which I infer that these acts have been the chief obnoxious doings of Americans whilst here. We assented to this addition except the last clause.

Finally, as Commodore Perry had stipulated these liberties

for all Americans, English, French, and other Western nations, they supposed he had authority on these points, and they wished to have him carry Mr. Moreton and family away when he left. As the inference was a fair conclusion from the premise, we did not reply, otherwise than by promising to mention the matter to Perry; and such was their readiness to catch at even this slight but fallacious prospect, that both the Regent and Treasurer rose to return their profound thanks. This incident proves the wisdom of the Commodore last January when he declined to give Moreton a passage in one of the ships. A sealed document was given to us by the Regent himself containing the promise respecting the criminals:—

“A sealed declaration.—A sailor of your country, named Board, on the 12th of June, about four o'clock P.M., forced his way into a house and violated a woman, and then rushed from the place; an angry crowd now came together, and some threw stones to wound him, others to drive him off, causing him to flee away, by which he was drowned. We have carefully investigated the case in all its circumstances, and adjudged to the criminals the following sentences, and have hereto affixed our seal as evidence.

“To the murderer, Tokisi, 渡慶次, aged 29, of Higasi-mura, for throwing stones and wounding the American, by which he fell in his haste into the water and was drowned, banishment for life to Pachung-shan.

“To abettors in the murder, Koniishi, 國吉, aged 16, of Komi-mura, 久米村, Yara, 屋良, aged 18, of Watanji, 渡地村, Arakaki, 新嘉喜, aged 19, of Higashi-mura, 東村, Chin-ing, 知念, aged 18, of Nishi-mura, 西村, and to Karagusku, 金城, aged 32, of the same village, banishment to Typingsan for eight years.

“Signed by Sho Fu-fing, 尙宏勳, Superintendent of affairs in Lewchew, and Un Tukuyu, 翁德裕, Chief Treasurer. July 8, 1854.”

The other two treasurers, Mo Fu-mi, 毛鳳鳴, who came

off to the "Mississippi" yesterday, and Ba Rio-se, 馬良才 seem to have no jurisdiction in this case. Besides the above sentences, our friend, the old mayor of Napa, Mo Zhiukuring, 毛玉麟, is deprived of pay but retained in office; and four sub-magistrates, Ri Yung-sho, 李永昌, Zhiu Zaidin, 牛在田, Zhia Bunmo, 謝文茂, and Gu Fitsuching, 吳心振, are all turned out of office—all for making a false report of the matter at first, which misled the Regent. It would relieve the state of a great rascal, I think, if Ichirazichi was sent off to the Majicosima with the party, to stay there until he learned to speak the truth.

We gave the officials some other orders, adding an injunction respecting the bell, and the exchange of coins, by which time it was so late that all wished the conference to end. We declined to take their version off to the Commodore, but waited for them to make a draft of the corrected copy. Thus Lewchew is likely to take ere long a more respectable position as a nation than she has hitherto done, and this compact will bring in, I trust, lasting good to these mild and peaceful islanders.

*Monday, July 10th.*—As we landed this morning, the birds and plants presented to the Commodore were going aboard, and when we reached the town-hall there were the Regent and Treasurer, as if they had been sitting there since we left them on Saturday night. We discussed the various points of the treaty, to most of which they agreed, but made more objection to the conclusion, desiring to have it read that as the Commodore ordered these various points, they humbly consented to allow them; but, as this arrangement was inadmissible, they at last agreed to express it that they consented to it, he signing it first, and they affixing a seal only to authenticate it and avouch their willingness. Fear of China was the only reason they assigned. It was a singular discussion; we desiring to have them sign this document on terms of equality as a sovereign state, and they debating every inch, preferring to own subjection to China and great inferiority to us. They wished us, too, to express, instead of

"western nations," the names of England and France, which we could not do, since that would offend them and be invidious to others, and therefore took it all out, which made it unnecessary to say anything further concerning Mr. Moreton, about whose removal they gave us a long paper. Besides the discussion relating particularly to the treaty, there was some about the exchange of coins, which they still persisted in not having, about the size of the stones for the Monument, and also relating to the bazaar, the whole interspersed and alternating with soups, melons, tea, cakes and other solids, served up to keep us in good spirits. They could take no more effectual way to get rid of us than to let us have whatever we asked for; it would act as well as it did when the Israelites went up out of Egypt.

These consultations were listened to with close attention by the by-standers, but everyone was agog when we opened the two lorgnettes and dressing case to have a peep through them, and the treaty faded in comparison. In this nick of time we told them the Commodore wanted a bell, a big bell, a bell as high as the table, a bell like the one at Ameku-dera, a bell which would make all ring again; and, happily, a bell they straightway promised. It was at Shui, but could be sent for; truly, when it came off to the ship it answered most of the stipulations, but it was cracked, and so was returned in the boat in which it came. I think they must have thought us cracked too, by the way we asked for this bell. If it ever gets to the top of the Monument, won't it utter Perry's glory or folly?

When we returned on board, Perry was passably satisfied with our report; and after dinner I slipped ashore for a stroll with Dr. Green, the first I have had since Simoda's last.

*Tuesday, July 11th.*—The various agricultural implements intended for the Lewchewans went ashore this morning, and all were arranged in good order in full time to present to the Regent. There was only time to prepare four copies of the treaty in English and Chinese, and the rescript of the Commodore respecting the banishment of Tokisi, the criminal *in re*

Board. This paper was sent to them in reply to their finding, and stated that the Commodore was satisfied with the final examination and decision of the Lewchewan courts, and with the unconditional surrender of the chief criminal to him; he had given him back to them, with the assurance that their promise would be carried into effect, as a warning to the people, who were in future not to seize men making a disturbance, or stone them, or beat them themselves, but were to apprehend them and give them to the authorities to be dealt with according to the decision of the captain and rulers. By this course of procedure good feeling would be maintained.

At noon the band and marines landed at Junk Harbor jetty and marched in martial array up through the market to the main street and then down to the landing place near Capstan Rock, affording an unexpected treat to the townsfolk and market women. At the landing the Commodore met the body and was escorted to the town hall where the Regent and Treasurer had made every preparation for receiving him in style, spreading an awning, setting out tables, and cleaning up the yard. What a doleful story would that yard and room tell if they could speak out all the suffering and injustice done there by the authorities during the past week in the investigation made! But all is covered over and concealed from us, and perhaps it is well that it is so, for we could not help it even if we knew it.

All parties being seated, the list of presents for the Regent and three Treasurers was presented. To the first, a revolver and flask of powder, engraving of the Washington Monument, and all the agricultural implements; the first Treasurer, a dressing table and engraving; the second and third Treasurers, each a lorgnette and engraving; besides fifteen pieces cottons to the old woman aggrieved and assaulted. The copies of the treaty were then signed by Perry and sealed by the Regent, each party taking two. This document is rather an important paper for this people, and will do much to bring them into fuller inter-

course with thir fellow men and show them the benefit of doing so.

The dinner was served up in usual Lewchewan style ; first, the table was spread out with ten or twelve small dishes, and then the warm viands brought on, fish in many forms, vegetables, custard, minced meats, kidneys, preparations of flour, and cakes to the number of seventeen. We at last got through them, and managed to extract one laugh from the Regent by telling him that the Commodore would like to take his cook to America and teach him, in return for instructing in Lewchewan cookery, the mode of dressing some of our dishes. He seemed hugely pleased at this, and it was the principal event of the dinner. These islanders exceed the Japanese in cooking dishes suited to our taste, as well as in the variety and care of their feasts. They have, on such occasions, an advantage over their masters in wearing no long, unmanageable swords, too, as well as sitting in chairs instead of on the floor.

We remained about three hours, partaking of all the dishes and enjoying a cool breeze, and left them, they pleased that they had got the Commodore's promise to ask the Governor of Hongkong or England on his return there to send and remove Moreton from the island, and he more delighted at having got the big bell, now at Bettelheim's house, though he had failed in obtaining any coins. The Regent, besides the bell, sent a pretty present to Perry of two bullocks, paper, pipes, cups, jar, cloth and other produce of the country. Altogether, this last interview with the officials was unusually agreeable to all present.

*Wednesday, July 12th.*—The bell has rung the coins out of hearing, and I suspect the Commodore will now give them up as not to be procured. It was brought aboard safely this morning, and bandaged and welded and canvassed and painted and boxed and strapped, as if it had been a mummy just disinterred and ready to fall to pieces. Won't there be a ringing of Perry's praises when this bell gets to the top of the Monument? However, as it has heretofore rung the orisons of

idols, it is no desecration to it to be made to sound out the praises of men who are more than dumb idols.\*

I have been all day at the kung-kwan in Napa explaining the names and uses of the various agricultural implements, while the Lewchewans wrote them. There was a fine plow, a triangular harrow, a fanning mill, a corn cracker, a corn grinder to make indian meal, a cotton gin, a double yoke, various rakes, forks, shovels, spades, etc. Among them was a churn; I asked the Lewchewans to tell me what it was, and after looking at it a long time and considering that as it stood next to the fanning mill it had some affinity with that, they concluded that it was a machine to place sideways and fan people as they dined. It might as well have been so explained as for any use it will be to them as a churn. Most of the others were understood and perhaps some of them will come into use here, but so expensive are most of them as to be beyond the reach of this people, and others are too complicated for them to use for a long time to come. The cotton gin will be thrown away and had better been given to the Chinese.

In the afternoon various articles came in for the bazaar, much the same as were exhibited last year, but rather better and more in quantity. The dollar here is reckoned at 1440 cash, but all things are in proportion to that valuation, so we are served fairly.

#### ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT.

I.—Hereafter, whenever citizens of the United States come to Lewchew, they shall be treated with great courtesy and friendship. Whatever articles these persons ask for, whether from the officers or people, which the country can furnish, shall be sold to them; nor shall the authorities interpose any prohibi-

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\* The famous monument to Washington at the American capital was not completed until long after Perry's death. The stones collected in Japan, Loo-choo and China are built into its side; the bell, in accordance with the Commodore's wish, was presented in 1858 to the Naval Academy at Annapolis, where it still hangs in an orientalesque frame near one end of Lovers' Lane. It bears an inscription in Chinese telling of its origin.

tory regulations to the people selling ; and whatever either party may wish to buy shall be exchanged at reasonable prices.

II.—Whenever ships of the United States shall come into any harbor in Lewchew they shall be supplied with wood and water, but if they wish to get other articles, they shall be purchaseable only at Napa.

III.—If ships of the United States are wrecked on Great Lewchew, or any of the islands under the jurisdiction of the royal government of Lewchew, the local authorities shall dispatch persons to assist in saving life and property, and preserve what can be brought ashore till the ships of that nation shall come to take away all that may have been saved ; and the expenses incurred in rescuing these unfortunate persons shall be refunded by the nation they belong to.

IV.—Whenever persons from ships of the United States shall come ashore in Lewchew they shall be at liberty to ramble where they please without hindrance, or having officials sent to follow them, or to spy what they do ; but if they violently go into houses, or trifle with women, or force people to sell them things, or do other such like illegal acts, they shall be arrested by the local officers, but not maltreated, and shall be reported to the captain of the ship to which they belong for punishment by him.

V.—At Tumai is a burial ground for the citizens of the United States, where their graves and tombs shall not be molested.

VI.—The government of Lewchew shall appoint skillful pilots who shall be on the lookout for ships appearing off the island ; and if one is seen coming towards Napa, they shall go out in good boats, beyond the reefs, to conduct her to a secure anchorage ; for which service the captain shall pay the pilot five dollars, and the same for going out of the harbor beyond the reefs.

VII.—Whenever ships anchor at Napa the officers shall furnish them with wood at the rate of 3600 copper cash per



1000 catties ; and with water at the rate of 600 copper cash (43 cents) per 1000 catties, or six barrels full, each containing 30 American gallons.

Signed in the English and Chinese languages by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, Commander-in-chief of the United States naval forces in the East India, and China, Japan Seas, and Special Envoy to Japan for the United States ; and by Sho Fu-fing, Superintendent of Affairs (Tsu-li-kwan) in Lewchew, and Ba Rio-si, Treasurer of Lewchew at Shui, for the government of Lewchew ; and copies exchanged this 11th day of July, 1854, or the reign Hien-fung, 4th year, 6th moon, 17th day, at the Town-hall of Napa.

(Signed) M. C. Perry.

(L. S. of the Kingdom of Lewchew.)

In respect to this agreement, whatever it may lack, it contains enough to bind the Lewchewans down to a regard for their fellow men, and to treating them better than they have heretofore felt obliged to do, which ere long will do them great good.

*Thursday, July 13th.*—In the morning Mr. Spieden and two or three others of us landed near Capstan Rock to take Mr. Moreton the amount (\$275) subscribed for the benefit of the mission here. We found Dr. Bettelheim just going afloat with a boatful of baggage, including chairs, tables, and many things which surprised us in one going where such articles of furniture are plenty ; and on reaching the house, we saw it was bare enough. Mr. Moreton merely remarked in reply to our observation that he thought Dr. Bettelheim would have taken the house too if he could have done so. Something must be wrong about Bettelheim to act in such strange ways, and when we heard how he had claimed half the money given to the mission, and had gone to Edgerton and some other sailors to ask them to whom they supposed they had given their subscriptions, his mercenary spirit was too plain.

I was occupied all day at the bazaar, where some one

hundred dollars' worth was sold, principally of common articles; the assortment was better, far, than last year. The traders committed the whole management to my hands, receiving my accounts of sales without even examining them. We have seen so much better things at Simoda that these look very ordinary.

*Friday, July 14th.*—Everybody remembered that one year had elapsed since the stirring day when we landed at Gori-hama (perhaps more properly called Kuri-hama 久里濱) in such martial array, and when the Japanese made such efforts to be prepared for any treachery on our part, as we did also on theirs. Now the Treaty is made.

The bazaar was continued till about noon, when all the articles were carried off, and ere long the Regent and two Treasurers came in to have their daguerreotypes taken. Mr. Brown did as well as the glare of the sun and their pertinacity in keeping on their light dresses would allow. They utterly refused to go to Moreton's house, for by thus doing they would measurably have acknowledged his existence. Soon after five o'clock Mr. Draper came in to let them know that the boat was ready. The Regent got into his chair, or kago, borne of four, and squatted down at his ease. In the street his retinue marched in front of him, spreading as wide as the street; first, went two men carrying each a *wai buchii*, or bastinado, made of the lower end of a large bamboo, tapering almost to a point, and split rather smaller than the middle, both sides painted red, and in most respects like those used among the Chinese. Next to these flagellants (for to punish evil-doers is their office) came two gong-carriers who gave their instruments two raps in unison; next, two flags, each marked 金鼓. *kin-ku*, or golden drum; and just before the kago, in stately pace, stalked two young pages or secretaries, and between them and the flags were borne two balls of cock's tail-feathers at the end of poles twelve feet high; what these *omoi* signified, I did not learn. Behind the kago went a boy with a campstool, two bearing each a *waku*, or open frame holding a tent, awning, or something of

that sort. The cap box and pipe-boys came last. Such is the dignity of a Lewehewan grandee, and while he passed, we two were the only persons upright, except the retinue itself. The Treasurers had flags but no gongs.

When they all reached the boat it was curious to see how these attendants contrived to get into the same one with their masters, but except a few in the bow, we stowed them into native craft, and were soon alongside. In the evening there was an entertainment of singing and dancing, with a burlesque of a row in a barber's shop by Ethiopian minstrels, which amused them very much, notwithstanding their constant grave faces. This people, from high to low, put on an air of seriousness, and there is less merriment in the thoroughfares than any place I ever visited. However, when the darkies tumbled over each other and scattered the flour about, even these quakers could not contain themselves. The diversion passed off very well, the evening was calm, and all the natives were ashore by ten o'clock, evidently much amused. Dr. Bettelheim thinks it will furnish talk for the next few years.

*Saturday, July 15th.*—Early on shore to-day to settle accounts with the authorities, so that there shall be nothing to do to-morrow. They have learned how to charge pretty well, and I hope that the real owners of the provisions, and laborers, too, are beginning to receive some portion of what is paid; we saw, a few days ago, that when the men received five dollars for provisions delivered in this ship they paid over one to the officer in the boat. In settling up for the expenses of taking the coal off to the ship, the Lewehewans estimated 1017 days' work done in the eight days it required to clean the coalshed, while at a large average there were only 45 or 50 laborers actually engaged on shore and in the lighters, a new gang being sent to the shed each day. It appeared, therefore, that the pay one official overseer received a day was equal to ten or twelve common men, there being about eight drivers to urge up the tardy. In this proportion, two poor laborers

take three officials to look after them. Their bill of \$129 we reduced to \$100, and that of \$41 we cut down to \$12, since, as it cost only \$58 to build the whole shed at first, \$12 was plenty for thatching two wings and mending two ends. The Regent was admonished to keep it in order, and a flag was given him to hoist at the depot whenever an American ship came into the harbor, as well as a small one to take off to ships in the Roads when the pilot goes to conduct them in. How unlike this to the ignorance of the Lewchewans when the "Morrison's" flag was unknown, they having never before seen an American flag! In return for the two flags, the interpreter gave me a drawing of the Lewchewan flag, called 𪚩, and drawn like the triune powers' diagram. He said it was always hoisted by their junks going up to Fuhchau. The coat of arms of Kurokawa is precisely like it.

Some pieces of bullion were exchanged to-day for the coins left at the palace at Shui last February, but, as they were useless as coins, they were all sent back except two hundred Japanese cash; and so the long contested matter was settled, and the Lewchewans carried their point. The two stones were also taken on board this morning, and one of them broken up for holystones, it being utterly unfit and worthless.

I was told to-day that the late Regent, Sho Rai-mo, 尙大謨, whose removal from office caused so much speculation last year when we returned from the Bonin Islands, was still living in Shui; he had resigned his position as Tsu-li-kwan from age, conscious of his inability to undergo the fatigues likely to come upon him through the squadron, and management of all its demands. No coercion was used; it was a voluntary resignation. This removes all the reports we heard then and, from the way I was told, I am inclined to believe it to be true.

It appears that the present and last Regent are both allied to the royal family, whose surname is Sho, and they are cousins. The prince is now eleven years old, and will probably receive his investiture from China in four years; his name is 泰, Sho

Tai. His father died in 1847 aged 38, leaving this son; his name was Sho Iku, 尚育, and he had reigned about ten years. The prince's grandmother, who died a few days after we went to Japan, was the wife of the king regnant when the "Alceste" was here in 1817; she it was who had been so alarmed when Captain Shadwell went up to Shui that she had been taking broths for seventeen months when we visited the palace in June last year. This palace is an extensive structure, much larger and exhibiting more skill than anything we saw in Japan. It was partly rebuilt, and thoroughly repaired about twenty years ago, but the woodwork is rapidly decaying from the climate, no paint being used upon it, nor anywhere else in Lewchew. Its general design so much resembles a fortress that one can hardly avoid concluding that such was one of the objects in view in building it.

*Sunday, July 16th.*—Mr. Moreton preached in the "Mississippi" to-day, and Dr. Bettelheim in the "Powhatan." The former remained with his wife to dinner; the latter has not been ashore since he came off with his baggage three days ago, and the coldness between them has attracted general animadversion, most taking sides with Moreton. The thanks he sent to the squadron for their donation was read to the crew of the "Mississippi" to-day, and did him credit. I pray God to protect and bless him in his loneliness and preserve him from unreasonable men who have no faith. I accompanied the party who landed him in the evening, after all communication with shore had been forbidden, and left him and his wife in their new home. The boat's crew left four dollars for their son Philip as they were shoving off—a handsome thing.

The daguerreotypes of the Regent and two Treasurers were sent them to-day with a portrait of Perry's as a parting token of good will. They were doubtless pleased to get them, as well as Ichirazichi, though none were superior. With this closed the visit of the American squadron to Lewchew, but not its effects, nor I hope, its good effects.

The Lewchewan authorities, having learned that their old trouble, Dr. Bettelheim, is leaving, are desirous to get rid of their new one, Mr. Moreton, and gave the Commodore a long paper yesterday, reiterating what they had told him before in respect to both the missionaries. It was written in the names of the Regent and Treasurer, Sho Fu-fing and Ba Rio-si, who say :—

“We earnestly entreat your Excellency to condescend to regard us with kindness and greatly strengthen our affairs by taking away to his own country Moreton, who remains loitering here, in so doing compassionating our little kingdom. It is well known that we are a trifling, unimportant state, a country of no value, whose soil is poor and unproductive, as are likewise all the little islands dependant on it. Not only have they no gold, silver, copper, or iron, but no silk, satin, or pongee; and so meagre are the productions that it is undeserving even of the name or style of a kingdom. Since the days of the Ming dynasty we have been regarded as an outer dependency of the Middle Kingdom, from whose favor we have for ages received investiture for our king, and to which in return we have given tribute. Whenever there has been any important event in our borders, it has reported; whenever the time came around for us to send up the tribute, we have then purchased raw silk and goods to make up into dresses and caps for our various officials, and such medicines and other articles were selected as were necessary for the use of the state. If we were not able to procure enough in this way, we have exchanged our products, as black sugar, spirits, grasscloth, etc., with the island of Tanegassima and friendly neighboring country, where we get things suitable for tribute, and send them to China.

“Such things as are indispensable to us, as rice, grain, iron utensils, cotton, tea, tobacco, vegetable oil, machines, and other articles, are sought for in this island, whereby our necessities are supplied. Yet if the crop of grain here is deficient, people are forced to satisfy their hunger by sweet potatoes, since there is

not a peck or a gill laid by in the country, and in times of storms or drought when the harvest is blighted, lamentable indeed is our condition, for we have nothing to eat and, as a substitute, prepare something from the iron tree (or *Cycas*) to save ourselves from starvation; or borrow corn from this island to supply our needs.

"Our traders in the market have only for sale tea, tobacco, wax, grass shoes, melons, greens, cotton or grass cloth, old clothes, and other trifling articles of daily use, and this traffic is managed by women, being therefore utterly beneath the notice or glance of other nations. Consequently, when ships from western countries have, during the last few years, often come here, the various articles of daily use they have required (what an assortment they were!) could not be procured in the public markets; we have called the officials and people to Napa, and sent some abroad to places to buy them, or taken other articles out of the public stores, which was reducing the stock laid up for the use of the state, and also hazarding a dearth in the returns of the farmers, both of which was dangerous and troublesome. In the years 1844 and 1846 some French officers came and the Englishman Bettelheim brought his wife and children to dwell here, all of whom needed supplies to be provided, difficult as it was for us to get them. Whenever ships of these nations came in we have made known these circumstances to them, earnestly begging them to take away these persons. The Frenchmen, knowing the sad condition of our country, went back to their own in 1848 and have not hitherto returned here. But Bettelheim has been loitering here ever since, and has just now brought Moreton with his family to dwell in his stead, so that our people have no rest, our impoverished land no relief.

"Learning lately that your Excellency has control over the ships of all western nations in the East Indian, China, and Japan Seas, and that none of them can go here and there to other countries without your orders, we have thus minutely stated our

unhappy condition, and humbly look up to your abounding kindness, entreating that when your fine ships leave, you will take Moreton with you away back to his own land. Then will rulers and people be lifted up, and all will feel the effects of your great kindness, and wish you the happiness of seeing a thousand autumns."

Whether the Lewchewans will do anything to Mr. Moreton to rid themselves of him I think very unlikely; indeed, I rather think these repeated applications are urged by their Japanese rulers, who may change a little on hearing what has been done there. The mission certainly has great difficulties in the passive resistance the people offer, and needs the Arm of its Almighty Protector to guide and shield it.\*

*Thursday July 20th.*—Ningpo.

We left the harbor betimes on Monday last, being my sixth departure from Lewchew, and accompanied the Commodore till about eleven o'clock, when he took his leave and left us to go on our way to Ningpo. The captain took his course northwest towards Video Island, which was made yesterday morning, and a clear day enabled him to get down to the anchorage off Kintang, below Lukong, before sunset. The day was intensely hot, increased as it was by the great fires we carried in our furnaces, and everybody was glad to see the sun disappear.

Two boats left the ship at sunrise this morning and, aided by a strong current, soon entered the Yung River and stopped at a custom-house landing at Chinhai. The tide was so far spent, however, that no boats could be got of a suitable size to take us up to Ningpo against the tide, and nothing remained but to pull the twelve miles before us. A tedious, burning pull it was, and the sun had passed meridian before we reached Mr. Rankin's house, almost exhausted with the sweltering heat's glare, thermometer 97°. After seven months of sojourn on

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\* Mr. Moreton and his family remained in Napa about two years when the mission was abandoned.



shipboard, it was very enheartening to be once more in the cheerful company of one's countrymen, and join in praise and prayer. We found the missionaries at Ningpo all well, two invalids, Dr. and Mrs. Macgowan having gone to Chusan to recruit. We had, as we soon learned, come at a most opportune time, not less to the surprise than the joy of our friends, for only a few days had elapsed since they had been placed in considerable danger by the violent proceedings of Captain Lopez, commanding the Portuguese corvette "Don Joao Island," then lying off the consul's. The circumstances are briefly these :

For some years the Portuguese lorchas have carried on a thriving business in convoying Chinese junks up and down the coast, in which they have committed so many atrocious acts against their customers, as well as the people along the coast generally, that they are losing it, and the Canton junks refuse to take their protection. The Portuguese stigmatize these men as pirates, and have had a number of collisions with them and their vessels, in which lives have been lost on both sides. This has created bad feeling, and the Portuguese consul Marquis, finding that his cause was losing ground, sent to Macao for the corvette. She came up, and the Canton men began to prepare for resistance. Things went on from bad to worse, the consul and captain thinking themselves invincible, till the latter in an evil hour took his barque into the north or Tsz'ké branch of the river, nearly abreast of the houses of the American missionaries, and off the line of Canton junks on the other side of the river under the city walls. On the 10th he opened a fire upon them, having given no foreigners any notice of his design, and sure that many of his balls would go into the city, while, if the junks returned his fire, their balls would fly here and there among the houses of the Americans, putting them in imminent danger. However, the Chinese left their boats and escaped without much injury, as did also our countrymen ; but many balls went from the corvette into the city, injuring dwellings and destroying five or six people. In one case an old

man was hit, and his son, walking on, heard that he was wounded and went back to assist him, when a second ball killed them both. The people of Ningpo were naturally terrified at these proceedings and began to pack up their valuables and clear out, while the Tautai was totally at a loss what course to take. He had a conference with Mr. Meadows and Dr. McCartee and wanted them to promise that an English or American steamer should come down, which of course neither of them could do. No one could tell what a boasting Portuguese captain might do in such circumstances, and this position of affairs rendered the "Powhatan's" arrival a matter of congratulation to all, especially to Mrs. Rankin, as her husband showed us a ball or slug which had hit the house. So unprepared were they all for our appearance that it was some time before they could be assured that it was not the "Susquichanna." A letter was drawn up by Lieutenant Pegram in the course of the day to send to Captain Lopez, but as we were told that a conference was to take place on the morrow between him and the Tautai, he decided to submit it first to Captain McCluney, pending the result of this interview.

Such was the hap we found at Ningpo. Our company was distributed around, Mr. Perry and the surgeon going to McCartee's house, Nicholson and the purser to Way's, Captain Jones to Martin's,\* Mr. Randall and King to Goddard's, and Mr. Pegram and I to Rankin's, Cobbold taking Bettelheim. After dinner we took a walk through the town with McCartee, and at last, after twenty-one years in China, I have this day been inside of one of her cities. The doctor was greeted by many persons, and we went through various streets and into many shops, everywhere finding a pleasant reception. The walk was prolonged until darkness overtook us, and we were glad to get out of the hot streets into the cool breeze on the river and the cooler verandahs of the houses. I found the streets of Ningpo more dilapidated, the houses less substantial, and shops,

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\* Rev. Dr. W. A. P. Martin.

stalls and markets generally less extensive and bustling than I had expected, but probably much of the dullness was owing to the late commotion, and something to the time of day. The pái-lau were, many of them, beautiful structures, and if there was more space around them to set them off, they would equal in effect many of the porticos and pillars of European cities.

*Saturday, July 22nd.*—Off Chinhaí.

Yesterday about noon Captain McCluney sent off the launch containing twelve marines, with a howitzer and some ammunition, and his instructions to Lieutenant Pegram to remain in Ningpo until Captain Lopez gave the most satisfactory assurances that American lives and property should not again be jeopardized by his proceedings. The boat reached town about sunset, and there was some stir in the heretofore quiet premises of McCartee as the marines marched into his yard, and the sailors drew the brass fieldpiece over the pavement. There were about eighty persons now about the mission houses from the ship, all of whom were soon accommodated with as comfortable sleeping places as could be wished. The only thing mortifying to us in the eyes of the Chinese about the houses was the drunken conduct of a few of the sailors.

This morning Lieutenant Nicholson took the letter to Captain Lopez, who promised an answer as soon as he had conferred with the consul. In the meantime, nothing could be done, and we hoped he would soon prepare one, for it was desirable to get the men again on board ship out of the sun, of which they seemed to have not the least dread. Near noontide one of them was struck dead, falling like a log on the side of the path, and hardly conscious of any ailment or pain before life was gone. He was alone as he fell, but some of his comrades came up in a few minutes and carried him into Dr. McCartee's dispensary. There was nothing to do for him but give him a decent burial, which was done about sunset. Thus quickly was this poor man called to leave this world; he had drunk but little during the morning, though he was notorious

for violent conduct when in liquor, and had already given trouble by going into a shop at Simoda, where he broke open saki pots and wounded a Japanese who tried to prevent his violent proceedings. Alas, for James Clark!

*Sunday, July 23rd.*—The captain of the corvette had sent in a letter which was deemed satisfactory, and is likely to prevent his doing anything more which will endanger the lives and property of the Americans living at Ningpo. Captain McCluney's intention was to force him to respect both if he hesitated the least, for his conduct had been such as put him without the limits of all respect, and treat him like a brigand.

*Friday, August 11th.*—Canton.

In seven months from the day I left I am permitted to return to this city in health. The steamer reached Hongkong in thirty-five hours from Amoy, and I soon learned from Dr. Morrow that all my dear family were well. I went to Macao to see them on Tuesday evening in the "Fennimore Cooper" and spent Wednesday and Thursday in Macao. How pleasant was the meeting, those know who have been long separated. God had answered all my prayers for their health and safety, had provided them a spacious house, and loaded us all with benefits. The inspection of the curiosities brought with me furnished amusement during the two days I was there, and their distribution gratified the givers and receivers in an equal degree.

I came up to-day in the "Mississippi" and reached Canton at dark, the whole party soaking wet from exposure to a furious squall.

Thus ends my expedition to Japan, for which praise be to God!





After the reading of selections from the Journal, the Chairman asked if any present had any questions or remarks to offer. Rev. E. R. Miller said that he had been told by a Japanese that he went to Uraga(?) with the express purpose of killing Commodore Perry, who, as he believed, had come on an errand which tended to the overthrow of Japan. Just as he reached the deck of the U.S. man-of-war, one of the petty officers slipped and would have fallen overboard, if the Commodore had not caught him and helped him. The would-be assassin was so impressed by the fact that a man of such high rank as Commodore Perry should exert himself to save the life of a subordinate, that he abandoned the attempt upon Perry's life.

Mr. Miller also stated that, because Williams had fallen into a bad habit of frequently using *tadashi* for "but," the Japanese gave him the nickname of *Tadashi San*, or Mr. But!

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A General Meeting of the Asiatic Society of Japan was held in the Society's Rooms in the Methodist Publishing House, No. 1. Shichome, Ginza, Tokyo, at 4 p.m. Wednesday, October 20, 1909. In the absence of the President, H.E. Sir Claude MacDonald, the chair was occupied by Prof. E. H. Vickers, Vice-President for Tokyo. The minutes of the last meeting, having been printed, were taken as read. The Recording Secretary announced that Rev. A. W. Place, of Tokyo, Miss Mary Stowe, of Tottori, and Mr. C. H. Rastall, of Kobe, had been elected members of the Society. He also announced that Mr. R. S. Miller, of the American Embassy, Tokyo, had resigned as a member of the Council, on account of his departure from Japan; and that the vacancy had been filled by the election of Rev. D. C. Greene, D.D., LL.D., just returned from America. The chair then called upon Mr. E. W. Clement to read selections from his work on "Japanese Chronology."

(The paper will appear as a Supplement to this volume of the Transactions.)

After Mr. Clement had finished, the subject was thrown open for discussion, when Rev. C. F. Sweet read some "Notes," taken from an article on Japanese chronology in a recent magazine. These notes supplied one more explanation, by a Japanese scholar, of what may be a more rational chronology of the early history of this Empire. That hypothesis would place the founding of the Empire by Jimmu Tenno at 24 B.C.

After the Chairman had expressed the thanks of the Society for the paper, he declared the meeting adjourned.

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BOOKS AND TRANSACTIONS RECEIVED DURING THE SUMMER  
VACATIONS, 1909.

*Everyday Japan*, by A. Lloyd (presented).

*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, July 1909, containing, *inter alia*, articles on Pythagoras and Transmigration, and the Manikyala Inscription, the latter of which is of special interest in view of the recent discovery of Sakya Muni's relics.

*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft.* Vol. lxxiii. Nos. 2 and 3, containing article on the Aïka inscriptions.

*Geographical Journal*, July, August, 1909. The July number contains an account by Dr. M. A. Stein of his Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8.

*Bulletin de la Société Franco-Japonaise de Paris.* Articles on Japanese Swords; The Ideas which inspired the Japanese Restoration Movement; The Japanese Budget for 1909-10. This valuable publication will, it is hoped, be henceforth on our regular list of Exchanges.

*Journal of the Siam Society.* Vol. v., pt. 1.; vol. vi., pt. 1 and 2.

*Bulletin de l'Ecole Française de l'Extrême Orient:* ix 2, containing, *inter alia*, a Study on the lyric Drama of Japan by Mons. N. Peri, and reviews of Prof. Groot's "Religious System of China," and of Mons. Bourgeois "Langue Japonaise." There is also a summarized chronicle of Japanese affairs.

*Mélanges Japonais.* No. 23, July 1909. Articles on Tenrikyo, Hayashi Razan, Japanese Companies, Religious Press of Japan, Fortune-telling, and Miscellanies. A most interesting number.

*Journal of North China Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.* Vol. xl, 1909, Archæology of China's Ancient Capitals, Chinese Law and Equity, an Ascent by Mr. Morrison (*Witake yama* in Formosa).

*Bulletin American Geog. Soc'y.* August, 1909.

*Cambridge Antiquarian Society.* No. lii.

*Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.*—

*Journal*, vol. li., pts. 3 and 4.

*Transactions*, vol. lvii.

*Canadian Institute.* April, 1909.

*University of Colorado Studies.* vi, 4.

*Proc. Royal Society.* A 82, A 556, 557.

B 81, B 548.

*Proc. Royal Society Edinburgh.* xxix. pt., 5.

*Harvard Mus. Comp. Zool.* lii., 10, 11, 12.

*Chinese Recorder.* August, 1909; September, 1909.

*Science of Man.* July, 1909.

*Acts of Orientalist Congress, Copenhagen* (presented).

*Magnetic Survey of South Africa* (presented).

*Proceedings of the United States Museum*, vol. 34., containing an interesting paper with plates on Jewish Ceremonial.

This and a number of Smithsonian Institution and other publications have been sent to the Keiogijuku Library.

September 29th, 1909.

Ethnographic Survey of India.

Anthropometric Data of N. W. Borderland.

Anthropometric Data of Beluchistan.

Craniological Data from Indian Museum.

Geol. Survey of India. xxxvii., pt. 3.

Geographical Journal, 1909, September (containing Dr. Aurel Stein's article on Explorations in Central Asia, 1906-8).

Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute. Vol. xxxix., 1909.

Science of Man. August, 1909.

Russian Geographical Soc. vol. xxxiv.

O. Nachod: Literature of Japan for the year 1907. A most painstaking summary, appearing in *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft*. From the author.

Harvard Museum of Comp. Zool. lii. 13.

Chinese Record. October, 1909 (article on Chinese Students in Japan).

Geological Survey of India xxxvii, 1, 2, 3. (from the Government of India).

Journal of the Russian Orientalists' Society, Harbin.

A. LLOYD, Hon. Librarian.

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